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DATA FOR THE STUDY OF LANGUAGES OF ASIA AND AFRICA 8
SOUTH-ASIAN SERIES

# SYNTACTIC STUDIES OF INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

by
SUKUMAR SEN

Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Tokyo
1995

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पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
101066

विषय संख्या _____ आगत नं० _____

लेखक Sen, Sukumar

शीर्षक Syntactic Studies of indo-
aryan languages.

| | सदस्य संख्या | दिनांक | सदस्य संख्या |
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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
कृपया पुस्तक के ऊपर कोई निशान आदि
न लगायें।

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# पुस्तकालय

## गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

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पुस्तक-विवरण की तिथि नीचे अंकित है। इस तिथि सहित ३० वे दिन तक यह पुस्तक पुस्तकालय में पापिस आ जानी चाहिए। अन्यथा ५० पैसे प्रति दिन के हिसाब से विलम्ब-दण्ड लगेगा।

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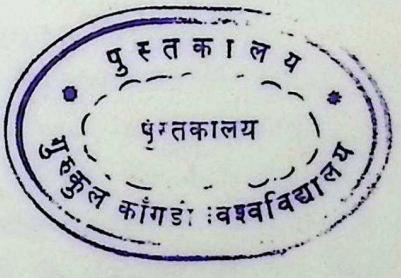


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SUKUMAR SEN

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# FOREWORD

During last few decades I came across many historical linguists in and out of India who had been desperately trying to get Dr. Sukumar Sen's books on syntactic studies of Vedic, Buddhistic Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan languages in vain. For it was a long time since these books became out of print and none of their publishers has plan of reprinting them in the near future.

On March 3rd in 1992 I was one of those few disciples of Dr. Sukumar Sen who could see him just before his demise and attend his funeral. A year later when I called on his bereaved family again at their residence at Calcutta, his son asked me if I could explore any possible ways and means to reprint all the three books abovementioned. He also added to say that it was late Dr. Sukumar Sen's own wish expressed before his death.

After some efforts I could somehow manage to find the ways and means to realize my guru's last wish. I am now happy to see a buried treasure box taken out and opened once again under the sun-light to gratify all those scholars and specialists who had been long devoid of opportunity to get access to the precious academic information contained therein.

These reprint books will certainly contribute, I believe, for promoting the historical / comparative study of Indo-Aryan languages in particular and for the study of South-Asian languages in general.

In this connection I should like to express my sincere gratitude to all those copy-right holders concerned, i.e. Dr. Subhadra Sen, son of late Dr. Sukumar Sen, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Calcutta University Press and Linguistic Society of India for their kind permission for reprinting the three books concerned and also to the Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Tokyo for meeting the total expenditure incurred on the publication of these reprinted books. I am also grateful to Dr. Yasuaki Nara, Vice-Chancellor of Komazawa University and Dr. Kodo Yotsuya, staff of The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, Tokyo for providing Xerox copies of some pages of their original books preserved in their library.

January 23rd, 1995

Tsuyoshi NARA M.A.,D.Phil.
Professor of I.L.C.A.A.,
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

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# THE USE OF THE CASES IN VEDIC PROSE

BY

SUKUMAR SEN, M. A.

Lecturer in Comparative Philology,
Calcutta University.

Reprint from the Annals of the Bhandarkar
Oriental Research Institute, Vols. VIII-X
( 1926-1930 )

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kr̥ántaṃ yena prathita-mahasā
madhyamaṃ dhāma viṣṇor
vācāṃ tāvat samanukalane
hy agrajo no namasyaḥ ।
yo 'bhūd Bhāṇḍārakara-matimān
Rāmakr̥ṣṇe-ti-pūrvaḥ
smaraṃ smāraṃ vahatu mama tam
bhakti-pūram prabandaḥ ॥

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# NOTE

The following paper was written as early as 1923, and it took five years (1926–1930) to be published in instalments in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (vols. viii-x). Distance prevented me from revising the proof-sheets very minutely. Major errors have been rectified in the Corrigenda, and for the remainder, I crave the indulgence of scholars who may have occasion to go through it. I am greatly indebted to the works of Keith and Eggeling, *viz.*, the translations of the Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas and the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa respectively. I acknowledge with grateful thanks the very kind general help obtained from my teacher Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

S. SEN.



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| 22 | 5 | „ | (f) | | (b) |
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| 27 | 10 | „ | sacrifice | „ | sacrifices |
| 27 | 36 | „ | form | „ | farm |
| 28 | 23 | „ | bath | „ | battle |
| 29 | 7 | „ | from | „ | for |
| 29 | 30 | „ | *śrāntam* | „ | *śrantam* |
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| 106 | 19 | „ | him | „ | them |
| 108 | 8 | „ | perform | „ | performe |
| 113 | 24 | „ | dug out the | „ | dug the out |
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| 122 | 10 | „ | literature | „ | literatures |
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| 166 | 30 | „ | lake | „ | stake |
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# THE USE OF THE CASES IN VEDIC PROSE.

BY

SUKUMAR SEN, M. A.,

Calcutta University.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

AB.—Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
AS.—Altindische Syntax, Delbrück.
AV.—Atharva-veda.
Av.—Avesta.
Bc.—Buddhacarita.
BU.—Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
Ind. Spr.—Indische Sprüche.
J.—Jātaka (numbers refer to the page).
JASB.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Kathā S.—Kathāsaritsāgara.
KB.—Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa.
KS.—Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā.
Ku.—Kumārasambhava.
MB.—Mantra Brāhmaṇa.
Mbh.—Mahābhārata.
MS.—Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.
MU.—Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad.
P.—Pāṇini's Aphorism.
Panc.—Pañcatantra.
PB.—Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa.
R.—Rāmāyaṇa.
RV.—Ṛgveda.
Raghu.—Raghuvaṃśa.
ŚB.—Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
SmB.—Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa.
Soph. Pail—Sophocles, Philoctetes.
TB.—Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
TS.—Taittirīya Saṃhitā.
Thuc.—Thucydides.
Theoc.—Theocritos.
Vend.—Vendidad.
Vet.—Vetālapañcaviṃsatikā.
YV.—Yajurveda.
Ys.—Yasna.
Yt.—Yast.

## NOMINATIVE.

1. The Nominative is the case of the grammatical subject, and as such it does not necessarily indicate the actor or the agent, as in the passive construction: e. g., *adbhir vā idaṃ sarvaṃ āptam* every thing here is surrounded by waters (ŚB. 1.1.1.14).

(1) It secondarily denotes an isolated concept or merely the number and gender (P. 2.3.46); but this function is an acquired one.



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2. Predicative Nominative :

(1) Intransitive verbs of incomplete predication, such as *as, bhū, sam-pad* etc., have their predicate also in the nominative case : *alpo hy eṣa jāto mahān bhavati* the little one, when born, becomes great ( TS. 5.1.3 ); *kṛtaṃ sampadyate caran* he becomes '*kṛta*' when he moves ( AB. 33.3.4 ).

( In the following instance from classical Skt. the instrumental has supplanted the predicative nominative : *yena krāntaṃ tribhuvanam idam vāmanenāpi bhūtvā* ( Vet. p. 36, l. 20 ). The expression must have thus been contaminated—*vāmanena bhūtena+vāmano bhūtvā* ).

(2) The transitive verbs *man, brū, vac* and *vad*, in the reflexive sense (=to think one-self as, to call one-self as ) take the predicative nominative : *te vai devā vijitino manyamānāḥ* the gods thinking themselves as victors ( AB. 9.7.4 ); *yena tamasā prāvṛto manyeta* the darkness by which he deems himself surrounded ( AB. 12.8.14 ); *nijāsyaivāmanyata* he thought that he had destroyed them ( AB. 13.12.4 ); *parābhaviṣyanto manyāmahe* we think that we shall perish ( TS. 2.5.1 ); *sa imān lokān vicchidivān amanyata* he thought himself to have destroyed these worlds ( PB. 8.9.21); *prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata sa dugdho riricāno' manyata* P. created offspring, he thought himself milked and empty ( PB. 9.6.7 ); *nācakṛvān manyate* does not think to have done it ( PB. 21.1.8 ); *indro 'surān hatvākāryaṃ cakṛvān amanyata* having killed the Asuras Indra thought himself to have done a wrong deed ( PB. 22.14.2). This idiom is absent in the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā ( vide S. Sen, 'Uses of the Cases in the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā, JASB, 1925.') The following instances are cases where this construction has been avoided, as in classical Skt. by the use of particle *iva* : *gataśrīr iva manyeta* considers himself at the height of prosperity ( AB. 16. 4. 5 ); *vasiṣṭhaḥ putrahato hīna ivāmanyata* with his sons killed V. thought himself to be destitute ( PB. 21.11.2 ); *tata u heme nirāgā iva menire* then they thought themselves as sinless ( KB. 12. 3 ); *prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ sṛṣṭvā riricāna ivāmanyata* P. having created offspring, felt himself empty as it were ( KB. 12. 8, cf. PB. 9. 6. 7 ). Twice we find the predicative accusative in accordance with the classical idiom : *ṛṣabho na sarvam iva javaṃ dhāvati sṛtam mayeti*



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*hatam manyamānaḥ* hence the ass does not run with his full speed, considering himself worn out (because) 'I have done my running' (KB. 18. 1); *āsannam ātmānam manyamānaḥ* having thought himself to be exhausted (SmB. 2.1.7). But when the verb is not used in the reflexive sense we find the predicative accusative: *yam brāhmaṇam iva manyeta* whom he should think himself to be a Brahman (PB. 6. 5. 9). This compounded form occurs once *svayaṃ dhirāḥ paṇḍitammanyamānāḥ* (MU. 7. 9).

*sa brāhmaṇo bruvāṇaḥ* calling himself a Brahmin (ŚB. 2.1.2.14) *sa indro brāhmaṇo bruvāṇa iṣṭakām upādhatta* Indra calling himself a Brahman etc. (TB. 1.1.10); *kathaṃ no brahmiṣṭho bruvīta* how dare you call yourself the best of Brahmans among us (BU. 3.1.2); *durge vai hantāvocathāḥ* thou art called he who smites in the stronghold (TS. 6.2.4); *bharatūḥ.....turīye haiva saṃgrahītāro vadante* the charioteers claim a fourth of the booty (AB. 9. 1. 6).

Note,—In ṚV. two other verbs, *chad* and *ūh*, take the pred. nom. (AS. p. 104).

(3) In AB. TS. and TB. the verbal phrase *rūpaṃ kṛ* takes the pred. nom. instead of the possessive genitive. In AB. it occurs but once, and in TS. so much as ten times: *eṣo' śvaḥ śveto rūpaṃ kṛtvā* he having taken the form of a white horse (AB. 30.9.4); *so 'gneḥ kṛṣṇo rūpaṃ kṛtvodāyata* it departed from the fire in the form of an antelope (TS. 5.2.6; cf. 6.1.3 [twice]); *sā rohid rūpaṃ kṛtvā* she, in the form of a deer (TS. 6. 1. 6); *sa indraḥ salāvṛkī rūpaṃ kṛtvā* Indra in the form of a hyaena (TS. 6.2. 4); *yajño devebhyo nilāyata viṣṇū rūpaṃ kṛtvā* sacrifice went away from the gods taking the form of Viṣṇu (TS. 6. 2. 4); *uttaravediḥ siṃhī rūpaṃ kṛtvā* in the form of a lioness (TS. 6.2.7); *sā rohiṇī piṅgalaikahāyanī rūpaṃ kṛtvā* she in the form of a ..... deer; *sā rohiṇī lakṣmaṇā ṣaṣṭhauhī rūpaṃ kṛtvā*; *jaratī mūrkhā tajjaghanyā rūpaṃ kṛtvā* (TS. 7. 1. 6); *agnir devebhyo nilāyatākhū rūpaṃ kṛtvā*, in the form of a mouse (TB. 1. 1. 16); *sā varāho rūpaṃ kṛtvopānyamajjat* taking the form of a boar he plunged (TB. 1.1.19); *agnir devebhyo nilāyatāśvo rūpaṃ kṛtvā* in the form of a horse (TB. 1.1.22); *yajño devebhyo nilāyata kṛṣṇo rūpaṃ kṛtvā* (TB. 3.2.5; 3.2.6); *agnir devebhyo nilāyata kṛṣṇo rūpaṃ kṛtvā* (TB. 3.3.6); *yat kṛṣṇo rūpaṃ kṛtvā prāviśas tvaṃ vana-*



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*spatīn* ( TB. 3.7.4 ) ; *prajāpatir devebhyo nilāyatāśvo rūpaṃ kṛtvā* TB. 3.8.12 ). See also TB. 5.6.5. This idiom might have thus originated : *viṣṇū rūpaṃ kṛtvā = viṣṇur bhūtvā + viṣṇo rūpāṇi kṛtvā.*

In PB. and KB., once in each, this phrase occurs in compound forms : *yajño vai devebhyo' pakrāmat sa suvarṇarūpaṃ kṛtvācarat* sacrifice went away from the gods, he moved about assuming golden form ( PB. 14.3.10 ) ; *ūsāḥ prājāpatyāpsarorūpāṃ kṛtvā purastāt pratyudait* U. the offspring of P. taking the form of an Apsaras, came out in front of them (KB. 6. 1). Cf. JASB. 1925, p. 2.

( 4 ) In ŚB. the phrases *rūpaṃ as* and *rūpam bhū* take the pred. nom.: *etad vai devā akāmayanta parjanyo rūpaṃ syāma* this the gods desired, 'may we be like Parjanya' (ŚB. 6.7.3.1) ; *etenātmanā parjanyo rūpam abhavat* with that self he became like P. ( ŚB. 6.7.3.1 ).

( 5 ) The predicative accusative when followed by *iti* and *iva* is replaced by the nom. : *rāsabha iti hy etam ṛṣayo' vadan* the seers called him the donkey ( TS. 5.1.5 ) ; *pṛthuśroṇir iti vai yoṣām praśaṃsanti* men admire a woman as ( she is) one with big hips ( ŚB. 3.5.1.11 ) ; *viṣṇur iti yajati*, worships him as Viṣṇu ( KB. 8.2 : Prof. Keith wants to read *viṣṇum* here ) ; *na vai yajña iva mantavai* it must not be looked upon as a sacrifice ( ŚB. 2.3.1.21 ).

( 6 ) Once in AB. the nom replaces the pred. acc. with the verb *nir-mā* : *indro vā etābhir mahān ātmānaṃ niramimīta* Indra made himself great by means of these ( 22.2.2 ). The reflexive sense of the verb is to be noted here.

( 7 ) The pred. nom. appears with the primary derivative of *bhū* ending in *-uka* : *tasmād rūpiṇī yuvatiḥ priyā bhāvukā* whence a beautiful maiden is apt to become dear to men ( ŚB. 13. 1.9.6 ) ; *tasmāt prathamavayasī strīṇām priyo bhāvukaḥ* whence a youth is apt to become dear to women ( ŚB. 13. 1. 9. 6 ) ; *tasmād rājñaḥ senāmukham bhīṣmam bhāvukam* whence the front of the king's army is apt to become terrible ( ŚB. 13. 2. 2. 2 ).

3. The Cognate Nominative. A few verbs which were sometimes used impersonally in the Indo-European Ursprache take the cognate nom. occasionally : *yaivainam asāvaślīlam vāg vadati* the evil report which rises against him ( PB. 2.17.4 ) ; *tān kalyāṇī vāg vadati* speech speaks good of them ( PB. 5. 9. 14 ) ; *tasmād atrottarāhi vāg vadati* hence



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speech sounds higher here ( ŚB. 3.2.3.15 ); *vṛṣṭir vai vṛṣṭvā candramasam anu praviśati* the rain having rained enters the moon ( AB. 40.5.7 ); *vidyud vai vidyutya vṛṣṭim anu praviśati* lightning having flashed goes over to rain ( AB. 40.5.3 ); *yad vāto vāti* when wind blows ( MS. 2.5.4 ); *yāśca varṣanti vṛṣṭayaḥ* the rains which do rain (TB. 3.12.8). Cf. Pali : *vuṭṭhivāto nāma kittakam ṭhanaṃ vāyati* how far does the storm blow ? ( J. I 102–3 ).

4. Impersonal verbs. There are found three typical uses of the impersonal verb in the Brāhmaṇa literature. In the first and the most primitive type the subject is altogether left unexpressed : *nāvārṣan na sam atapat* it did neither rain nor it became hot ( AB. 19.5.5 ); *amuto vai divo varṣati* it rains from yonder sky ( ŚB. 4.3.1.16 ); *tasmāt kṛṣṭāya varṣati* hence it rains for the ploughed field ( ŚB. 7.2.4.4 ) ; cf. Gk. ὕει it rains ; νίφει it snows ; βρουτᾷ it thunders ; cf. also Pali : *tato ūkāsato sattaratana-vassaṃ vassati* then it rains down seven jewels from the sky ( J. I, 256 ) ; cf. Cl. Skt. *nāsya varṣam varṣāti varṣākāle* it does not rain its rain in proper time ( Mbh. quoted in Ind. Spr. ) ; *tato vā asmai vyaucchat* then it dawned for him (PB. 16.1.1) ; *atho vyevāsmai vāsayati* then it dawns for him ( PB. 18.9.8 ) ; cf. Gk. ἀστάπτει it lightens, συσκοτάζει it grows dark ; *yasya jyog āmayati* who is long ill ( TS. 2.3.11 ; PB. 6.10. 5 ) ; *athaitasya jyog āmayati* thus is he ill long (TS. 7.2.4 ) ; *prāṇena vā eṣa vy ṛdhyate yasyāmayati* he who is ill is separated from breath (TS. 7.2.7) : *yad vai puruṣasyāmayaty aśnāti 3 nāśnāti iti 3 vai tam āhuḥ* when man is ill they ask, does he eat or does he not ? ( MS. 1.8.9 ) ; *yadi dīkṣitasyopatapet* when the initiated is unwell ( ŚB. 12.3.5.2 ) ; *yadā valavad vāti* when it blows hard ( ŚB. 6.1.3.13 ) ; *kalpate 'smai* things go in order for him ( TS. 5.2.6 ) ; *tato vai prajābhyo 'kalpata* then it went in order for the people ( TS. 7.2.4 ) ; *ṛdhyate 'smai kṛṣau* prosperity occurs to him in agriculture ( PB. 11.5.8 ). In this passive construction the real subject is put in dative. This idiom has an exact parallel in Greek : ἱκανὰ γὰρ τοῖς τε πολεμίοις ηὐτύχηται for our enemies have had good fortune enough ( Thuc. 7.77 ) ; καλῶς ἄν σοι ἀπεκέκριτο ( Plato, Gorg. ).

In the second type of impersonal verbs an indefinite or a relative pronoun is put in as the subject for the satisfaction of grammatical instinct : *tato vā idam vyaucchat* then it dawned



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(TS. 6.4.8); *idam hi yadā varṣati* when it rains (ŚB. 1.3.1.25); *yad idam kiṃ ca varṣati* whenever it rains (ŚB. 1.7.1.3); *atha yā ātapati varṣanti* as it rains while the sun shines (ŚB. 5.3.4.12). The clauses: *yo 'yam pavate* and *yo 'sau tapati* are of frequent occurrence.

In the third type an active agent is put in as the subject: *ahorātrābhyam khalu vai parjanyo varsati* P. rains through day and night (TS. 2.1.7); *etasmād vai mithunād vidyotamānastanayan varṣati retaḥ siñcan* from this couple the thunder cloud rains scattering seed (TB. 3.3.10); *varṣatu te dyauḥ* may the sky rain on thee (ŚB.1.2.4.16); *satatavarṣī ha prajābhyaḥ parjanyo bhavati* P. rains continually for the people (AB. 8.1.6); *etasyām diśi parjanyo na varṣukaḥ* P. is not apt to rain in that quarter (ŚB. 7.5.2.37). This idiom occurs in AV. also cf. Greek: ὕει μέν ὁ Ζευς Zeus rains (Theocr. 4, 43); Cl. Skt.: *kāle ca deśe pravavarṣa devaḥ* the god rained in time in the country (Bc. 2.7); Pali: *kinnu kho tumhehi āgatamagge devo vassati* does the god rain in the road traversed by you? (J.I. 100); *devo nibaddham vassati* the god rains continually (J.I. 102); *devo pāvassi* the god rained (J.I. 296).

(1) Intransitive verbs in passive constructions are used impersonally, as in Cl. Skt., e.g. *tira iva vai mithunena caryate* (ŚB. 1.9.2.8); *hīyate ha* (he) is left behind (ŚB. 3.6.2.14); cf. also the frequent use of *śrūyate*.

5. The Instrumental Nominative. In one passage in AB. the nom. replaces the usual instr. of means. *kiṃ nu malaṃ kiṃ ajinaṃ kiṃ u śmaśrūṇi kim tapaḥ* what is the use of dirt? what of the goat skin? what of long hair? and what of fervour? (33.1.7).

6. What is ordinarily the locative of distance, is sometimes put in the nom. (cf. *yataś cādhvakālanirmāṇam tatra pañcamī, kāle ca saptamī, adhvanaḥ prathamā saptamī ceti vaktavyā*: Vārtt. under P.2.3.28): *sā vā iyam sarvaiva vedir iyatī śakṣyāmīti tvāvamāṇa yajante triṃśat padāni paścāt tiraścī bhavati* all this earth is the *vedi*, but they measure off and sacrifice on so much as they deem they can use; the back cross line is thirty feet ..... (TS. 6.2.4); *catuścatvāriṃśat āśvināni sarasvatyā vinaśanāt plakṣaḥ prāsravaṇas tāvad itaḥ svargo lokaḥ* Plakṣa-Prāsravaṇa is at a distance fortyfour times as much as a horse can go from the Vinaśana of the Sarasvatī (PB. 25.10.16).



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7. The Nominative Absolute ( Gk. ἀνακολουθία ) The absolute use of the nom., though not a regular idiom, is a remarkable phenomenon in the syntax of the case. It is unknown in the Saṃhitās but appears sporadically in Cl. Skt. ( a ) With the present participle in-*ant* : *te' bhitaḥ paricaranta ait paśum eva nirantram śayānam* while they were wandering around, lo ! the victim lying with the intestine taken out ( AB. 7. 3. 6 ; against this Aufrecht wants to read *āyan* for *ait*. See AB. p. 430) ; *aṅgirasaḥ svargam lokam yanto rakṣāṃsy anvasacanta* when A. were going to heaven the demons assembled together ( PB. 12.6.12 ). But this last example is not reliable because the text as printed in the Bibl. Ind. is very corrupt. Perhaps we should read *yataḥ* for *yantaḥ*. ( b ) With the absolutive in-*tvā* : *ya āhitāgnir jīve mṛtaśabdam śrutvā kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ* if one who has established the fires hears himself spoken of as dead during life, what is the expatiation thereof ? ( AB. 32.8.7 : Aufrecht wants to read *śṛṇuyāt* for *śrutvā*); *ātithyena vai devā iṣṭvā tān samad avindat* when the gods had performed the guest-offering, discord befell them ( ŚB. 3.4.2.1 ).

This idiom arose from the absolute use of the absolutive which use is found in the Brāhmaṇa literature and is anything but rare in Cl. Skt. : *oṣadhīr jagdhvāpaḥ pītva tata eṣa rasaḥ sambhavati* having consumed the plants and having drunk water this sap is generated ( ŚB. 1. 3. 1.25 ) ; *tam hainam dṛṣṭvā bhīr viveda* fear came upon him when he saw him ( ŚB 11.6.1.7 ) *et puroḍāśam eva kūrmam bhūtvā sarpantam* lo ! ( they came upon ) the sacrificial cake creeping in the form of a tortoise ( ŚB. 1.6.2.3 ). Cf. Cl. Skt. : *tān bhūmau patitān dṛṣṭvā ..... mahāṃs trāso 'bhavan mama* seeing them fallen on the ground great fear arose in me ( R. 3.21.10 ) ; *strīratnasṛṣṭir aparā pratibhāti sā me dhātur vibhutvam anucintya vapuś ca tasyāḥ* considering the skill of the creator and her person she appears to me to be the other best creation of woman ( Śak. 2 ) ; *dilīpānantaram rājye tam niśamya pratiṣṭhitam । pūrvam pradhūmito rājñām hṛdaye' gnir ivotthitaḥ ॥* hearing of him as established in his dominions after Dilīpa the fire which was already fuming in the heart of the kings became aflame ( Raghu. 4. 2 ) ; *sarpān vyāghrān gajān siṃhān dṛṣṭvopāyair vaśīkṛtān । rājeti kiyatī mātrā dhīmatām apramādinām ॥*



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(Pañc. 1.46); *ityādi ceṣṭitam dṛṣṭvā tasya rājño viśṛṅkhalam | khinne mayi kadācicca tatrāgāc citrakṛn navaḥ* || (Kathā S. 5. 28); *aṅke kumāram āropya hatvā kiṃ nāma pauruṣam* (Ind. Spr.); *rathe tu vāmanaṃ dṛṣṭvā punarjanma na vidyate* (proverb); *śrīśaila-śikharaṃ dṛṣṭvā sarvapāpaiḥ pramucyate* (Haradatta quotes this passage in his Padamañjarī p. 723 but comments that such use is faulty); *ulūkaṃ nṛpatiṃ kṛtvā kā naḥ siddhir bhaviṣyati* what gain would occur to us if the owl is made the king? (Panc.); cf. Pali: *tassa ādhāvitvā paridhāvitvā vicarnakāle rañño añño pi putto jāto* during the period of his running and walking about the king had other sons born to him (J. I. 127, 234); *assassa pānīyaṃ pibitvā nahāyanakāle* during the time of bathing the horse after giving water to drink (J. I. 185); *satta rājāno gahetvā dinnayodhaṃ nāma nāsetum na vaṭṭati* (J. I. 180).

Note.—Pāṇini prescribes an independent use of the absolutive in *-tvā* (3.4.18): *alaṃ te vanaṃ gatvā* (R 2 28.25); *khalūktvā*.

7. (I) Incipient Nominative Absolute. The following instances are worth noting as illustrating the incipient use of nom. abs.: *paśur vai nīyamānaḥ sa mṛtyum prāpaśyat* when the victim was being carried he saw death (AB. 6.6.8). Here if we transpose *sa* and take it as a demonstrative adjective of *paśuḥ*, the construction would be normal: but as it stands and as evidently the meaning requires, we can not but admit that *paśuḥ* is here a nom. abs. Similar is: *devā ha vai yajñam tanvānās te 'surarakṣasebhya āsaṅgād bibhayāṃ cakruḥ* the gods (were) proceeding with the sacrifice, they were afraid of the onslaught of Asuras and Rakṣasas (ŚB. 3.9.4.6); *indro vṛtram hatvāsurān parabhāvya so 'māvāsyām pratyāgacchat* Indra having killed Vṛtra and having conquered the Asuras, he returned on the new moon (TB. I. 3. 10). Cf. cl. Skt. *tato nārāyaṇo devaḥ sa varam mām ayācata* then the god Nārāyaṇa he sought a boon from me (Kathā S. I. 31).

8. Elliptic Constructions.

(a) When the adverb *api* is used the subject (which is *bhāga*, share) is very often suppressed: *kathaṃ vo' pi syāt* how can you have a share = how can there be (a share) for you (AB. 12.10.4); *apy asyā ihāstu yā no' smin na vai kam avidat* let her have a share also since she has not yet obtained one in this of ours (AB. 12.11.



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5 ); *api vo ' trāstu* you may have a share here also ( AB. 12.11.8 ); *astv eva no' syām api* may we also have a share in the earth ( TS. 6. 2.4 ). Cf. Cl. Skt. : *sarpiṣo' pi syāt* a drop of ghee might perhaps exist ( Bhaṭṭoji under P. 1. 4. 96 ).

( b ) When there are two subjects to a single finite verb one of them is often suppressed and the other is expressed with the conjunctive particle *ca* and the verb is put in the dual. This idiom is found in ṚV., and in later Vedic literature it is found only in TS. : *tā bṛhaspatiś cānvaitām* those ( he ) followed with B. ( TS. 2. 4. 4 ); *tām brāhmaṇaś copadadhyātām* ( he ) and B. should establish her (TS. 5.2.8); *amba dhṛṣṇu vīrayasvāgniś ceddṃ kariṣyathaḥ...* ( you ) and Agni would do this ( TS. 4. 1. 9 ); *tān pūṣā cānvaitām* ( he ) and P. followed them ( TS. 2.4.4 ).

( c ) Often when the context is clear the subject is unexpressed and is to be gathered from the context : *aditiḥ putrakāmā sādhyebhyo devebhyo brahmaudanam apacat tasyā uccheṣaṇam adaduḥ* A. being desirous of a son cooked Brahman's mess for the Sādhya gods, (the Sādhya gods ) gave her the residue ( TS. 6.5.6 : here the subject of *adaduḥ* is *sādhyā devāḥ* which is in the ablative in the preceding sentence ); *indro' manyatānayā vā idaṃ viṣṇuḥ sahasraṃ vakṣyata iti tasyām akalpetām* Indra reflected, 'By this Viṣṇu will appropriate all the thousand '; ( they, viz., Indra and Viṣṇu) made arrangement as to it ( TS. 7. 1. 5 ).

9. Peculiar Constructions.

( a ) An indeclinable has been used here as the subjective predicate : *agnir vai devānām addhātamām* Agni is the safest of the deities ( ŚB. 1. 6. 2. 9 ).

( b ) A singular subject goes sometimes with a plural verb and vice versa : *sa viśvarūpatama iva santi* he is much variegated in colour ( ŚB. 1.6.3.5 ); *kim akarteti yat putrān muhur devā aprcchata* the gods asked their sons repeatedly 'what did you do' (PB.24.18.5).

( c ) The word *īśvara* as pred. nom. often varies from the subject in number or gender or both : *īśvaro ha hotāraṃ yaśo 'rtoḥ* reputation is apt to reach the Hotṛ. ( AB. 8.2.18 ); *atha yad uccaiḥ kīrtayed īśvaro hāsya vāco rakṣobhāṣo janitoḥ* if he utters aloud his speech is apt to be sounded like the speech of the R. ( AB. 6.7.6 ).



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*īśvaro hāsyā vitte devā arantoḥ* gods are liable to be ill pleased in her gains ( AB. 15.4.8 ); *tam īśvaraṃ rakṣāṃsi hiṃsitoḥ* R. are liable to injure him ( TS. 3. 1. 1. ); *īśvaro gṛhā yajmānasya taṃ paryantam anupracyotoḥ* ( ŚB. 1.1.2.22 ); *tasyeśvaraḥ prajā pāpīyasī bhavitoḥ* his people is likely to become worse ( ŚB. 5. 1. 1. 9 ); *īśvaro haitā anagnicitaṃ saṃtaptoḥ* they would be lible to weigh heavily upon one who has prepared the fire ( ŚB. 13.8.4.11 ). Note also *puruṣo vai prajāpater nediṣṭham* the Puruṣa stands nearest to Prajāpati ( ŚB. 2. 5. 1. 1. ).

( d ) Absence of case suffix : *sāman bhavati ya evaṃ veda* he becomes fair who knows thus ( AB. 12.12.2 ). Here *sāman* appears to be a bare stem. The construction is so strange here that *samān* can only be construed ( with great semantic difficulty ) as the locative. It is probable that the frequent use of such elliptic locative as *ātman*, *vyoman* etc. in AB. led to this confusion of the nom. with the loc.

( e ) A very odd construction in AB. is to be noted : *yasyaiṣāṃ patnīṃ naicchet* who does not wish for a (second) wife ( AB. 32.9.3 ). This translation is according to Haug who follows Sāyaṇa here. Prof. Keith has not translated this sentence as it is very obscure ( Rgveda Brāhmaṇas, p. 297 ). Sāyaṇa's exposition and Haug's translation is impossible unless we are prepared to read : *ya eṣāṃ patnīṃ naicchet*. Weber, too, despairs of the passage and suggests the reading : *yasyaiṣā patnī naśyet*. I suggest the following emendation ( which is not so violent as that of Weber ) : *yo' syaiṣāṃ patnīṃ naicchet*.

10. Vocative.

The use of the voc. in the Vedic prose works is quite normal. Only one instance calls for notice : *kauśika brāhmaṇa gautama* (for *gautamaḥ*) *bruvāṇeti* O Kauśika, Brāhmaṇa, thou who callest thyself Gautama ( ŚB. 3.3.4.19 ). Delbrück wants the voc. in *gautama* to be in accordance with RV. use, e. g. *abhūr eko rayipate rayīṇām* ( AS. p. 106 ). I think that the voc. in *gautama* ( which ought to have been pred. nom. ) is due to attraction of the series of vocatives in *kauśika*, *brahmaṇa* and *bruvāṇa*. Cf. Gk. ιὦ δύστηνε σύ, δύστηνε δῆτα διὰ πονων παντων φανείς alas ! poor wretch, wretched indeed in all thy suffering proved ( Soph. Phil. 760 ) from δυστηνε and δυστηνος-φανεὶς,



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Note.—In ṚV. and AV. if two proper names are joined by *ca*, it sometimes happened that one of the words assumed the syntactical case constructions required, and the other is put in the vocative : *indaś ca somam pibatam bṛhaspate* ( ṚV. ). Cf. AV. *mazdā* ( voc. ) *aṣāi cā yuṣmaibyā gəraz'e* unto you Mazda and Aṣa I complain (Ys.32.9); *hvō nē mazdā vastī aṣaicā sravyaeṅhē* he is willing to protect for us, M. and A. ( Ys. 29.8 ); *mazdā xṣathrōi aṣāicā* in your kingdom, O Mazda and Aṣa ( Ys. 32. 6 ).

## ACCUSATIVE.

1. " The accusative brought the noun into a quite indefinite relation to the verb. The nature of the relation was determined by the character of the verb and its dependent noun " (Brugmann, Griechische Grammatik ). The acc., though mainly, is not exclusively a grammatical case. Cognate accusatives depend on the verbs or on the context and their meaning ; and as the temporal and spatial accusative is but a development of the cognate acc., this latter also can be said to depend on the verb or the context.

Pāṇini's definition of the case is this ( 1.4.41 ), " the accusative is the case of that which the agent wishes particularly to attain by the action ( *katrur īpsitatamaṃ karma* ) ".

Many uses of the acc. found in Vedic Prose were entirely dropped in the Classical Sanskrit. Here we enumerate the most important of these.

( *a* ) The use of the double acc. with a single verb–which was getting more frequent as the acc. gradually began to absorb the functions of the other oblique cases– was restricted to a few verbs ( *duh, yāc, rudh, pracch, bhikṣ, nī, hṛ* etc. ) in Cl. Skt.

( *b* ) The copious use of the cog. acc., etymological, or otherwise connected in sense, died out entirely in Cl. Skt., ( but in Pali and in Buddhistic Sanskrit they are not at all rare ). Only a few remained as grammatical curiosities ( e. g. *kāṃ kāriṃ akārṣīḥ, kāṃ gaṇim ajīgaṇaḥ* etc. ) or as stereotyped adverbial phrases ( e. g. *samūlaghātaṃ nyavadhīdarīṃś ca ; latānupātaṃ kusumānyagṛhṇāt* etc. Bhaṭṭikāvya ).



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(*c*) In Cl. Skt. the use of the temporal acc. bifurcated. The acc. was retained when denoting continuity in time, whereas the instr. was used when denoting completion of an action ( vide P. 2. 3.5, 6 ). It is of course possible that originally there was an instr. of time, but it is a fact that no certain evidence of this idiom is to be found in the earlier prose works of the Vedic period.

(*d*) The use of the spatial acc. (especially in the elliptic constructions ) was fast declining in Cl. Skt. In the epics it is often noticed but hardly so in the classical authors.

(*e*) The use of the prepositions with the cases was fast dying out in Cl. Skt., and together with this died out the manifold employment of intransitive and transitive verbs when compounded with the *upasargas.*

(*f*) Of the two interjections found in Vedic prose ( viz. *ed* and *dhik* ) only one (*dhik*), which is indeed of later origin, is found in Cl. Skt.

The principal uses of the accusative are the following :—

I. Acc. with verbs, including
   1. Acc. of goal
   2. Acc. of content ( Cognate Accusative )
   3. Acc. of time
   4. Acc. of space
   5. Acc. with transitive verbs
      (*a*) with verbs transitive in narrowed sense
      (*b*) with verbs which can be used both as transitive and intransitive
      (*c*) with intransitive verbs
   6. Double Acc. with a single verb.

II. Acc. with verbal nouns
   (1) Acc. with secondary derivatives
   (2) Acc. with adjectives

III. Acc. with prepositions

IV. Acc. with interjections

V. Adverbial accusative

( VI. Absolute use of the Acc. ).



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## I.

3. Accusative of goal. To denote the goal or the direction of an action is one of the primitive functions of the accusative *ya eti janatām* who goes to the assembly ( TS. 2.2.1 ); *indram adevyo māyā asacanta* demoniac spell wanted ( to catch ) Indra ( PB. 19.19. 1 ); *grāmam āhṛtair bhuñjate* they enjoy what have been brought to the village ( PB. 6.9.11 ); *yasthaiva chinnā naur bandhanāt tīraṃ tīram ṛcchantī plaveta* just as a vessel which has parted from its fastening floats moving to either bank ( AB. 17.7.4 ); *sṛñjayān jagāma* went to the Sṛñjayas ( ŚB. 2.4.4.4 ); *te 'sya gṛhān āgacchanti* they come to this house ( ŚB. 1.1.1.7 ); *tasmād aśvaḥ pramuktaḥ bandhanam āgacchati* whence a horse let loose comes again to the shackle (ŚB. 13.1.6.2) ; *yajñasthāṇum ṛcchet* should strike against the sacrificial post (TB. 2.1.4). Cf. Cl. Skt. *bālo ravir bhūmim ivāvatīrṇaḥ* come to the earth like the rising sun ( Bc. 1.31 ); Pali *uttara-kuruṃ piṇḍāya gaccheyya* would go to for alms (Sutta Pārājika 1.2.2); *tantavāye upasankamitvā* approaching the weavers ( Pātimokkha 4.27 ); *gharaṃ gamissāma* shall go home ( Sutt. Pār 1.5.6 ). Cf. Gk.: τοῦ δὲ κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει his fame reaches up to heaven ( Homer ); ἠερίη ἀνέβη μέγαν οὐρανὸν Ὀλυμπόν τε in a mist went she up great heaven and Olympus ( Hom. ); cf: Av. : *kąm ząm āyenī* ( Yasna 46.1 ).

( 1 ) The vague use of the acc. of goal has given rise to a very well-known idiom of Skt. which begins to appear in the Brāhmaṇas ( also in Pali but rarely in Greek ) : *gacchati śreṣṭhatāṃ ya evaṃ veda* he who knows thus attains greatness ( AB. 8.6.10 ); *sarvasya premāṇaṃ gatāḥ sarvasya cārutāṃ gatāḥ* dear to all, beloved of all ( AB. 18.3.3 ); *āvidaṃ gacchati* attains fame ( ŚB. 10.3.5.16 ); *sarvam āyur yanti* attain the full span of life ( PB. 3.6.4 ); *enaṃ varo gacchati* he attains a boon ( TS. 2.5.2 ). Cf. Cl. Skt. *dvayaṃ gataṃ saṃprati śocanīyatām* two have become object of pity ( Ku. ); *pañcatvaṃ gataḥ etc.*, and similar phrases. Cf. Pali *bhūtānam ānaṃnaṃ gaccheyaṃ* ( Girnar Inscription VI, 11 ); *ye paṭibhogaṃ no eti* ( Dhauli Inscription V, 7 ); *kuleṣu carittam āpajjeyya* ( Pāt 7, 46 ) cf. Gk. τόδ ἱκάνω to this I am come. This is practically the only construction in Greek. From this idiom a kind of periphrastic passive voice developed in the epics and in Cl. Skt. e. g. *sa darśanaṃ gacchati = sa dṛśyate.*



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4. Cognate Acc. The abundant and rich use of the cognate acc. is a distinctive feature of the Vedic language,—poetry and prose. This acc. is distinct from the object acc., as is shewn by its construction in passive voice ; *yadā sarvajyāniṃ jīyante* ( PB. 25. 10.20 ). Very rarely it is treated like the obj. acc.—*viṣṇukramāḥ krāmyante* ( TS. 1.7.6 ). Sometimes instrumental also appear in the passive construction : *tira iva vai mithunena caryate* (ŚB. 1.9.2.8).

Examples : ( *a* ) Cog. acc. with transitive verbs : *saṃdhāṃ tu saṃdadhāvahai* let us make a compact (TS. 2.4.1) ; *pūṣā te granthiṃ grathnātu* let P tie a knot for thee ( TS. 1.1.2 ) *vrataṃ vratayati* drinks the fast-food ( ŚB. 3.2.2.18 ) ; *etābhir vai devāḥ sarvā aṣṭīr āśnuvata* by these verses the gods attained all attainments ( KB. 17.3 ) ; *ya ekaśatavidham atividhatte* ( ŚB. 10.2.3.18 ) ; *aśanam aśnāti* eats food ( ŚB. 4.2.4.18 ) ; *imāṃ vyaṣṭiṃ vyaśnute* obtains this success ( ŚB. 10.2.4.2 ) ; *bhakṣaṃ bhakṣayati* ( AB. 35.5.5 ) ; *ātmana āśiṣam āśāste* utters blessing for himself ( AB. 17.3.12 ) *yaṃ yaṃ kāmam akāmayanta* whichever desires he desired ( AB. 12.7.2 ) ; *akṛtaṃ karoti* commits a misdeed ( AB. 13.9.1 ) ; *gartamitaṃ tasya minuyāt* he should set it up for him in grave fashion ( TS. 6.6.4 ) ; *brahmodyaṃ vadanti* speak a theological discourse ( ŚB. 4.6.9.20 ) ; *devavivāhaṃ vyavahetāṃ* performed a divine marriage (AB. 19.5.5) ; *vivāhaṃ vivahāvahai* ( PB. 7,10.1 ) ; *sa haitaṃ varaṃ vavre* he chose this boon ( KB. 1.2 ) ; *uddhāraṃ ma uddharata* ( AB. 19.5 ) ; *śavalihomaṃ hutvā* ( PB. 21.3.5 ) ; *savān prasvanti* (KB. 19.5 ) ; *nava bṛhato rohān rohate* ascends nine big ascents ( PB. 7.7.6 ). ( *b* ) Cog. acc. with intransitive verbs : *sarvāṃ ṛddhim ṛdhnāti* wins all prosperity ( AB. 19.1.4 ) ; *ta etāṃ edhatuṃ edhāṃ cakrire* they throve in such a manner (ŚB. 1.6.1.3) ; *ārtim ārcchati* goes to ruin (TS. 5.5.1) ; *ārtim āriṣyati* shall undergo suffering ( ŚB. 1.4.2.15 ) ; *tāṃ gatiṃ gatvā* ( ŚB. 1.8.2.27 ) ; *sarvajyāniṃ jyāsyate* will be deprived of his all ( ŚB. 10.5.5.8 ) ; *yadā sarvajyāniṃ jīyante* ( PB. 25.10.20 ) ; *tapo'-tapyata* ( ŚB. 6.1.1.8 ) ; *sarvāṃ haitāṃ dīpliṃ dīpyate* is enkindled to that full extent ( ŚB. 10.6.2.11 ) ; *aparimitāṃ puṣṭiṃ puṣyati ya evaṃ veda* he who knows thus thrives infinitely ( PB. 12.14.1 ) ; *poṣān puṣyati* ( PB. 19.5.10 ) ; *indraḥ sarvāṃ tṛptiṃ atṛpyat* Indra felt all satiety ( PB. 16.3.8 ) ; *vijitīr vijitya* winning victories ( AB. 12.10.1 ) ; *āvāpaṃ āvaperan* they should insert on insertion ( AB.29,3,8) ; *tad etena vṛṣṇenāṃ prajātim prajāyete* that they bring



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forth through that male ( ŚB. 1.7.2.11 ) ; *pravyādhān pravidhyati* shoots arrows' ranges ( ŚB. 5.1.4.13 ) ; *saṃgrāmaṃ yuyutsamānasya* of one who wished to fight a fight ( SmB. 3.6.1 ).

The cognate accusatives in Cl. Skt. are of very rare occurrence. I give here some of them : *varam vṛ* and *tapas tap* ( very frequent ) ; *saṃprasthito vācam uvāca kautsaḥ* ( Ragh. ) ; *tisro vasatīr uṣitvā* ( Ragh. ) ; *gambhīradhīrāṇi vacāṃsyuvāca* ( Bc. 1.59 ) ; *śucismitāṃ vācam avocad acyutaḥ* (Śiśupālavadha) ; *ativādaṃ na pravadet* (Mbh. 5, 1270) ; *śatroḥ śeṣaṃ na śeṣayet* ( Ind. Spr. 172 ) ; *na tasya varṣaṃ varṣati varṣakāle* ( Mbh. quoted in Ind. Spr. ). *duṣyanto mṛgayāṃ yātaḥ* ( Bhāgavata ).

The cog. acc. proper began to die out before Pāṇini's days. In his Aṣṭādhyāyī we find but one aphorism for the cog. acc. viz., *vibhāṣākhyānapariprasnayor iñ ca* ( 3.3.110 ). But the idiom was already obsolete and Patañjali did not comment on this rule in his Mahābhāṣya. The Kāśikā has given these apparently manufactured examples ; *kāṃ tvaṃ kārim akārṣīḥ, kāṃ gaṇim agīgaṇaḥ* etc.

Cog. acc. has been the source of many typical uses of the acc. In the periphrastic perfect forms ( e. g. *āmantrayām āsa, bhīṣāṃ cakre* ) the acc. is really the cog. acc. This is clear from such examples as *mṛgayāṃ yātaḥ* and then came *mṛgayāṃ cakāra*. The forms with *as* and *bhū* are later formations and are formed in analogy with the *kṛ* forms, in as much as the cog. acc. with *as* and *bhū* are not at all found in the old texts.

Cf. Av. : *pairidaēzaṃ pairidaēzayaṃ* ( Vend. 5.49 ) ; *vimādhascit vīmādayanta* ( Ib. 7.38 ) ; *apa gaoša gaošāyeiti* ( Yast. 10, 48 ).

Cf. Pali : *nivāpaṃ vapitvā* ( J. I. 150 ) ; *mahanādaṃ naditvā* (do) ; *isipabbajjaṃ pabbajitvā* ( J. I. 139 ) ; *yaññaṃ yajitvā* ( J. I. 260 ) ; *mahādānaṃ deti* ( J. I. 231 ) ; *cārikaṃ caranto* ( J. I. 140 ) ; *dhammasusrusaṃ susrusatāṃ* ( Girnar X 1-2) ; *dhaṃmānupatipatī anupatipajaṃtu* ( Delhi Topra VIII, 3) ; *iya(ṃ) hi aṭhe vaḍhi vaḍhis(a)ti* ( Rūpanāth 4 ).

Cf. Gk. : πομπὴν πεμπειν to send an escort ; τεῖχος τειχίβσονται they wall ( i. e. build ) a wall. ἁμάρτημα ἁμαρτάνειν to commit an error ; νίκην νικᾶν to gain a victory.



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(1) Non-etymological cog. acc. *ājim ajayat* won a race ( PB. 14.3.12 ) ; *anṛtam akarta* ye have done falsely ( TS. 2.4.1 ) ; *tatraitāṃ vācam ūduḥ* there they uttered the speech ( ŚB. 3.2.1.14 ) ; *avratyam iva caret* breaks the vow as it were ( TS. 2.2.2, cf. ib. 2.5.1 ) ; *saṃgrāmaṃ saṃjayāni* I shall win in the battle (AB. 37.6.6 ) ; *na hi saṃgrāmaṃ caranti na kṛṣiṃ na vaṇijyām* they do not practise Brahmacarya nor agriculture nor trade ( PB. 17.1 2 ). With intransitive verbs: *ṛṣayo vai sarasvatyāṃ satram āsata* the Ṛṣis held a sacrificial session on the bank of the S. ( AB. 8.1.1) ; *ājim āyāvahai* let us run a race ( AB. 17.2.1 ) ; *ājim asminn ita* run a race here ( PB. 7.2.1 ) ; *devā ha vā sarvacarau satraṃ niṣeduḥ* the gods held a sacrificial session at S. ( AB. 26.1.1 ) ; *vājaṃ vā eṣa sisīrṣati* a race he desires to run ( TS. 2.2.4 ) ; *vājaṃ hanti* runs a race (TS. 2. 2.4 ) ; *sa ṛtam āmīt* he took an oath ( TS. 2.3.5 ) ; *rāsabho na sarvam iva javaṃ dhāvati* the ass does not run with his full speed ( KB. 18.1 ) ; *tā ha svam eva vaśaṃ ceruḥ* they followed their own free will ( ŚB. 3.9.4.14 ) ; *naitayāniṣṭvāgnicin maithunaṃ careta* ( KB. 19. 7. ); *bhaikṣaṃ caran* begging food ( SmB. 3.7.3 ) ; *avabhṛthaṃ yanti* they go for a chance ( ŚB. 2.5.2.46 ) ; *brahmacaryam upaiti* ( ŚB. 11. 3.3.2 ) ; *vrātyām pravasantaḥ* leading the life of a Vrātya ( PB. 17. 1.1) ; *nābhānediṣṭhaṃ vai brahmacaryaṃ vasantaṃ bhrātaro nirabhajan* when N. was living a brahmacārin's life his brothers excluded him ( from his patrimony ) ( AB. 22.9.2 ) ; *viśvāmitraṃ vā ṛṣim adhyāyam udvrajitaṃ rakṣo 'gṛhṇāt* when V. was a student a spirit caught him ( PB. 15.5.20 ) ; *śūdrajīvikām sevitvā* ( SmB. 1.7.12 ).

Cf. Av. *frazābaodhaŋhem snathem vīkereluštanem jainti* ( Vend. 5.37 ).

Cf. Pali : *cetiyacārikaṃ āhiṇḍantā* ( Mahāparinibbānasutta 241 ).

5. The acc .of time. Temporal acc. expresses what time an action occupies. In orgin it was only a special form of cog. acc. *tasmāt sarvān ṛtūn varṣati* therefore in all the seasons it rains ( TS. 5.1.6 ) ; *yadi ciram avarṣukaḥ* if it does not rain for long ( TS. 6.5.6 ) ; *daṇḍaśūkas tāṃ samāṃ sarpā bhavanti* serpents would bite during that year ( TS. 6.1.10 ) ; *yat saṃvatsaram annaṃ pacyate* that food ripens through the year long ( PB. 4.10.1. ) ; *tā varṣā vardhante* they grow during the rain ( ŚB. 1.5.3.12 ). ( In this example *varṣā* may also be taken as instrumental singular. ) *na*



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*śvaḥśvam upāsīta ko hi manuṣyasya śvo veda* one should not put it from one day to the morrow, for who knows the morrow of man ? ( ŚB. 2.1.3.9 ) ; *tenaitāṃ rātrīṃ sahājagāma* he stayed with him that night ( ŚB. 1.6.4.2 ).

Cf. Pali : *kappaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesaṃ vā* would live for a *kalpa* or to the end of a *kalpa* (Mahāpari. 75) *ciraṃ tiṣṭeya* should remain for ever ( Girnar VI, 13 ).

Cf. Grk. πᾶν ἦμαρ φερομην a whole day I was borne along ( Hom. ) ; ἦμαρ by day ; νύκτα by night.

Cf. Av. *aēvomāhīm* one month long, *vīmahīm* two months long ( Vend. 5. 45 ).

( 1 ) The temporal acc. sometimes denotes, not continuation in time, but only a part of it ( where we ordinarily find the locative of time ) : *yāṃ ca rātrīm ajāyethāḥ* the night I (?) was born ( AB. 39.1.2 ) ; *saṃvatsaraṃ paryālabhante* they are offered in the course of the year ( TS. 2.1.1 ).

( 2 ) The locative of time is available if something occurs at the end of a period but the acc. too sporadically appears in such cases : *yat saṃvatsaraṃ jātaḥ syāt* who was born a year ( after conception ) ( ŚB. 9.5.1.68 ).

6. The accusative of space. The use of the spatial acc. is analogous to the temp. acc.; it signifies the space occupied ( P. 2.3.5 and the Vārtt. under P.1.4.51) : *yām asya diśaṃ dveṣyaḥ syāt* in whatever direction he who is hateful to him may be (ŚB.12.9.2.6) ; *yāṃ diśaṃ vāto vāyāt* in whichever direction the wind may blow ( ŚB. 11.5. 3.11 ) ; *ye vā adhvānaṃ punar nirvartayanti* who go on a way and come back ( PB. 4.3.10 ) ; *avasena vā adhvānaṃ yanti* with provision people perform a journey ( ŚB. 2.6.2.17 ) ; *ye tīrthāni pracaranti* who traverse the fording places ( PB. 4.5.11 ); *praheyo vai pālāgalo 'dhvānaṃ vai prahita eti* the courier is to be dispatched, and when dispatched goes on his way ( ŚB. 5.3.1.1 ) ; *yam adhvānam eṣyan syāt taṃ gatvā* having gone the way he still intends to go ( ŚB. 5.1. 3.13 ). In this example the acc. is on the boundary line between the acc. of goal and the acc. of space. That the acc. of space ultimately comes from the cog. acc. is seen from the following instance : *adhvānaṃ dhāvanti* runs over the course ( ŚB. 5.1.5.17 ).

In Cl. Skt. the acc. of space was replaced by the locative and by periphrastic expressions with *yāvat* etc. But it survived in



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epic Skt.: *babhūva hi samā bhūmiḥ samantāt pañca yojanam* the ground was even for five leagues on all sides ( R. 2.91.19 ).

Cf. Av. *bazasca frathasca* in length and breadth ( Vend. 5.48 ).

Cf. Pali. *yaṃ janapadaṃ mātugāmo vicāreti* the country where women roam (J. 1. 155) ; *vuṭṭhivāto nāma kittakaṃ ṭhānaṃ vāyati* how far does the rainy breeze blow ( J. 1. 102-103 ).

Pali and Greek sometimes agree in putting the acc. in place of the spatial instrumental : Pali, *taṃ kāntāraṃ gacchanto* going through that forest (J. 1. 108 ) ; Gk. καινὴν ὁδὸν ἠλομεν we came by a common road ; κλίμακα ὑψηλὴν κατεβησετο she came down the high ladder ( Hom. ).

In the passive construction in Pali the acc. of space sometimes takes the nom.; *satthagamanīyo hoti maggo* the road is easily covered ( Pāt. 7.27 ).

(1) The following instance is classed separately as the accusative of measured length : *saptadaśapravyādhān ājiṃ dhāvanti* they run a race of seventeen arrow ranges ( TB. 1.3.6 ).

Cf. Gk. λείπετο δουρὸς ἐρωήν he remained a spear's throw behind ( Hom. ).

7. Transitive verbs, finite and infinitive, govern the object in the accusative. Examples would be superfluous.

8. The accusative with transitive verbs sometimes expresses grammatical relations other than the object.

(a) The genitive : *taṃ devā abruvan* the gods said of him ( TS. 2.6.8 ) ; *anyaṃ brūtād iyaṃ mama* let him say of another 'she is mine ' ( TS. 7.1.6 ) *taṃ vyacikitsat* he reflected regarding it ( TS. 6.5.9 ) ; *so'ved indro vāyum* I. perceived of Vāyu ( AB. 9.1.2 ) ; *tasmāt kumāraṃ jātaṃ samavadanta* therefore they talked of a child born ( AB. 11.2.7 ) ; *evaṃ vai vidvāṃsam āhur api grāmyāṇāṃ paśūnāṃ vāca ājānāti* thus they say of a wise man ' he knows the language of domestic animals ' ( PB. 10.2.10 ) ; *sa yadi taṃ carakebhyo vā yato vānubruvita* if he acquires a knowledge of that either from the Carakas or from anywhere else ( ŚB. 4.2.4.1 ).

(b) The dative : *tat saṃjñām evaitat kṛṣṇājināya ca vadati* he establishes a mutual understanding between her and the black



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antelope skin (ŚB. 1.1.3.5); *tasmād ātreyaṃ candreṇecchanti* whence they wish to pay gold to a descendant of Atri (PB. 6.6.11).

9. Some verbs (simple and compound) are used both as transitive and intransitive with the change of meaning: (a) *sambhū* becomes transitive if a physical connection is implied: *tāḥ sambabhūva* he came together with them, i.e. united with them (ŚB.2.1.1.5). On the other hand if the connection be abstract the verb is intransitive and is construed with the instr. *saṃ devair abhūma* may we join the company of the gods (ŚB. 1.9.3.14); *tayā mitrāvaruṇau saṃjagmāte* M. and V. met her (ŚB. 1.8.1.7); (b) *parā-i* is intransitive if the mere state of discomfiture is implied but is transitive if we emphasise something lost in strife: *devā vai yajñaṃ parājayanta* the gods lost by conquest the sacrifice; cf. Pali: *brāhmaṇo sahassaṃ parājito* the Brahman lost a thousand (J. 1.122). *parā-ji* is intransitive in Cl. Skt. and is construed with the ablative. (c) *yudh* is intransitive if mere fighting is indicated: *kena rājñā kenānīkena yotsyāmaḥ* with whom as the king and with what army should we fight? (ŚB. 2.6.4.2). But if the object of fight is mentioned the verb is transitive *puraṃ yudhyanti* fight for a stronghold (ŚB. 3.4.4.21).

Cf. Gk. νικᾶν (to conquer) which is intransitive, but if a victory in a solemn public contest is signified the place of the conquest or the nature of the combat is put in the accusative.

10. Some really intransitive verbs sometimes govern the acc. *ās*: *śālam asurā āsan* the A. remained at home (ŚB. 6.8.1.1); *ṛdh*: *āpīnāṃ vācam avyāsiktām prathamata ṛdhnavāma* let us first prosper on speech, swollen, not dissipated (KB. 11.8); *taṃ eva sākṣād ṛdhnoti* verily he wins it straightway (TS. 5.4.12); cf. *teṣv ārdhnot* in them he prospered (TS. 7.2.16); *kṛṣ*: *sītāṃ kṛṣati* ploughs furrow (ŚB. 7.2.2.9); cf. Gk.: ἕλκος οὐτᾶσαι to strike a wound. *kalpay*: *putrāḥ pra haivainaṃ kalpayanti* sons make everything for him (ŚB. 12.5.2.8); the acc. here has the sense of the dative. *kram*: *imāṃl lokān kramate* strides through these worlds (ŚB. 6.7.2.10) (see *supra*). *gai*: *purāṇair imaṃ yajamānaṃ rājabhiḥ sādhukṛdbhiḥ saṃ gāyata* sing ye of this sacrificer along with the righteous kings of old (ŚB. 13.4.3.3). *car*: *te devāś cakram acaran* the gods drove about on wheels (ŚB. 6.8.1.1); the acc. here has the



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sense of the instr. *div*: *gāṃ dīvyadhvam* play for the cow (ŚB. 5.4.4.23). Vide P. 1.4.46; 2.4.60. Cf. *videvaṃ dīvyamānā jātyā āsate* (ŚB. 1.8.3.6); cf. Pali: *jūtaṃ kiltati* plays dice (J. 1. 289). *dhāv*: *sa vāi gautamasya putra vṛto janaṃ dhāvayet* he alone, O son of G., may drive about amongst people as chosen (ŚB. 11.4.1.4); cf. *sa aikṣvāko' dhāvayat* he, the son of Īkṣvāku drove about (in a chariot) (PB. 1[2].3.12); the acc. here has the sense of the locative. *dhṛṣ*: *na vā etam agre manuṣyo' dhṛṣṇot* at first man dared not approach it (ŚB. 3.7.4.2). *pinv*: *yāṃ diśaṃ pinvate* in whatever direction it rises (ŚB.); the acc. can also be taken as the spatial acc. *puṣ*: *sahasraṃ sahasraṃ putrān puṣyati* rears thousands of sons (PB.); cf. *puṣyati prajayā paśubhiḥ* thrives in progeny and cattle (TS. 2.1.9). *plu*: *samudraṃ vā ete pra plavante* they swim on the sea (TS. 7.5.1). *bhikṣ*: *yasya eva bhūyiṣṭhaṃ ślāgheta tāṃ bhikṣeta* let him beg alms only from her in whom he has the greatest confidence (ŚB. 11.3.3.7). *man*: *na puṣṭaṃ paśu manyate* it thinks not of the fat cattle (ŚB. 13.22.9.8; also TS. MS. VS. and KS.); the acc. here has the sense of genitive. *mīmāṃs*: *brāhmaṇaṃ pātre na mīmāṃseta* should not call in question the worthiness of a Brāhmaṇa (PB. 6.5.9); *nainaṃ pātre na talpe mīmāṃsante* they do not question his right in sharing the cup and the bed (TS. 6.2.6). Cf. KS. 25. 3; vide S. Sen, JASB. vol. N.S., XXI, p. 7. *ju*: *yad dhi manasā javate tad vācā vadati* what one hurries in mind speaks in words (TS. 6.1.7; ŚB. 10.3.5.2). *tap*: *nainaṃ kṛtākṛte tapataḥ* what he has done or has not done grieves him not (ŚB. 14.7.2.27). *muc*: *asmiṃl loke tulādhānaṃ mucyate* escapes being placed on the balance in yonder world (ŚB. 11.2.7.33); *punarmṛtyuṃ mucyate* he is freed from recurring death (ŚB. 9.5.6.9); the acc. here has the sense of the ablative. *śak*: *prajāpatir idaṃ sarvam aśaknot* P. had all power whatever there is here (AB. 22.2.3); *te 'nyonyaṃ nāśaknuvan* they could not overcome one another (TS. 6.4.10); cf. *etena śaknuhi* with this be thou competent (PB. 13.4.1). *sad*: *taṃ mṛtyur asīdat* death lay in wait for him (AB. 12.3.1); *etad vai prajāpatiṃ ..... mṛtyur asīdat* (ŚB. 8.4.4.2); *dhruvāṃ yonim āsīda sādhuyā* seat thee fitly in thy firm seat (ŚB. 8.2.1.4); *prasadya bhasmanā yonim* having settled in the womb as ashes (ŚB. 6.8.2.6); *vediṃ varṇena sīdatu* let her sit on the altar with fair colour (TS. 3.5.6, f.); *tsar*: *yo hainaṃ pāpmā māyayā tsarati na hainaṃ so 'bhi bhavati* the sin



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which sneaks on towards him does not overcome him (ŚB.11.1.6.12). *skand* : *yadyaśvo vaḍabāṃ skandet* if the horse was to couple with a mare (ŚB. 13.3.8.1) ; *sa divaṃ ca pṛthivīṃ ca skandati* he leaps to the heaven and the earth (ŚB. 7.4.1.20). *snā* : *samudraṃ vā ete prasnānti* they bathe in the sea ( PB. 5.8.5 ) ; *yathā tīrthena samudraṃ prasnāyuḥ* as people should bathe in the sea in a fording place (ŚB. 12.2.1.15) ; the acc. here has the sense of the loc. *sru* : *reto 'sya vājinaṃ sravet* his seed would pour out food ( TB. 3.7.3 ). *rādh* : *taṃ kāmam anaparādhaṃ rādhnoti* he wins his desire unfailingly ( ŚB. 1.3.5.10 ). *rud* : *yatheyaṃ strī putram aghaṃ na rodāt* so that this woman does not mourn the loss of her son ( MB. 1.1.10 ). *ruh* : *viṣṭapaṃ rohanti* ascend the altar ( PB. 23.19.3 ) ; *kāmam arohan* obtained the desire ( ŚB. 2.1.2.7 ).

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( 1 ) I shall discuss here the disputed question of the verb *bhū* governing the accusative ( Vide Keith, JRAS. 1910, p. 151 et seq., pp. 873–74). We have already seen that *bhū* when compounded with 'upasargas' ( e. g. *sam*, *pra*, *pari*, *ā*, *etc.* ) becomes transitive. The following are the examples where *bhū* is alleged to have been used transitively :

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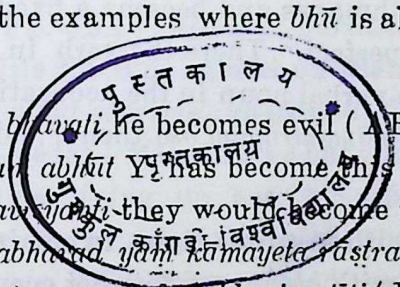

( a ) *sa kilbiṣaṃ bhavati* he becomes evil ( AB. 3.2.11 ).
( b ) *yamo vā idaṃ abhūt* Yama has become this ( TS. 2.1.4 ).
( c ) *ta idaṃ bhaviṣyanti* they would become this ( TS. 2.4.1 ).
( d ) *sa rāṣṭram abhavad yaṃ kāmayeta rāṣṭraṃ syāt* ( KS. 21.10 ).
( e ) *taṃ manyante yam evedaṃ bhaviṣyatīti* ( PB. 16.4.4 ).
( f ) *yaśo bhavati ya evaṃ vidvān ādatte* he becomes glorious who etc. ( ŚB. 2.2.3.1 ; 4.2.4.9 ).
( g ) *tam parigṛhyedaṃ yaśo 'bhavat* having taken him he became glorious ( ŚB. 14.1.1.12 ).

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( h ) *rāṣṭram eva te bhavanti* they possess a kingdom (ŚB.13.1.6.3).
( i ) *te 'paśyan puroḍāśaṃ kūrmam bhūtvā sarpantam* ( TS.2.6.2 ).
( j ) *indriyārthān pañca svādūni bhavanti* ( MU. 6.10 ).
( k ) *bhūmir bhavati bhūmidam* ( Mbh. 14.62.30 ).
( l ) *parvatenābhavad girim* ( Mbh. quoted in the St. Petersburg Wörterbuch ).

Now in (a) *kilbiṣam* can be taken as the nom. sing. neuter, used predicatively. In (b) (c) and (e) *idam* can be taken as an adverb.



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Its adverbial use in early Vedic prose is by no means rare. In (d) and (h) we should take *rāṣṭram* as the acc., if the sense is to be preserved. Prof. Keith has been compelled to assume a 'slight' textual corruption; he would like to read : *sa rāṣṭram ābhavat* for *rāṣṭram abhavat*. In (b) and (g) *yaśas* can well be taken up as the abstract for concrete. As a matter of fact the Kāṇva recension of ŚB. once reads *yaśasvin* for *yaśas* in the same phrase ( Vide Eggeling ŚB, SBE, Vol. XXVI, p. 300, f.n. 3 ). In ( i ) the acc. in *kūrmam* has in all probability been attracted by the other accusatives. In ( j ) Prof. Keith, following the commentator and Cowell ( who translates it thus : 'thus for the objects of the senses, the five ( senses ) are the means of seizing their flavour' ), rightly takes *indriyārthān* as the acc.of specification. The acc. *bhūmidam* in (k) is probably a corruption as the passage is of comparatively late date. The acc. *girim* in (l) does not require serious consideration as it has this variant reading : *parvatenāsṛjad girim*.

One undoubted use of the acc with *bhū* (as well as with *as*) began to appear in the Brāhmaṇas and became a fixed idiom in Cl. Skt. as the periphrastic perfect. There the verb in the perfect tense, governs a feminine verbal noun in the accusative singular : *atha ha viśvāmitraḥ putrān āmantrayām āsa* then V. addressed his sons ( AB. 33.5.7 ).

Though Prof. Keith is quite right in maintaining that this periphrastic idiom with *bhū* or *as* does not occur in early Vedic texts, still the passage from AB. ( quoted above ) could not be ignored. Prof. Keith argues that the precise significance of the idiom was lost long before the days of Pāṇini. But it is very likely that its significance was not unknown even in the days of Patañjali as the author of the Great Commentary sanctions the separation of the nominal and the verbal elements. Cf. *prabhraṃśayām yo nahuṣaṃ cakāra*; *tāṃ pātayām prathamam āsa papāta paścāt* (Raghu); *divyair viśeṣair mahayām ca cakruḥ* ; *taṃ saṃvardhayām ātmajavad babhūva* ( Buddhacarita ).

11. Some intransitive verbs turn transitive when compounded with *upasargas* : *ati–as* : *devān atyaśnāti* eats before the gods have eaten (ŚB. 1.1.1.9) ; *adhi–ās* : *darbhāṃstu nādhyāsīta* one should not sit on the *kuśa* grass ( TB. 3.7.3. ) ; *ati–i* : *na ekaśatam atyeti* it does



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not exceed a hundred ( ŚB. 13.2.1.6 ); *aśvaḥ paśūn atyeti* the horse outruns animals ( ŚB. 13.1.6.1 ); *yathā bibhyad āmoṣam atīyāt* as if one who fears spoliation were to escape it ( ŚB. 12.5.2.8 ); *anu-i* : *ādityaṃ vā astaṃ yantaṃ sarve devā anuyanti* all the gods follow the sun when he sets ( ŚB. 11.6.2.4 ); *abhi-i* : *athainam utābhyudeti* and he rises over him ( ŚB. 11.1.4.1 ); *upa-i* : *na striyam upaiti* does not go to woman ( PB. 17.13.11 ); *pari-i* : *āsām aham rājyam parīyām* may I gain the kingship over them ( TS. 7.5.8 ); *prati-i* : *na vā enam anyaj jyotiṣām jyotiḥ pratyudeti* no other light of lights attains him ( PB. 20.6.4 ); *adhi-i* : *yaṃ vā adhyeti* or whatever ( horse ) he has overlooked ( TS. 2.3.12 ); *yoṣām adhyeti* longs after a woman ( ŚB. 4.6.7.11 ); *tasmāt putro mātaram adhyeti* hence the son repeatedly thinks of his mother ( PB. 17.1.13 ). [ In Cl. Skt. *adhi-i* governs the genitive ( P. 2.3.52 ); *rāmasya dayamāno 'sāv adhyeti tava lakṣmaṇaḥ* ( Bhaṭṭi ) ]. *antar-i* : *yāṃ devatām antaritaḥ syāt* the deity whom he overlooks ( TS. 3.5.9 ). *abhi-jan* : *nānaiva dvāv abhijāyete ūrjaṃ puṣṭiṃ tṛtīyaḥ* two are born separately, the third for strength and growth ( TS. 2.2.1 ). *ati-jīv* : *ārtim atyajīvat* outlived the peril ( PB. 6.5.1 ); *upa-jīv* : *pūrvavayasi putrāḥ pitaram upajīvanti* in early life the sons subsist on their father ( ŚB. 12.2.3.4 ); *yad vedeṣūktaṃ tad vidvāṃsa upajīvanti* the learned discuss what is said in the Vedas ( MU. 7.10 ); but : *tasyās ta upajīvanto bhūyāsma* may we be living on her ( TS. 5.5.9 ). *ati-dah* : *imā nadīḥ atidadāha* he burnt over all these rivers ( ŚB. 1.4.1.14 ). *ati-dru* : *uttaraṃ girim atidudrāva* passed swiftly up to the northern mountain ( ŚB. 1.8.1.5 ); *adhi-dru* : *paścād vai parītya vṛṣā yoṣām adhidravati* ( ŚB. 1. 7. 2. 12 ). *abhi-druh* : *nirvaruṇam purastād abhidruhyati* thereafter acts with treachery against one who has lost Varuṇa's protection ( TS. 2. 2. 6 ). *upa-dhāv* : *ādityān eva kāmaṃ svena bhāgadheyenopadhāvati* verily he has recourse to the A. as desire ( TS. 2. 1. 2 ). *abhi-dhyā* : *prajāpatir vai svāṃ duhitaram abhidadhyau* P. conceived a passion for his daughter ( ŚB. 1.7.4.1 ). *upa-nam* : *kṣipram enaṃ sa kāma upanamati* quickly that desire approaches him ( TB. 3.1.4 ). *ati-ned* : *ati vā etā vārtraṃ nedanti* ( TS. 1.6.8 ). *abhi-sam-pac* : *śaradam oṣadhayo 'bhisampacyante* crops ripen in autumn ( PB. 21. 15. 3 ). [ This is probably the temporal accusative. ] *ati-pad* : *sa sūktena nividam atipadyetu* one should not go



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past the 'nivid' with the hymn ( AB. 11.11.12 ); *abhi-sam-pad* : *ṣoḍaśino 'nuṣṭubham abhisampannasya* of *ṣoḍaśin* when made into an *anuṣṭubh* ( AB. 16.1.6 ); *anu-pra-pad* : *tasmād ṛtur ṛtuṃ nānu-prapadyate* therefore season intertwines not with season (KB.13.9); *ā-pad* : *yo' sya vyāttam āpadyate* who enters into his open mouth ( ŚB. 7.6.4.18 ); *prati-pad* : *anuṣṭubhā rātrīṃ pratipadyate* he begins the night with an *anuṣṭubh* ( AB. 16.6.1 ). *ati-pu* : *yatra vai soma indram atyapavata* when soma flowed through Indra ( ŚB. 5.3.5.3 ). *upa-pari-plu* : *tad devāḥ samāruhya sarvāṁl lokān upapariplavante* mounted on this the gods move round all the world ( KS. 20.1 ). *anu-bhū* : *agninā tapo 'nvabhavat* by fire he surmounted fervour (TS. 8.3.14 ); *na ha vā asyāsau dyaur anyatarāṃ cana sphigīm anubabhūva* yonder sky did not reach up to his other thigh ( ŚB. 4.5.3.3 ); *anu-vi-bhū* : *dve yajuṣī trīn paridhīn anuvibhavataḥ* two formulas equal in power three enclosing sticks ( ŚB. 9.4.4.13 ); *abhi-sam-bhū* : *abhisambabhūva sarvā vidyāḥ* he was possessed of all sciences ( ŚB. 1.6.3.8 ); *abhi-bhū* : *athāsurān abhibhaviṣyatha* then shall ye overcome the Asuras ( TS. 2.4.2 ); *abhi saudāsān bhaveyam* may I overcome the Saudāsas ( TS. 7.4.7 ; KB. 4.1 ); *sam-bhū* : *tāṃ sambabhūva* he united with her ( ŚB. 1.7.4.1 ); *tāṃ samabhavat* ( KB. 23.4 ); *sa idaṃ sarvaṃ sambhavati* he takes possession of all these ( ŚB. 4.2.5.6 ). *ati-man* : *na tṛcam atimanyeta* must not go beyond three *ṛcs* ( AB. 11.11.9 ); *bhṛgur ha vai vāruṇir varuṇaṃ pitaraṃ vidyayātimene* now Bhṛgu, the son of Varuṇa, deemed himself superior to the father V. in knowledge ( ŚB. 11.6.1.1 ); *abhi-man* : *yadi vā imam abhimaniṣye* if I devour him ( ŚB. 10.6.5.5 ); *paśuṃ yajamānasyābhimanyeta* should devour the cattle of the sacrificer ( TS. 2. 5. 15 ); *ati-muc* : *mṛtyum atimucyate* escapes death ( ŚB. 2. 3. 3. 9 ; 11. 2. 2. 5 ; etc. ). *prati-mud* : *pratimodadhvam agnim* welcome A. with joy (ŚB. 6.4.4.16) ; *ava-yaj* : *tata evainam avayajate* thence he removes it by sacrifice ( TS.5.6.3 ); *varuṇam avayajate* he redeems himself from Varuṇa ( ŚB. 12.3.6.5 ; TS. 6.6.3 ); *pari-yaj* : *rājñā vapāṃ pari yajati* he makes offering by means of king ( Soma ) on both sides of the omentum ( ŚB. 13.2.11. 2 ); *apa-rādh* : *madhunyau ślokāvapa tau rarādha* he did not secure the two drops of honey ( TS. 3.2.30 ); *apa svargaṃ lokaṃ rādhnoti* he fails to reach heaven ( ŚB. 13.2.5.2 ). *ati-ric* : *śalvān prajā atirekṣyate* my race will surpass the Śalvas ( ŚB. 10.4.1.10 );



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*yadi rātrīm atiricyate* if any be left over the night (ŚB. 4.5.11.8). *abhi-ā-ruh* : *sākṣād eva devatā abhyārohanti* mount openly upon the deities (TS. 7.4.5); *prati-ava-ruh* : *saṃvatsaraṃ na kaṃ cana pratyavarohet* for a year to no man should he descend in honour (TS. 5.5.4). *upa-vas* : *yajñam upāvasan* they resorted to the sacrifice (AB. 7.5.4); *yad grāmyān paśūn upavasati tena grāmyān avarundhe* as he fasts in relation to domestic cattle he wins domestic cattle (TS. 1.6.7). *abhi-pra-vep* : *indraṃ vṛtraṃ jaghnivāṃsaṃ mṛdho 'bhiprāvepanta* when Indra had slain Vṛtra his enemies threatened him (TS. 2.5.3). *anu-ud-vā* : *vāyuṃ tarhyanūdvāti* (Agni) is wafted up in the wind (ŚB. 10.3.3.8). *upa-ā-vṛt* : *yā stuvadbhyaḥ śaṃsadbhyo nṛtyaṃ gītam upāvavarta* she turned away from those engaged in praising and praying to dance and song (ŚB. 3.2.4.6); *tato vai tān vāmaṃ vasūpāvartata* then they obtained wealth desired (TB. 1.1.8). *ati-vṛdh* : *yadā tām ativardhyai* when I outgrow that (ŚB. 1.8.1.3); *anu-vṛdh* : *na vai jātaṃ garbhaṃ yonir anuvardhate* the womb does not enlarge along with the child that has been born (ŚB. 10.2.3.6). *abhi-śī* : *yāvad eva eṣa viṣṇur abhiśete tāvad vo dadma* we shall give so much of land as this Viṣṇu can lie on (ŚB. 1.2.4.5); *upa-śī* : *uttarato hi strī pumāṃsam upaśete* woman lies on the left of man (ŚB. 1.1.1.20, etc.). *prati-ut-śri* : *dviṣantaṃ bhrātṛvyaṃ pratyucchrayate* he defies his malicious enemy (ŚB. 11.1.3.6). *upa-ni-sad* : *yajñaṃ tanvānān ṛṣīn gandharvā upaniṣeduḥ* when the Ṛṣis were performing the sacrifice the G. came nigh to them (ŚB. 11.2.3.7); *upa-at-sad* : *dhīro ha śāṭaparṇeyo mahāśālaṃ jābālam upotsasāda* D. Ś. once on a time repaired to M. J. (ŚB. 10.3.3.1). *abhi-ut-sic* : *vratam abhyusicya* pouring it on the fast milk (ŚB. 14.3.1.24). *ati-sṛp* : *yadādityo rarāṭyām atisarpet* whenever the sun creeps over on to the front (KB. 18.4). *pari-sṛ* : *enaṃ sarasvatī samantaṃ parisasāra* him S. circumscribed all round (AB. 8.1.2). *adhi-ava-syo* : *śālam adhyavasyati* he approves the hall (ŚB. 3.1.1.11). *adhi-sthā* : *tasmāt puruṣa upāriṣṭāt paśūn adhitiṣṭhati* man subsequently establishes himself amongst cattle (ŚB. 13.3.5.4); *ā-sthā* : *taṃ yajamāna ātiṣṭhati* to that the sacrifice now steps (ŚB. 5.1.5.15); *upa-sthā* : *aparājitāṃ diśam upatiṣṭhate* worships the unconquered quarter (AB.37.5.13); *araṇyam upātasthau* (Aufrecht reads *apā-*) went to the forest (AB. 33.2.9); *bhuñjantyenaṃ viḍ upatiṣṭhate* the people wait upon him in service (TS. 2.1.4);



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*pra-sthā* : *ubhau vāṃ pratiṣṭhāni tau prātiṣṭhat* both of you shall I go before ; he went both of them ( TS. 2.4.4 ).

Note :—It should be noted that in some of the examples quoted above the verbal compound is very loose and consequently the accusative may be said to be governed not by the verbs but by the prepositions. These are really transition cases.

Cf. Pali : *bhikkhu ca dosaṃ patiṭṭhāti* ( Pātimokkha 4.89 ); *nāvaṃ abhiruheyya* ( Pāt. 7.28 ) ; *dhammāvutaṃ ca anuvidhiyatāṃ* ( Girnar X); *taṃ loke anūpaṭīpaṃne ca anuvidhiyaṃti* ( Delhi VIII ).

12. The double Accusative. Besides the object accusative some transitive verbs take a second accusative. This second accusative may be (I) dependant on the object accusative for the completion of sense, or (II) accusative of space and time, or (III) accusative of goal, or (IV) it may denote other case-relations.

(I) Dependent accusative *amum evādityam uccāraṃ kurute* verily he makes yonder sun rise ( TS. 2.3.12 ). *agniṃ yā garbhaṃ dadhire* they have conceived A. as a germ ( TS. 5.6.1a ) ; *reta evāsyām prajāṃ dadhāti* places in her the seed as a germ ( TB. 3. 3. 10 ). *so 'gninā pṛthivīṃ mithunaṃ samabhavat* in the form of A. he entered into union with the earth ( ŚB. 6. 1. 2. 1 ). *mā devebhyaḥ sukṛtaṃ brūtāt* tell the gods of me as a doer of good ( ŚB. 4.5.8.10 ). *te' paśyan puroḍāśaṃ kūrmaṃ bhūtvā sarpantam* they saw the sacrificial cake turning into a tortoise and moving ( TS. 2.6.3 ). *taṃ anarthyaṃ manyamānāḥ* setting him at naught ( ŚB. 4.1.5.5 ). *devā anyonyaṃ pāpam avadan* the gods spoke evil of one another ( ŚB. 3.4.3.1 ). *na vai hataṃ vṛtraṃ vidma na jīvam* we do not know Vṛtra killed or living ( ŚB. 1.4.3.2 ). *agniṃ dūtaṃ vṛṇīmahe* we choose A. as a messenger ( TS. 2.5.8, also RV. ).

Cf. Avesta : *xaymnem aṣaxaném dāyata* make ye the holy man powerful ( Ys. 60.8 ). *vīspém aṣaxanéṃ vahištém vahištō paityāmraot* the Supreme one hath proclaimed the highest ( happiness ) unto every holy person ( Ys. 21.4 ). *yiṃ zaotārém stāyata ahurō mazdāo* whom Ahura Mazda established as Zaotar ( Yt. 10.89 ).

Cf Gk. *οἱ κολακες Ἀλέξανδρον θεὸν ὠνόμαζον* the flatterers used to call Alexander a god. *οὐ τοὺς πλεῖστα εἴχοντας εὐδαιμονεστάτους νομίζω* I do not deem those possessing most the happiest.



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(I) To this class goes the construction with *iti* : *varuṇaṃ devā abruvan tvayāṃśabhuvā somaṃ rājānaṃ hanāmeti* the gods said to Varuṇa. with thee as helper we shall kill Soma the king ( ŚB.) etc.

(II) Acc. of time : *uttaram ahar devān yajante* they worship the gods the next day ( AB. 12.4.1 ). *yo vai somaṃ bhakṣayitvā saṃvatsaraṃ somaṃ na pibati* whoever drinking Soma does not drink it for a year ( TB. 3.2.3 ).

(III) Acc. of goal : *gṛhān evainān ājigamiṣati* he desires to bring them to his house ( AB. 12.13.13 ). *yajñaṃ panthānam apinayati* he leads the sacrifices to the path (AB.2.2.13); *yajamānam aśvaḥ svargaṃ lokam añjasā nayati* the horse speedily leads the sacrificer to the world of heaven ( ŚB. 13.2.3.2 ) ; *tat tvā yāmi* I take it to you (ŚB 9.4.2.17). *chandobhir vai devā ādityaṃ svargaṃ lokam aharan* with the metres the gods took Ā. to the world of heaven ( PB. 12.10.6 ).

(IV) The independent accusative denoting various case-relations : ( a ) object accusative : *asmā ṛṣabhaṃ dakṣiṇām abhyāyanti* drive up a bull as a fee for him ( AB. 26. 3. 7 ). *prajāpatir vai yajñaṃ devebhyo bhāgadheyāni vyabhajat* P. assigned to the gods the sacrifice in portions ( AB. 12. 2. 1 ). *yam eva mā praśnān aprākṣīt* these questions which he asked me ( ŚB. 11.5.5.7 ). *catuṣpada eva tayā paśūn yajamāna imāṃ duhe* the sacrificer milks her of fourfooted cattle ( TB. 1.4.5 ) ; *ūrjam eva tayā yajamāna imāṃ duhe* by means of her the sacrificer milks vigour of her ( TB. 1.4.6 ). *te 'śvaṃ śvetaṃ dakśiṇāṃ ninyuḥ* they brought a white horse as sacrificial fee ( KB. 30.6 ).

Cf. Pali : *te devadhamme pucchitvā* asking them 'devadhamma' ( J. 1. 128 ) ; *aham āyasmantam itthaṃnāmaṃ puccheyyam* I shall ask the long-lived one this name ( Pāt. 1 ).

Cf. Av. : *tat thwā pérésa* that I ask thee ( Ys. 44.8 ). Similar is the construction with Gk. ἐρωτάω I ask, κρύπτω I hide.

(i) The accusative of transformation : *taṇḍulān caru śrapayati* he cooks the pap of black rice ( ŚB. 5.3.1.13 ). *apāṃ phenaṃ vajram asiñcan* he poured out foam of water as a thunder bolt (ŚB.12.7.3.3). *ṛtavo retaḥ siktam imāḥ prajāḥ prajanayanti* the scattered seed the seasons create as these creatures (ŚB. 2.4.4.22). *reta eva hitaṃ tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi vikaroti* T. gives farm to the seed cast ( TS. 2.6.10 ). *iṣīkāṃ vajraṃ prāyachan* gave the I. ( making it ) the thunder (PB.15.5.20).



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(ii) Instrumental : *sa...asurān yuddham upaprāyad vijayāya* he undertook to battle with the A. for victory ( AB. 14.1.2 ) ; cf. *devā vā asurair yuddhaṃ upaprāyan vijayāya* the gods went to fight with Asuras for victory ( AB. 14.1.1 ).

(iii) Dativus commodi : *vipaścid yajñān mugdhān anuśādhi naḥ* O sage, teach us ignorant people the sacrifices ( ŚB. 11.5.5.7 ). *kiṃ mā babhaktha* what have you apportioned to me? ( ŚB. 1.9.2.35 ). *satyaṃ tvāvadediśam* I shall teach you the truth ( ŚB. 8.6.3.15 ).

Cf. Pali : *pañca māṇavakasatāni sippaṃ vācesi* he taught arts to five hundred boys ( J. 1. 239 ).

(iv) Dativus finalis : *tam ājagāma suplāḥ sārñjayo brahmacaryam* to him came S. of the Sṛ. for studentship (ŚB. 2.4.4.4 ). *kūracyavaṃ prati yamunām avabhṛtham abhyavayanti* they go to the Y. at K. for a bath ( PB. 25.10.28 ) ; *athaikaṃ stanaṃ vratam upaiti* he takes one teat as milk drink ( TS. 6.2.5 ) ; *caturo gre stanān vratam upaity upa satsu* ( AB. 4.8.5 ) ; *tau prajāpatiṃ praśnam aitām* they went to question P. ( TS. 2.5.8 ). *tau prajāpatiṃ pratipraśnam eyatuḥ* they went to appeal to Prajāpati for decision ( ŚB. 1.4.5.11 ). [ In the last two examples *praśnam* and *pratipraśnam* are probably cognate accusatives. This use is quite frequent in Gk. e. g. ὅν Ζεὺς φίλει παντοίην whom Zeus loved with multiform love (Hom.). Cf. *te deveṣu praśnam aitām* they disputed before the gods ( AB. 13.4.1 ). ] *apo' vabhṛtham avaiti* he goes to the waters for the final battle ( TS. 2.3.12 ). *mitraṃ praśiṣṭam upayāmi śarma* ( 1.2.14 ).

(v) The ablative-accusative : *prattām evemāṃ sarvān kāmān duhe* from her, when given away, he thus milks all his desires ( ŚB. 12. 9. 2. 11 ) ; *pīpivāṃsaṃ sarasvataḥ । stanaṃ ; yo viśvadarśataḥ । dhukṣīmahi prajāmiṣam ॥* may we milk offspring and food from S.'s breast swelling for all to see ( TS. 3. 1. 11 ) ; *dhāyyābhir vai prajāpatir lokān adhayad yaṃ yaṃ kāmam akāmayanta* by means of Dhāyyās P. appropriated all objects of desire from these worlds ( AB. 12.7.2 ). *yo gāṃ vikṛntantaṃ māṃsaṃ bhikṣamāṇa upatiṣṭhate* who approaches begging meat of one slaying a cow (TB. 3.4.1). *tān apy ardham āgnīdhrasya jigyuḥ* they won from them one half of the Ā. ( ŚB. 3.6.1.28 ) ; *devā asurān imāṃl lokān abhyajayan* the gods won these worlds from the A. ( PB. 20.8.1 ) ; cf. *etasmād vā āyatanād devā asurāṃ ajayan* the



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gods drove the A. off from this enclosure (TS. 2.2.6 ). *indro marutaḥ sahasram ajināt* Indra won a thousand from the Maruts (PB.21.1.1). *kṣatriyaṃ devayajanaṃ yācati* asks the K. for the sacrificing place ( AB. 34.2.1 ); *athainaṃ etān kāmān ayācanta* then they asked these objects of desire from him ( ŚB. 9.3.2.6 ); *tam apo yācati* craves water from him ( ŚB. 3. 9. 3. 24 ); *tailaṃ vaināṃ yācayitvā* begging oil for her ( SmB. 2.6.9 ).

Cf. Pali : *amhākaṃ pitaram etasya mātā rajjaṃ yāci* his mother begged the kingdom of our father ( J. I 132 ); *rājānaṃ sabbasattānam abhayaṃ yācitvā* begging the safety of all creatures of the kings ( J. I. 152 ).

Cf. Av.: *yō mam taṭ draono zināṭ* whosoever deprives me of this portion ( Ys. 11.5 ) ; *yō mam zāvaré nōiṭ jaidyeni* who does not ask swiftness of me ( Ys. 11.2 ).

Compare the construction with Gk. ἀφαιρεομαι, αποστερέω deprive of.

(vi) The locative-acc.: *hantainaṃ brahmodyam āhvayāmahai* come, let us challenge him to a disputation on spiritual matters ( ŚB. 11. 4.1.2 ); *mā metaḥ paro nāma dhāḥ* give me no other name after that ( ŚB. 6.1.3.15 ). *na brāhmaṇaṃ brahmacaryam upanīya mithunaṃ caret* one should not have sexual intercourse after consecrating a Brahman in studentship ( ŚB. 11.5.4.16 ).

( V ) Causative verbs may take a double accusative, one of the person, the other of the thing (Vide P. 1.4.52-53 and the Vārtt. under them ). *svānām evainaṃ tac chraiṣṭhyaṃ gamayati* causes him to attain superiority over his own people (AB. 5.2.7). *āśaṃsamānam ārtvijyaṃ kārayati* he makes as priest one that expects (AB. 15.2.2); *tām annam apyādayet* should make her take the food ( AB. 25.2.6 ) — but the Vṛttikāra sanctions the instrumental here ( cf. P. 1. 4.52 ). *yathā rājānaṃ vā rājaputraṃ vā śrantaṃ veśma prapādayeyuḥ* this is as if men should conduct the king or his viceregent when wearied to an abode ( KB. 27.6 ). *sa evainaṃ punar yajñapatham apipāthayati* verily he sets him again on the path of the sacrifice ( KB. 4.3 ). *atraiva tad ādyaṃ valiṃ hārayati* whereby he makes the food pay tribute to the eater ( ŚB. 4.2.1.29 ); [ cf. P. 1.4.53. ] *athainam āvido vācayati* then he makes him pronounce the *āvid* formulas ( ŚB. 5,3,5,31 ).



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Cf. Pali : *sabbe' pi gone ca manusse ca jivitakkhayam pāpetvā* having put to death all cows and men ( J. 1.101 ).

Cf. Av. : *anā mathrā mazištém vāurōimaidhi xrafstrā* with this word may we make even the Kh. confess the Most Highest ( Ys. 28.5 ).

13. The accusative with verbal nouns. The following verbal nouns govern the acc. in the Vedic prose literature. In Cl. Skt. most of these nouns govern the genitive. (Though Pāṇini sanctions the accusative with the verbal nouns formed with the suffixes *la, u, uka, khal, tṛn* and avyaya forms, the earlier classical literature hardly furnishes any genuine case where *u* or *uka* formations govern the accusative ). In ṚV. verbal nouns governing the accusative were very numerous and varied.

(a) Nouns ending in *-u* : *atha yaḥ pāpmānam apajighāṃsuḥ syāt* if some one wishes to drive off evil ( AB. 16.4.5 ).

(b) Nouns ending in *-uka* : *veduko vāso bhavati ya ēvaṃ veda* likely to win a garment is he who knows thus ( TS. 5.1.5 ). *tasmād āpo' gniṃ hārukāḥ* therefore waters draw the fire ( TS. 5.6.4 ). *kāmukā enaṃ striyo bhavanti* women love him ( TS. 6.1.6 ). *tasmād rāṣṭrī viśaṃ ghātukaḥ* whence the king is apt to injure the people ( ŚB. 13.2.9.6 ; cf. TB. 3.7.2 ). *veduko' śvam āśum bhavati* he is likely to win a swift horse ( TB. 3.9.22 ). *gṛhān ha dāhuko bhavati* is apt to burn the houses ( TB. 11.1.17 ). *tasmāt prajā bhagaṃ grāhukāḥ* whence the subjects are apt to be fortunate ( TB. 3. 2. 5, cf. TB. 3. 2. 6 ). *abhimānuko ha rudraḥ paśūn syāt* R. are likely to injure cattle ( ŚB. 2.6.2.6 ). *upanāmuka enaṃ yajño bhavati* sacrifice comes to him ( ŚB. 2.2.4.14, cf. KB. 7.2,3 ). Cf. Cl. Skt. *gāmuko dhruvam adhvānaṃ sugrīvo vālinā gatam* Sugrīva is sure to follow the road taken by Vāli ( Bhaṭṭi 7.18 ).

The accusative in connection with the verbal noun in *-aka* appears for the first time in the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā ; e. g. *ghātako' sya paśūn rudraḥ syāt* Rudra is apt to destroy his cattle ( 8. 6 ) ; *aghātako 'sya rudraḥ paśūn bhavati* Rudra is not apt to destroy his cattle ( 8. 9 ). Vide JASB., NS.; XXI, pp. 3, 4.

Note.-In ṚV. the derivatives ending in an unaccented suffix *tar* govern the accusative, e. g. *hántā yó vṛtráṃ sánitotá vājaṃ dātā maghā́ni* ( ṚV. 4.17.8 ). But in later Vedic literature the use of



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these verbal nouns bifurcated. One use retained the verbal sense and developed into what is known as the periphrastic future (*luṭ*) and the other use retained the nominal character and generally governed the genitive. Hence in the Brāhmaṇas the governing of the accusative by these verbal nouns is extremely rare : *agnir vai patho 'dhivoḍhā* A., indeed, is he who leads over the path (ŚB. 13.8.4.6). In this example *pathaḥ* can be construed as the genitive as well.

(c) With verbal nouns ending in *-in* : *yam eva pratigrāhī bhavati* whatever (horse) he is going to accept (TS. 2.3.12). *anativādī enaṃ bhrātṛvyo bhavati ya evaṃ veda* the enemy cannot outspeak him who knows thus (PB. 11.3.7). *okaḥsārī haiṣām indro yajñaṃ bhavati* (AB. 29.6.9). *yat purā dhanam adāyī syāt* if at first he be not a giver of wealth (KS. 6.6). Note that Pāṇini (2.3.70) also enjoins the accusative with the verbal nouns ending in *-in* but in a very restricted sense.

(d) With the verbal noun ending in *-ana* : *yadyenaṃ kṣīraṃ kevalaṃ pāne 'bhyābhavet* if it should happen to him to have to drink pure milk (ŚB. 2.3.1.16). Cf. *vanaṃ-karaṇa, ayakṣaṃ-karaṇa* (Av. 19.2.5).

(e) With the verbal noun ending in *-a* : *na hyetaṃ kasya cana kāmaḥ* no desire of anything troubles him (ŚB. 10.5.4.15) ; cf. *māṃ kāmena* (AV. quoted by Whitney in his Sanskrit Grammar) ; *tvāṃ-kāma* (RV. 8.11.7).

(f) With the adverbial formations with *a* : *kāmaṃ vā imānyaṅgāni vyatyāsaṃ śete* in sleeping one likes to turn his limbs from one side to the other (ŚB. 4.5.9.11).

Avesta and Old Persian agrees with the Vedic prose literature in often construing the verbal nouns and adjectives with the accusative. Av. : *damis aṣ́ém* creator of Aṣa (Ys. 31.7.8) ; *kāmē thwahyā maθrānō dūtīm* in longing for the message of thy prophet (Ys. 32. 13c) ; *tem ahyā maēniš* his punishment for that (Ys. 44.19) ; *vahiśtém jījiṣam ādā* reward for the best conduct in life ; *daeñho erezuš pathō* knowing the right paths (Ys. 53.2). Old Persian : *auramazdā thuvām daušta bīyā* may Ahura Mazda be a



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friend to thee ( Historical Grammar of the Ancient Persian Language , E. L. Johnson, New-York, 1917, p. 202) ; *ava akunavan yathā mām kāma āha* this they did as was my will ( ibid. p. 203).

14. Two unique instances have been noted, both in ŚB. where a possessive noun ending in the secondary ( *taddhitānta* ) suffix *-in* is construed with the accusative : *etad vai prajāpatir etasmin ātmanaḥ pratihite sarvāṇi bhūtāni garbhyabhavat* for when that ( part ) of his body had been restored, Prajāpati b came pregnant with all beings ( ŚB. 8.4.2.1 ); *sarvān devān garbhī bhavati* he becomes pregnant with all the gods ( ŚB. 9.5.1.62 ). This phenomenon may be due to analogy with the nomen agentis in *-in*. Or, it may be that *garbhībhū* was felt to be akin to such forms as *śvetī-kṛ*, *stambhī-bhū* etc., and inasmuch as *bhū* governs the accusative when compounded with some of the *upasargas*, we may as well take the accusative to be really governed by *bhū* and not by *garbhin*. There is yet another explanation possible : *garbhir* might be a primary derivative of the root *grabh* ( to seize ).

15. The prepositional noun *pratiprati* governs the accusative in ŚB. and once in KB. It is perhaps due to the predominance of the prepositional force of *prati* : *indro vai sarvān devān prati-pratiḥ*. Indra is equal to all the gods (ŚB. 8.7.3.8) ; *ned yajamānaṃ pratipratiḥ kaścid asad* let the sacrificer have no rival (ŚB. 13.5.2.3) ; *etad dha vā ekam akṣaraṃ trayīṃ vidyāṃ pratiprati* that one syllable is a counter-part of the three-fold lore ( KB. 6. 12 ). Cf. *abhikā enaṃ paśavo bhavanti* cattle have longing for him ( literally, are inclined to him ) ( KS. 7. 7, 8 ).

16. A few verbal adjectives ending in *-añc* are construed with the accusative : *anyañc- trām anvañco vayaṃ smasi* we are after thee (AB. 33.6.3 ) ; *ye cainam anvañco bhavati* ( KB. 2. 5 ) ; *devānāṃ patnīḥ śaṃsatyanūcīr agniṃ gṛhapatiṃ tasmād anūcī patnī gārhapatyam āste* ..... hence the wife sits behind the gārhapatya fire ( AB. 3.37.1 ). *parāñc-imāṁl lokān parāṅ* beyond these worlds ( ŚB. 7.3.1.17 ). *pratyañc- pratyañco yajamānam paśava upatiṣṭhante* the victims stand on the front side of the sacrificer ( ŚB. 1.7.4.12 ). *pratyag enam abhicāraḥ stṛṇute* his watchcraft turns upon him and lays him low ( TS. 5.6.3 ).



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17. Some nominal compounds with the *upasarga anu* govern the accusative. It is due to the prepositional character of *anu* : *anurūpam enam putro jāyate ya evaṃ veda* a similar son is born to him who knows thus ( PB. 16.6.5 ). *evam imaṃ yajamānaṃ daivīś ca mānuṣīś cānuvartmāno bhavantu* so may the fold divine and human attend on this sacrificer ( TS. 4.6.5 ); *strīr eva tad anugāḥ kurute tasmāt striyaḥ puṃso 'nuvartmāno bhāvukāḥ* he makes women follow him hence women attend on men ( ŚB. 13.2.2.4 ).

18. Accusative of Specification or Reference ( Accusativ der Beziehung ). This is a standing idiom in Greek and Avesta. Here in a freer way the accusative is used with verbs and adjectives to point out to what the idea of these words refers in reference to what they are to be understood. There are a few such instances in the Brāhmaṇa and in later literature : *indriyārthān pañca svādūni bhavanti* thus for the objects of the five ( senses ) are the means of seizing their flavour ( MU. 6.10 ). *tasmāt kumāraṃ jātaṃ samavadanta* therefore they talked in reference to a child born ( AB. 11.2.7 ). *yaṃ kāmayetāpaśuḥ syāt* of whomsoever should think, 'may he be without cattle' ( TS. 1.7.1 ).

Cf. Av. : *yācā casmām aréjat* what of value shines in the eyes (Ys. 50.10) ; *patitém he manō aiihat patitém vācō patitém śyaothném* he shall repent in regard to his thought, speech and deed (Vend.7.51).

Cf. Gk. : κάμνω τὴν κεφαλήν I suffer in the head ; Ἕλλενες εἰσι τὸ γένος they are Greeks in race : εὖ ἔχομεν τὰ σώματα we are well in body ; ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἴκελος Διὶ τερπικράνῳ in eyes and head like thunder-loving Zeus (Hom.) ; οὐδεὶς ἄνθρωπος αὐτὸς πάντα σοφός no man is himself wise in everything.

Cf. Pali : *sīsaṃ nahātā* bathed in head ( Mahāparinibbāṇasutta 254 ).

19. In a few instances in the Brāhmaṇas we find the accusative used absolutely. This idiom was apparently an abortive one because there is no trace of it in later literature. This idiom is found sporadically in Avesta. In Greek it is a standing idiom.

*ṛtubhir hyeva garbhe santaṃ sampaśyanti* by seasons people compute ( the age of man ) whilst in the state of embryo ( ŚB. 7.4.2.31 ). *tasmād u putram akṛttanābhiṃ pañca brāhmaṇān anubrūyāt* therefore when a son is born, let him say to five Brāhmaṇas before the navel



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string has been cut ( ŚB. 11.8.3.6 ). *tam etasyām āsandyām āsīnaṃ viśve devā abruvan* when he was seated on the throne the all-gods said ( AB. 38.1.5 ). *atha vai paśum ālabhyamānaṃ puroḍāśo nirūpyate* during the offering of the victim a cake is offered ( KB. 10.5 ) ( In order to avoid this construction Linder proposes to read *anunirūpyate* ).

Cf. Av. : *anaēsém manō anaēsém vacō anaēsém śyaothném* ( Vend. 8. 100 ; cf. Reichelt, Awestisches Elementarbuch, p. 230 ).

(1) Incipient accusative absolute : *devān ha vai yajñena yajamānāṃs tān asurarakṣāṃsi rarakṣuḥ* when the gods were engaged in sacrifice the A. and the R. forbode them ( ŚB. 1.1.1.16 ) ; here if *tān* be omitted the construction would become perfectly normal. *nainam anyatra carantam abhyastam iyāt* the sun should not set when he would be wandering elsewhere ( ŚB. 3.2.2.27 ) ; here *abhi* serves as the connecting link with the normal use. *yasyāgnim anuddhṛtam ādityo 'bhyudiyād vāstam iyāt* if the Sun rises or sets before one's fire is taken out (AB.). *tān dīkṣitāṃs tepānān uṣāḥ prājāpatyāpsarorūpaṃ kṛtvā purastāt pratyudait* when they had consecrated themselves and had acquired fervour, Uṣas, offspring of P., taking the form of an *apsaras* came in front of them ( KB. 6.1 ).

Cf. οἱ δ'οὐ βοηθήσαντες δέον ὑγιεῖς ἀπῆλθου and did those who brought no aid when it was needed escape safe and sound. εὖ δὲ παρασχόν and when a good opportunity offered. τυχόν by chance, i. e., it having happened.

20. In a few instanees in AB. and KB. the accusative has been used in apposition to the sentence, no doubt being attracted by the other accusatives in the sentence : *kṣatrāyaiva tad viśam pratyudyāminīṃ kuryuḥ, pāpavasyasam*, they should then make the *kṣatra* hostile to the *viś*,-( this is ) sinful ( AB. 29. 5. 8. ).

*tasmān madhyaṃdine madhyaṃdina eva grāvṇo 'bhiṣṭuvanti tadanukṛti*, whence the pressing stones are praised in analogy ( AB. 26.1.2, cf. AB. 26.1.4 ).

*tayā mahānagnyā bhūtayā somaṃ rājānam akrīṇaṃs tām anukṛtim askannāṃ vatsatarīm ājanti somakrayaṇīm*, with her becoming a beautiful woman they brought Soma the king ; in analogy to that they bring a young heifer wherewith to buy Soma (AB. 5.1.2). [ See Gaedicke, op. cit., p. 171 ].



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*tām anukṛtim manuṣyarathasya raśmī vihriyete,* in analogy to that the reins of the human chariot are held tight ( KB. 27.1 ).

*tasmād dvīṣam agnaya ādhānaṃ kurvanti tam idam anukṛtiṃ diṣamanaḥ kriyate* ( KB. 19.12 ).

21. The bulk of the prepositions governs the accusative. Prepositions merely emphasise or make clear the case meaning. These prepositions primarily bear the meaning of 'motion towards', and as such they rightly govern the accusative. [ AS. p. 182 ff ].

*ati* :

(1) beyond : *ati vai prajā ātmānam,* the self is beyond the progeny ( AB. 16.6.13 ). *na hi namaskāram ati devāḥ,* the gods are not above receiving homage ( KB. 13.1 ).

(2) exceeding : *anyat karma ati,* over and above another rite ( ŚB. 6.6.1.1 ).

(3) through : *yatra vai somam aty apavata* when it flowed through Soma ( ŚB. 5.3.5.3 ).

(4) against : *ati didyūn pāhi* guard ( him ) against darts ( ŚB. 5.4.2.2. ).

*accha* :

towards : *yatra vai gāyatrī somam acchāpatat* where Gāyatrī flew towards Soma ( ŚB. 13.2.5.2 ).

*adhi* :

on, in : *kṛṣṇājinam adhi dīkṣante,* they are on the black antelope skin ( ŚB. 1.1.4.3 ). *enān adhi ca tiṣṭhati,* consecrated he stands over, i. e., masters them ( AB. 16.3.4 ).

*anu* :

(1) after : *agnim anu prūcyavata,* it followed after Agni ( AB. 4. 3.4 ). Cf. *saṁdeśaṃ me tad anu jalada śroṣyasi śrotrapeyam* ( Megh. 1.13 ).

(2) manner : *etām eva devānāṃ vihitim anu,* in accordance with this procedure of the gods ( AB. 38.3.2 ). *prajāpatiṃ vai prajā anu prājāyanta* the creatures were fashioned after Prajāpati (AB. 24.5.14) *tam anu nyāyam anvavāyan* according to that rule they did proceed ( AB. 15.1.1 ).



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(3) correspondence : *kṣatraṃ vai anv aśvaḥ*, the horse corresponds to the Kṣatra ( ŚB. 6.4.4.12 ).

(4) on, at, along : *drapsaś caskanda pṛthivīm anu*, the drop has fallen on the earth ( TS. 4.2.8 f.). *yamunām anu*, along the Yamunā ( AB. 39.9.5 ).

(5) through : *ito 'surān rātrīm anv aveṣyāvaḥ*, we two shall seek the Asuras through the night ( AB. 16.5.1 ).

Cf. *tasmād gacher anu kanakhalaṃ śailarājāvatīrṇām* ( Megh. 1. 50 ). Cf. Pali : *anu divasaṃ* ( Girnar I. 8 ); *anu cātunmāsaṃ* ( Dhauli sep. II. 10 ). Cf. Av. : *hvām anu ushtīm zaoŝémca* ( Vend. 2.11 ).

(6) for : *asmākaṃ vipremāṇam anv idam asurā ābhaviṣyanti*, through our disagreement the Asuras will wax great here ( AB. 4.7.4 ).

*apa* :

(1) without : *iyam apa dīkṣām ayaṣṭa*, she has worshipped without consecration ( MB. 1.2.5 ).

(2) from : *apa svargaṃ lokaṃ rādhnoti*, he fails to reach heaven ( ŚB. 13.2.5.2 ).

[ The compound verb *aparādh* in classical Sanskrit generally means 'to miss', 'to fail', then it took the signification 'to offend', e. g. *na dūye sātvatīsūnur yan mahyam aparādhyati*, I do not mind that the son of Sātvatī offends me ( Śiśupālavadha ) ].

*abhi* :

(1) towards : *mukham abhi pratyāharat*, carried to the beginning AB. 12.2.2 ).

(2) for : *sarvaṃ vā eṣa abhi dīkṣante*, he consecrates himself for the sake of the All ( ŚB. 3.6.3.1 ).

*dviṣantaṃ bhrātṛbhyam abhyatiricyate*, ( which ) is left over for the spiteful rival ( ŚB.).

(3) regard to : *prajāpatim abhyanūktam*, it is said with regard to Prajāpati ( ŚB. 2.5.1.5 ).

(4) on, at : *so' po' bhyāmriyata*, he died upon the water ( TS. 6. 1.1). *enam abhi juhoti*, he offers thereon (ŚB. 7.2.3.4). *dve madhyam-*



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*dinam abhi prayetoḥ*, the two are liable to be performed at the midday ( AB. 30.4.7 ).

(5) above : *abhi yaḥ pūruṃ pṛtanāsu tasthau*, he who overcame Pūru in battle ( TS. 4.2.3 ).

*ā* :

*devāḥ sutam ā babhūvuḥ*, the gods mastered the pressed ( juice ) ( TS. 4.1.2 ).

*upa* :

(1) to : *upainaṃ sahasraṃ namati*, a thousand come to him ( AB. 22.9.9 ).

(2) on : *cātvālād dhiṣṇiyām upa vapati*, from the pit he scatters ( earth ) on the altars ( TS. 6.3.1 ).

Cf. Av. : *yōi hištenti akarō upa Xvaréntém* ( Vend. 13.28 ) ; *upa uštaoṅhem upa-zbayat* | *ārdvīm sūrām anāhitam* ( Yt. 5. 62 ). Cf. Gk. : ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω at the day break ; ὑπὸ τὴν νύχτα at night fall.

*pari* :

round : *paryenaṃ dviṣanto bhrātṛvyā mriyante*, his spiteful enemies perish round him ( AB. 40.5.1 ). *parīmaṃ yajamānaṃ rāyo manuṣyāṇām*, may riches enfold this sacrificer among men ( ŚB. 3.7.1.21 ). Cf. in Av. the use of *pairi* ( Vend. 20.4 ; Ys. 15.15 ).

*puras* :

in front : *asadan mātaraṃ puraḥ*, he has settled before the mother ( VS. 3.6 ; ŚB. 2.1.4.29 ).

*prati* :

(1) in the case of : *tad ṛṣīn prati bhastrāyai yajūṃṣi āsuḥ*, in the case of the Ṛṣis the Yajuṣ texts applied to leathern bag ( ŚB. 1.1.2.7 ). Cf. *śapantaṃ prati vijñaptaḥ* informed regarding the cursing one (Kathāsaritsāgara 2.20) ; *virakto jīvitam prati* disgusted with life ( ibid. 6.78 ).

(2) share : *sarvāṇi eṣa savanāni prati*, that belongs to all Soma feasts ( ŚB. 4.2.2.10 ).

(3) equality : *sarvān vanaspatīn prati pacyate*, it matures (fruit) equal to all the ( other ) trees ( ŚB. 6.6.3.3 ).

*sarvāṇi vā eṣa rūpāṇi paśūnām praty ā labhyate*, this ( animal ) is slain to make up all forms of animals ( TS. 5 5.1 ).



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(4) match : *yat sarveṣām ardham indraḥ prati*, since Indra is half of all and a match ( TS. 5.4.8 ) *śataṃ śataṃ ha sma vā eṣa devān prati* every one of these stalks swells to fill a hundred ( or ten *ekadhana* ) cups for the several gods ( ŚB. 3.4.3.18 ).

(5) at, on : *kārcyavam prati yamunām avabhṛtham abhyavayanti*, they go to bathe in the Yamunā at Kāracyava ( PB. 25.10.23 ).

*yathā tat prati puruṣaśīrṣam upadadhyāt*, so that thereon he may place the human head ( ŚB. 7.1.1.44 ).

*madhyaṃ prati paśur variṣṭhaḥ*, an animal is biggest towards the middle ( ŚB. 8.3.2.12 ).

*sa ya uttamaḥ paśur āsīt taṃ pṛṣṭhaṃ prati saṁgṛhyodakkhidat*, the topmost cattle he grasped by the back and pulled out ( TS. 2. 1.5 ). *uro vai prati pṛṣṭhayaḥ*, the ribs lie against the chest ( ŚB. 8. 6.2.7 ).

*sahasraṃ vai prati puruṣaḥ paśūnāṃ yacchati*, the man accords a thousand of cattle ( TS. 5.2.9 ).

(6) against : *sam prati diśo' bhyanūcyante*, ( these bricks ) are defined as exactly opposite the quarters ( ŚB. 8.1.4.2 ).

Cf. Pali : *paṭi visiṭṭham* ( Delhi Edict VIII. 5 ). In Av. *paiti* with the accusative is very frequent.

*vinā* :

It has been found only once, and that in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa : *tān prādeśamātraṃ vinā parilikhati*, (he) draws their outlines saving the measure of a span ( ŚB. 3.5.4.5 ).

(A) 'Āmreḍita' (iterative) prepositions also govern the accusative ; ( vide the *kārikā* quoted by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita under P. 1.4.48 ).

*adho'dha*s 'close under' :

*adho'dhaḥ kṛṣṇājinam*, right under the black antelope skin ( ŚB. 1.9.2.35 ).

[ Note. Sometimes the genitive also appears with this preposition, e. g. *havirdhānasyaiṣa adho'dhaḥ*, just beneath the cart ( ŚB. 3.2.1.29 )].

*uparyupari* 'close above':

*uparyuparyakṣam*, just above the axle ( PB. 6.5.14 ). *dakṣiṇāṃ bhruvam uparyupari lalāṭam upaspṛśati*, ( he ) touches the forehead close over the right eyebrow ( ŚB. 3.2.1.29 ).



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22. A number of adverbs, all stereotyped case-forms, govern the accusative.

(1) Accusative adverb :

*samantam* 'all round' : *samantaṃ nābhīṃ paryaknaḥ,* ( is ) turned all round the navel ( ŚB. 8.1.3.10 ). In cl. Skt. the ablative form *samantāt* occurs.

(2) Instrumental adverbs : these are by far the most numerous ones.

*agreṇa* 'in front of' : *etyagreṇa gārhapatyam,* comes in front of the 'gārhapatya' fire ( ŚB. 3.1.3.38 ).

*antareṇa* 'between' : *imā evāntareṇa,* between these two ( ŚB. 2. 3.4.16 ). Cf. Pali : *antareṇa yamakasālānam,* between the two 'sāla' trees ( Mahāparinibbana 237 ).

*avareṇa* 'inferior' : *avareṇa vai devān kāvyāḥ,* the sages are inferior to the gods ( AB. 13.13.11 ).

*uttareṇa* 'towards the north' : *uttareṇa sālām pariśrayanti,* they stand on the north of the hall ( ŚB. 3.1.2.2 ). Cf. *tatrāgūraṃ dhanapatigṛhān uttareṇāsmadīyam* ( Megh 2.14 ).

*dakṣiṇena* 'towards the south' : *dakṣiṇenāhavanīyam,* south of the Āhavanīya fire ( ŚB. 3.2.1.1 ).

*jaghanena* 'behind' : *jaghanena patnīm eti,* he walks behind the wife ( ŚB. 1.9.2.3 ).

*pareṇa* : 'above, beyond' : *kavyāḥ.....pareṇa pitṝn,* the sages are above the fathers ( AB. 13.13.11 ).

*pūrveṇa* 'towards the east, in the front of' : *pūrveṇa gārhapatyam,* on the east of the 'gārhapatya' fire ( ŚB. 1.9.2.4 ).

[ Note. In classical Sanskrit the genitive also appears with the *-ena* forms, Vide P. 2.3.31 ].

*antarā* 'between' : *antaremān lokān,* between these worlds ( AB. 13.4.4 ). *antarā pūrvam aparaṃ ca ketum,* between the front and the back lights (ŚB. 9.2.3.17 ). Cf. Av.: *nisāim yim antare mōurumca būxdhīmca* N. between M. and B. ( Vend. 1,8 ).

*samayā* 'over, near' : *sa ..... āddhyā jalpan kurukṣetraṃ samayā caccāra,* walking with sorrow he wandered all over Kurukṣetra ( ŚB. 11.5.1.4 ).



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(3) Ablative adverb:

*paścāt* 'behind' : *tām paścāt*, from behind it ( AB. 37.2.1 ).

Cf. Av. *pasca hū frāšmo- dāitīm*, after the setting of the Sun ( Y. 57. 16 ). In Av. the variants *paskāt*, *pascaēta* and *pasnē* also govern the accusative ( Yt. 5.108, 8.39 ; Vend. 7.2, 7.48 ).

(4) Locative adverbs :

*abhīke* 'around' : *tān abhīke 'bhyāvarṣat*, it rained around them ( PB. 15.9.9 ).

*ṛte* 'without' : *na hyarte vācaḥ pavate dhāma kiṃ cana*, for not without speech is any form made pure ( KB. 2. 7 ).

(5) Derivatives ending in *-tas : tasmād ime'bhito nāsikāṃ cakṣuṣī* whence the two eyes are on both sides of the nose ( ŚB.4.2.1.25 ). *ātmānam abhitaḥ*, on all sides of the self ( KB. 16.10 ). *etad vai puruṣaṃ paritaḥ*, this is on all sides of man ( TS. 3.3.5 ). Cf. Av. *yim aiwito mazdayasna histenti baresmo-zasta* ( Yt. 5.98 ).

23. Adverbial accusative.

In all the Indo-European languages the accusative is employed in the function of the adverb. With the transitive verbs what was originally an attribute of the object was subsequently transferred to the verb, e. g. *tāṃ saṁtatāṃ juhoti*, offers it continuously ( ŚB. 6.3.1.5 )=*tāṃ santataṃ juhoti*. With intransitive verbs the adverb was derived generally from the cognate accusative or the accusative of goal transferred from the subject to the adverb ; e. g. *yathā vahīyasā pratisāraṃ vahanti*, ( it is ) as when men go pushing on with a strong ( team ) ( TS. 7.2.8 ) ; *yathā stenas taskaraḥ pralāyam eti*, even as a thief or robber remains concealed ( ŚB. 7.2.1.9 ); *prajavaṃ vā etena yanti*, they go swiftly in that ( TS. 7.3.1.x ). Of the last sentence, the earlier form should be *prajavā vā etena yanti*.

(A) Verbal Derivatives.

(i) With the suffix *-a* : in origin it was only a kind of the cognate accusative.

(a) Etymological ( Vide P. 3. 4. 34-46 ; AS. p. 168 ).

*tat sarveṇaiva taṃ kāmam anaparādhaṃ rādhnoti*, in all he unfailingly obtains that desire ( ŚB. 1.3.5.10 ). *suguptaṃ gopāyati*,



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keeps well-concealed ( ŚB. 1.1.2.23 ). *sumārtsnaṃ vikṛṣanti*, plough very fine ( ŚB. 6.1.3.4 ). *kathaṃ nvenān anapajayyaṃ jayema*, how shall we conquer them unassailably ? ( ŚB. 1.2.4.9 ). *sahasrapoṣaṃ puṣeyam*, may I increase with a thousand-fold increase (ŚB.3.3.3.8). *sudhāyaṃ ha vājī suhito dadhāti*, a horse well-loaded carries well ( TS. 5.5.10 ). *tān asambhāryam parābhāvayat* ; them he defeated invincibly ( AB. 14.1.2 ).

(b) Non-etymological : ( Vide P. 3.4.26–33, 47–64 ; AS. p. 169 ).

*yathā stenas taskaraḥ pralāyam eti*, even as a thief or robber remains concealed ( ŚB. 7.2.1.9 ). *apratīkṣam āyanti*, (they) go back without looking back ( ŚB. 7.2.1.17 ). *nāmagrāham evāinā upadadhāti*, places her uttering ( her ) name ( ŚB. 8.3.1.4 ). *tāsām ekaikaṃ pādam avagrāhaṃ śaṃsati* each quarter-verse of these he recites taking it separately ( KB. 15.3 ). *tā yad evaṃ vyatīhāram upadadhāti*, because he lays them down in hanging them ( ŚB. 8. 4.4.3 ). *ṛtvijaḥ sampradāyaṃ caranti*, the priests carry on the tradition ( ŚB. 1.5.2.7 ). *punarādāyaṃ śasyate*, it is recited repeatedly ( AB. 12.6.3 ) *udācaṃ nyācaṃ mimīte*, he metes out while bending down ( the fingers ) ( ŚB. 3.3.2.14 ). *sarvataḥ parihāraṃ bhakṣayati*, in drinking it he turns ( the cup ) all round ( ŚB. 4.1.5.1 ) *viparyāsaṃ vadati*, speaks differently (ŚB. 4.2.2.9). *imāḥ prajāḥ punarabhyāvartaṃ prajāyante*, these creatures are born again and again ( ŚB. 4.2.5.8 ). *tān sarvān anantarāyaṃ prīṇāti*, he pleases them uninterruptedly ( AB. 13.13.14 ). *yad dhiraṇyaṃ ghṛte' bhyāvartaṃ juhoti*, because he offers the gold, placing it on the ghee ( TS. 6. 1.7 ). *udgrābhaṃ ca nigrābhaṃ ca brahma devā avīvṛdhan* (TS. 1.1.13). *kikkiṭākāraṃ juhoti*, he offers with the sound 'kikkiṭā' ( T. S. 3.4.2 ). *anutsāram . . . . āyan*, they followed him creeping after (AB. 15.1.7). *nāśnīyād yāvajjīvam*, should not eat ( his ) life long ( ŚB. 5.2.2.4 ). *upanivartam iva vai paśavaḥ sauyavase ramante*, cattle ending as it were rejoice in the good grass (KB. 11.5). *atha kasmāt punarādāyaṃ kakupkāraṃ śasyate* then why are they recited repeating them and making them into Kakubh verse ( KB. 15.2 ).

(ii) With the past participle in *-ta*.

*praklptaṃ haivāsya strīr vijāyate*, his wife bears ( child ) without any difficulty ( ŚB. 1.3.3.6 ). *niruktam eva vāg vadet*, speech shall speak distinctly ( ŚB. 4.1.3.12 ).



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*prasiddham evādhvaryur dakṣiṇena prapadyate*, therefore in order the Adhvaryu sets out by the southern ( door ) ( TS. 6.5.3 ).

(iii) With the suffix *-na* :

*anatidṛśnaṃ stṛṇāti*, he strews it so as not to be very discernible ( TS. 2.6.5 ).

(B) Nominal derivatives—adjectival forms.

(a) *-tara* comparatives, in feminine accusative singular. These feminine forms scarcely appear in the earliest Veda. But in classical Sanskrit it is a constant idiom, as the petrified forms like *sutarām*, *nitarām* and verbal forms like *pacatitarām* etc. show. It is probable that the feminine forms are used in order to distinguish them from the ordinary comparative forms.

Examples :

*atitarāṃ ha vā itarasmād agnes tapati*, it burns brighter than the other fire ( ŚB. 1.4.3.1 ). *nitarām* lower down ( KB. 15.4 ) ; etc.

*pratitarām iva vayāṃsi bhavanti*, birds retire more and more ( ŚB. 1.6.4.5 ). *yadābhitarām eti*, when it comes still further forward ( AB. 14.6.5 ).

*ya eṣām parastarām iva bhavati*, if any of them be far away ( ŚB. 3.4.2.3 ).

*natarām* ( AB. 19.3.3 ). *uccaistarām, śanaistarām* ( AB. 11.7.10-11; I5.1.6 ). *nīcaistarām* ( AB. 12.13.6 ).

(b) *-iṣṭha* superlatives. It is analogous to the ordinary adverbial use of the adjective. See *infra*.

*baliṣṭhaṃ tapati*, burns mightily ( ŚB. 4.3.1.15 ).

(c) *-tama* superlatives : *atha baliṣṭhatamaṃ tapati*, gives strongest heat ( AB. 14.6.5 ). *tasmād ·u strī pumāṃsaṃ hvayata evottamam*, hence the woman calls the man at last ( ŚB. 3.2.1.21 ).

In the feminine accusative singular form :

*etau vai prajāpateḥ pratyakṣatamām*, they two are most distinctly Prajāpati's own ( ŚB. 4.2.1.26 ).

Once the masculine ablative singular form is found.

*eṣa ha vā asya chandaḥsu pratyakṣatamād iva rūpam*, this is the most manifest form of his ( AB. 18.6 ).



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*so' je jyoktamām ivāramata*, he delighted in the goat for the longest time ( AB 6.8.4 ). *pratarām iva kriyante* ( AB. 15.3.6 ).

(C) All adjectives can be used adverbially.

*bahu hi vācā ghoraṃ nigacchati*, frequently one has to suffer for ( one's ) speech ( ŚB. ).

(D) In the Brāhmaṇas the pronouns *tad* and *idam* are frequently used in the adverbial sense.

*saṃvatsaro vā idaṃ eka āsīt*, the year was alone in the world ( TS. 7.1.10 ).

(E) Prepositional adverb.

*sampratyeva yajñena yajate*, he sacrifices with the correct sacrifice ( TS. 7.1.10 ).

(F) Compound adverbs.

(a) Avyayībhāva compounds.

*yānyasya adhyātmam aṅgāni viṣamāni*, whatever unequal limbs there are in his body ( ŚB. 6.2.1.34 ). *adhināKam uttamam*, beyond the highest firmament ( ŚB. 9.4.4.3 ).

*atisaṁdhaṃ vā ayaṃ carati*, he commits a sin ( ŚB. 1.7.4.3 ).

*abhipūrvam*, in order ( TS. 2.1.4; 7.4.1 etc.).

*āprāvṛṣam*, until the rainy season ( ŚB. 5.5.2.3 ).

*ājarasam*, up to the old age ( ŚB. 1,6.3.41 ).

*āntam*, from end to end ( ŚB. 7.3.1.3 ).

*pratīpaṃ yanti*, go against the stream ( PB. 25.10.12 ). *pratīpaṃ syandante*, flow against the stream ( ŚB. 5.3.4.8 ). *tasmād u stry anurātraṃ patyāvicchate*, whence the wife desires ( her ) husband every night ( AB. 12.11.1 ).

*athaiṣa pratyakṣaṃ yajño yad āhutiḥ*, but a libation is a direct ( form of ) sacrifice ( ŚB. 3.1.4.1 ).

*sa pratyakṣaṃ devebhyo bhāgam avadat*, he promised openly the share to the gods ( TS. 2.5.1 ).

*parobāhu pragṛhṇāti*, holds it up so as to be beyond the reach of his arms ( ŚB. 6.7.3.2 ).

*tam uparināBhi bibharti*, ( ŚB. 6.7.1.9 ) carries him over the navel.

*te ha tad antarvedy āsāñcakrire*, they sat within the enclosure ( AB. 35.1.1 ).



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*vahiṣparidhi skandati*, what is spilled outside the enclosure (ŚB. 1.3.3.16). *vahirvedi eti*, goes outside the enclosure (ŚB. 7.5.2.38).

*tasmād yathartu vāyuḥ pavate*, hence wind blows in due season (PB. 10.9.2).

*yathāpūrvam*, in order (TS, 7.2.7, ŚB. 6.2.1.13).
*yathāśreṣṭham*, according to their excellence (ŚB. 6.2.1.18).
*yathārūpam*, according to form (ŚB. 6.2.1.19).
*yathāprabhōvam*, as far as in their power (ŚB. 4.5.10.7).
*yathāyatanam* (TS. 7.5.6).
*yathālokam* (AB. 14.4.2).

*tad ālambhaṃ pārijūnataṃ paścādakṣaṃ śayānam etam āgāṃ gāyantam ajānāt*, A. P. lying behind the axle..... (PB. 13.10.8).

(b) Copulative compounds :

*dvandvam indreṇa devatāḥ śasyante*, jointly with Indra the deities are celebrated (AB. 15.6.4). *etābhir vai ādityā dvandvam ārdhnuvan mitraś ca varuṇaś ca* ..... with these the Ādityas prospered in pairs, Mitra with Varuṇa etc. (PB. 24.12.4). *sāyam-prātar agnihotraṃ juhvati* (AB. 14.2.3).

*dvandvam pātrāṇi udāharanti*, (they) bring vessels in pairs (ŚB. 1. 1.1.22). *tair ahaṃ manovācaṃ prasīdāmi*, I am fond of them at heart (PB. 1. 3. 4). *so'yaṃ parovaraṃ yajño 'nucyate pitaiva putrāya brahmacāriṇe*, this same sacrifice is taught by the former to the latter, father to his son, when he is a student (ŚB. 1.6.2.4).

(c) Other compounds :

*iṣumātram eva tiryaṅ vardhate*, grows an arrow's length sideways (SB. 1.6.3.11). *sa iṣumātram iṣumātraṃ viṣvaṅṅ avardhata*, he grew arrow's lengths on all sides (TS. 2.4.12).

*duṣṭarītur ha pauṃsāyano daśapuruṣaṃ rājyād aparuddha āsa*, now D. P. had been expelled from the kingdom which had come down to him through ten generations (ŚB. 12.9.3.1).

24. Accusative with Interjections : *ed* and *dhik*. [AS. p. 184].

(1) The interjection *et*, governing the accusative, occurs only in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. It appears once in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa in the form *ait*. Both these are *saṃdhi*-forms of the particles *ā* and *it* or *id*.



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*ait : te' bhitaḥ paricaranta ait paśum eva nirantraṃ śayānam*, walking hither and thither ; lo ! the victim was lying disembowelled ( AB.).

*ed : te kiṃ prarocate kiṃ prarocata iti cerur et puroḍāśam eva kūrmaṃ bhūtvā sarpantam*, they walked ( saying ), "what shines, what shines "; lo ! the sacrificial cake which had become a tortoise and was creeping about ( ŚB. 1.6.2.3 ).

*tāny uhāgnir nicakame, taiḥ saṃgṛhyaṛtūn praviveśa punar ema iti devā ed agniṃ tirobhūtam*. them Agni coveted and seizing them he entered the seasons ; " we shall come again ", ( said ) the gods ; lo ! Agni ( had ) disappeared ( ŚB. 2.2.3.3 ; cf 2.3.4.2 ). *te stutvā prāñca uccakramuḥ punar ema iti devā ed gāṃ saṃbhūtāṃ, sā hainam udikṣya hiṃ cakāra*, the gods leaped eastwards, ( saying ) "we shall come again" ; lo ! the cow ( had ) appeared ;..... ( ŚB. 2.2.4.12 ).

*iyāya vāyur ed dhataṃ vṛtraṃ sa uvāca hato vṛtraḥ*, Vāyu came ; lo ! Vṛtra was dead ; he said " Vṛtra is killed " ( ŚB. 4.1.2.4 ).

*tato ha iyaṃ tirobabhūva punar emi iti et tirobhūtām*, then she disappeared ; ' I am coming back ' ( she said ) ; lo ! ( she had ) disappeared ( ŚB. 11.5.1.4 ).

(2) The interjection *dhik* 'fie' is extremely rare in Vedic. It has been once noted and that in the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, though in Classical Sanskrit it is anything but rare.

*dhik tvā jālma astu*, fie on thee O fool ( 30.5 ).

Probably this interjection is derived from *dah* to burn. In that case the accusative would really be the objective.

[ In Cl. Skt. this interjection has once been used with the nominative : *āye duḥkhaṃ vyaye duḥkhaṃ dhig arthāḥ kaṣṭa-saṃśrayāḥ* ( Pañc. ) ].

In Pali also it is construed with the accusative : *dhiratthu taṃ janapadam*, fie on that place ( J. 1.155 ).

(3) In the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, the onomatopoetic word *kikkiṭā* once appears to govern a noun in the accusative case :—

*kikkiṭā te vācaṃ, sarasvatyai svāhā*, ' kikkiṭā ' thy speech to Sarasvatī hail ( 3.4.7 ).

25. Elliptic Construction.

The object of the transitive verb is occasionally omitted.



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*apigṛhya smayate*, laughs covering (his nose) ( TS. 6.1.3 ). Here the object, *nāsikām*, of the verb '*apigṛhya*' is unexpressed.

*ya upahatāya vyāha*, if one points out ( an error ) to one who comes to grief ( TS. 7.3.1 ).

Sometimes the object unexpressed is to be gathered from the context : *ṛtam amīṣva yathā samāvacchaupaiṣyāmy atha te punar dāsyāmi*, swear on oath that I will equally associate ( with them ) ; then will I give them back to you ( TS. 2.3.5 ).

The verb *jñā* with *prati* or *sam* or both, often drops the accusative or the complement ( P. 2.3.22 ). *prati tvā parvatī vettv iti prati hi svaḥ saṃ jānīte*, let Parvatī recognise thee ; one recognises ( his kins ) ( ŚB. 1.2.1.17 ). *tasmāt palitau jamadagniyau na saṃ jānīte* accordingly the two grey-haired descendants of Jamadagni are not seen ( as such ) ( TS. 7.1.9 ). Cf. *nāmnā ced abhivadato 'nyonyaṃ sam eva jānāte*, when mentioned by name one recognises another ( ŚB. 13.1.6.1 ).

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## Instrumental.

1. The instrumental is pre-eminently the comitative or the sociative case. Some philologists hold that in the I.-E. Ursprache there were two distinct cases, the sociative and the instrumental, which subsequently coallesced. There is no special reason to hold this view as all the different uses of the instrumental bear distinct traces of mutual affinity.

The instrumental may be associated either with the subject or with the predicate. The latter is the more primitive one.

[In Greek the instrumental disappeared and its functions were taken over by the dative.]

2. The following are the typical uses of the instrumental :

I. Sociative : (a) person ; (b) circumstance.
II. Instrumental of likeness and equality.
III. Instrumental of means ( *karaṇa* ).
IV. Causal instrumental.
V. Spatial instrumental.
VI. Temporal instrumental.



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VII. Instrumental with verbs (and cognate instrumental).
VIII. Instrumental with
(a) nouns,
(b) other derivatives and compounds,
(c) adjectives,
(d) adverbs,
IX. Instrumental with prepositions.
X. Adverbial instrumental.
XI. Instrumental absolute.

3. There is very little of the overlapping of the instrumental with other cases. But the following points call for notice.

(a) Instrumental with verbs of separation ( e. g. *yathā surā pūyamānā balkasena vivicyate*, as the liquor, whilst being purified is cleared of impure matter ; ŚB. 12.8.1.16 ) is distinguished from the separative ablative in this that the former case is available where there is physical connection or close association, that is, where the under-lying unity, or very close proximity is thought of, but in the latter case there is no such implication, and mere separation is indicated. The following verse from the Manusaṁhitā will well illuminate this point : *mahato'pyenaso māsāt tvacevāhir vimucyate*, after a month he is released from a great sin like a snake from its skin ( 2. 79 ).

Here *ahi* and *tvac* are physically connected hence the instrumental ; but *enas* is not so with man, hence the ablative.

(b) The instrumental of space and time, and the accusative of space and time. See *infra*.

(c) The instrumental of purpose and dative of purpose. See *infra*.

(d) Causal instrumental and causal ablative. See under the Ablative (*infra*).

4. The sociative instrumental.

This is an important function of the instrumental. Most of the other uses of this case have developed from the sociative use. Some of the older scholars were of opinion that in the early Indo-European, there was a distinct sociative case which subsequently fell together with the instrumental case. But this



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hypothesis is untenable inasmuch as there is no sharp distinction between the two and the first can very well be a development of the second or *vice-versa*. Accordingly this view is not now generally accepted.

(a) With persons :

Attached to the subject : *aśnute prajayānnādyam*, he attains with his offspring proper food ( AB. 32.11.6 ). *śaryāto ha grāmeṇa cacāra*. Ś. moved about with his tribe ( ŚB. 4.1.5.2 ). *tair ahaṃ manovācaṃ prasīdāmi* together with them I sit glad in mind and speech ( PB. 1.3.4 ). *somo rudrair vyadravan*, S. ran away with the Rudras ( ŚB. 3.4.2.1 ). *te hāneṇa sarveṇa sarpanti*, they glide along with everything here ( ŚB. 7.4.1.25 ). *mā sarveṇābhinivartasva*, with all this return to me ( ŚB. 6.8.2.6 ). cf. Av. : *yatca idha narō hāmodaēna jasan brāthra vā haxaya vā* ( Vend. 4.44 ).

Attached to the predicate : *tān agnir vasubhiḥ prātaḥsavanād anudata*, them with Vasus Agni excluded from the morning pressing ( AB. 13.6.2 ). *taṃ paśubhiś carantaṃ yajñavāstau rudra āgacchat*, R. approached him as he went about with his cattle in the place of sacrifice ( TS. 3.1.9 ).

(b) Thing :

*avasena vā adhvānaṃ yanti*, with provisions people undertake a journey ( ŚB. 3.6.2.17 ). *dhūmaḥ paramayā jūtyā balbalīti*, the smoke whirls upwards with the utmost speed ( ŚB. 2.3.2.12 ). *sṛṇyā upacaranti*, they approach ( it ) with a sickle ( ŚB. 7.2.2.5 ). *paśubhiśca dīkṣayā cāgacchat*, he returned with the animals and consecration ( TS. 6.1.6 ). *taṃ mantreṇa juhoti*, offers him with a *mantra* ( ŚB. 2.3.1.29 ). *brahmaṇā pacyante*, they are cooked with the prayer ( ŚB. 2.3.1.29 ).

(c) Circumstance :

The adverbial instrumental is developed from this construction and most of the instances quoted here bear an adverbial signification.

*vāsasā vā eṣo 'bhyaiti*, with fame he approaches ( AB. 8.8.4 ). *etena jyotiṣā yanti*, they walk with that light ( ŚB. 4.3.4.16 ). *tat satyenaiva hūyate*, this offering is made with the truth (ŚB. 2.3.1.30). *sarveṇaivātmanā yajñaṃ sambhavati* with his whole self he prepares

( *To be Continued* )



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the sacrifice ( ŚB. 3.8.1.2 ). *dhruveṇa manasā vācā somam avanayāmi*, Soma I pour out with firm mind and speech ( ŚB. 4.2.4.23 ). *tam manasopatiṣṭheta*, in his mind he tarries near it ( ŚB. 2.3.2.4 ). *yathā gṛhān itaṃ karmaṇānusamiyāt*, as one may attend upon one come to his house with due performance ( AB. 9.7.6 ). *tasmāt tāny araṇyāni santy anaraṇyāni mṛgaiś ca pakṣibhiś ca*, therefore these being wasted lands seem not to be so by reason of the beasts and birds ( AB. 13.7.2 ) [ *vayobhiś ca*--Aufrecht ].

*tvam asmākaṃ nāmnā dyāṃ gaccha*, with our name go to the sky ( AB. 24.6.13 ). *āyuṣā nāmnaihi*, come with the name of Āyus ( TS. 1.2.12 ). *āyunā nāmnaihi*, go with the name of Āyu ( ŚB. 3.5. 1.32 ). *dhruvāsi ghṛtācī nāmnā*, fixed thou art, Ghṛtācī by name ( TS. 1.1.11 ).

(1) The instrumental of likeness, identity or equality.

A few steps from the sociative lead to the instrumental of likeness or identity. Pāṇini includes this as a principal type of the instrumental.

( Pāṇini's aphorism : *itthambhūtalakṣaṇe* 2.3.21. Kāśikā's exposition : "to name the *lakṣaṇa* or mark, which makes known some body or something as possessing such quality, property, nature etc." ).

*indraḥ puruṣarūpeṇa paryetyovāca*. to him Indra came in human form and said ( AB. 33.3.5 ). *so'gninā pṛthivīm mithunaṃ samabhavat*, in the form of Agni he entered into union with the earth ( ŚB. 6.1.2.1 ). *tenemāḥ prajā udareṇāvidhyat*, in that shape he affected these creatures in their belly ( ŚB. 1.6.3.17 ). *imām eva rasenānuvyakṣarat*, he flowed along this ( earth ) in the shape of life-sap ( ŚB. 6.1.2.29 ). *tenaitad rasenāpaḥ syandante*, it is as that very sap that those waters flow ( ŚB. 3.9.2.1 ).

Cf. *ka eṣa bhoḥ sūta naro' bhyupetaḥ keṣaiḥ sitair yaṣṭiviṣaktahastaḥ* ( Buddhacarita 3. 28ab ). Cf. Pali : *tatthekā yakkinī ajarūpeṇa vicarati* ( J. 1. p. 240 ). Cf. Av. : *thraētāonō mereghahe kehrpa kahrkāsahe*. Thraetaona in the shape of the bird K. ( Yt. 5.61).



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*sa brahmabandhavena jijyūṣitaḥ*, he is fain to live as a sort of Brahman (AB. 35.3.2). *sā virāḍ vikramyātiṣṭhad brahmaṇā deveṣv annenāsureṣu*, Virāṭ went away and remained as prayer with the gods and as food with the Asuras (TS. 7.3.9). *śatena hyeṣa pratanoti sahasreṇa virohati*, by the hundred (shoots) it spreads and by the thousand it branches out (ŚB. 7.4.2.15). *indraṃ svena rūpeṇa hvayati*, calls Indra in his own form (ŚB. 2.5.3.18). *brahmaṇo rūpeṇa brahma bhūtvā yajñam upāvartasva*, with the form of the holy power do thou approach the sacrifice (AB. 34.1.4). *iyam eva eṣā pṛthivī rūpeṇa*, this one (the lower mill stone) represents the earth (ŚB. 1.2.1.15); *eko hyevāyam pavate tad ekasyaiva rūpeṇa tasmād ekaṃ syāt*, for that blower (wind) is only one, and in accordance with his nature is this (Cleanser); hence it may consist of one (stalk) (ŚB. 3.1.3.19).

These cases are virtually predicative instrumentals. In some cases it is difficult to differentiate this from type (1).

Note also the following examples : *agnim padā praviśati* with one fourth part (he enters) the fire (ŚB. 11.3.3.3). *śarīraiḥ pratyupātiṣṭhanta*, they approached with their (bare) body (ŚB. 4.3.4.14).

Circumstances : *tasmād tāny araṇyāni santy anaraṇyāni mṛgaiś ca pakṣibhiś ca*, therefore these being wasted lands seem not to be so by reason of the beasts and birds (AB. 13.7.2); *pra prajayā paśubhir ajāyata*, he was propagated with offspring and cattle (AB.19.1.1). *pra prajayā paśubhir jāyate* (PB. 2.7.4); *pra prajayā paśubhir mithunair jāyate* (TS. 5.6.2). [See under the instrumental with verbs.]

[This instrumental of identity is not rare in the Epics and is also found in classical Sanskrit e. g., *kuśadvīpaṃ sa rājyena dadau*, he gave away the kingdom of Kuśadvīpa (Mbh. 13. 14. 84); *śivena dhyāhi mām*, think of me as Śiva (Mbh. 15. 3. 63). *uttasthau Karṇaṃ saināpatyena satkartum*, he stood up to honour Karṇa with the commandership (Mbh. 8.10.43); *yena krāntaṃ tribhuvanam idaṃ vāmanenāpi bhūtvā* (Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā)].

(2) Multiplicative use of the sociative instrumental.

*saptatā anuṣṭubhaḥ tās triḥ prathamayā trir uttamayā ekādaśa*



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*bhavanti*, these anuṣṭubhs are seven; they become eleven through the first and the last being repeated thrice ( AB. 10.5.10 ).

5. The instrumental of means or *karaṇa* (P.2.3.18) [AS. p. 126f].

There is no fundamental difference between the sociative and the *karaṇa* instrumental. The active is the helper or agent, and the passive is merely the instrument at the hand of the agent.

Examples :

Instrument : *tasmād brahmaṇo vāraṇena na pibet*, therefore a Brāhmaṇa should not drink from a ( pot ) made of Varaṇa ( PB. 5.3.11 ). *te sarve kuṇḍapāyinaḥ tsarukaiś camasair bhakṣayanti*, all these drinkers from earthern pot drink from *tsruka* vessels ( PB. 25.4.4 ). *areṇāreṇa hi rathaḥ pratitiṣṭhati*, a chariot stands on spokes ( PB. 7.7.13 ). *hiraṇyapātreṇa madhugrahaṃ gṛhṇāti*, draws the M. in a golden vessel ( ŚB. 5.1.2.19 ); *sa vai parṇaśākhayā vatsān apākaroti*, he drives away calves with the branch of a tree ( ŚB. 1.7.1.1 ). *paraśunā praharati*, smites with a battle axe ( ŚB. 1.7.1.10 ). *kaśayoprakṣipati*, urges with a whip ( ŚB. 1.4. 4.15 ). *te daṇḍair dhanubhir na vyajayanta*, they did not win with clubs and bows ( SB. 1.5.4.6 ). *yena vāhanena dhāvayet*, by whatever team he has himself driven ( ŚB. 1.8.2.9). *tīrthena hi prasnānti*, it is by means of a flight of steps that they enter the water for bath ( ŚB. 12.2.1.1 ).

Limb : *añjalinā pratigṛhṇāti*, takes with folded palms ( ŚB. 1.9. 3.6 ). *śirṣṇā vījaṃ haranti*, carries seed on his head ( ŚB. 3.3.17 ). *na sarvaiḥ padbiḥ pratitiṣṭhati*, does not stand on all its feet ( ŚB. 5.1.4.5 ). *abhinihitam eva savyena pāṇinā bhavati*, it is being held down with his left hand ( ŚB. 1.1.4.5 ). *śivena mā cakṣuṣā paśyata*, with eyes propitious regard me ; *śivena tanvā me tvacam upaspṛśata*, with body propitious touch my skin ( AB. 24.4 ). *vācā hīdaṃ sarvam manute*, by means of speech one thinks everything here ( ŚB. 8.1.2.7 ). *vācā śaṃsati*, voices ( it ) ( AB. 24.4 ).

Active agent : *devair devakṛtam eno' yāśiṣam*, by the help of gods we would nullify the offence done to the gods ( ŚB. 2.6.4.2 ). *yām mayā kāṃ cāśiṣam āśāsiṣyadhve*, whatever blessing you shall invoke



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through me ( ŚB. 3.5.1.22 ). *tad etena vṛṣṇāimām prajātim prajāyate*, that offspring they bring forth through that male ( ŚB. 1.7.2.11 ). *agne sugṛhapatis tvayāham bhūyāsam*, O Agni, through thee may I become a good householder ( ŚB. 1.9.3.19 ). *yuṣmābhir balena vṛtraṃ hanāni*, with you as force, may I kill Vṛtra ( ŚB. 4.3.3.7 ). *agninā vai hotrā devā asurān abhyabhavan* ( TS. 6.3.7 ). *idam eva prathamena padena paspāra*, by his first step he gained this (ŚB. 1.1.2.13). *yāvantam eva svayam manasā pṛthum manyeta*, whatever he should think with his mind to be broad ( ŚB. 1.2.2.10 ).

*śraddhayā satyena mithunena svargān lokān jayati*, by faith and truth as a pair he conquers the heavenly worlds ( AB. 32.9.4 ).

(1) To this class must be added the subject in the instrumental with the passive construction. Pāṇini too recognised this when he prescribed in the same aphorism the instrument and the subject in passive voice to be put in the instrumental—( '*kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*' 2.3.18.) Examples need not be adduced.

(2) In the following instance the instrumental has the sense of the locative ; *tasmād anyena pātreṇa paśūn duhanty anyena pratigṛhṇāti*, hence they milk the cattle in one pot and one takes ( it ) in another ( TB. 1.4.6 ).

6. The causal instrumental ( P. 2.3.23 ) [AS., p. 127 ].

As it should be, the causal instrumental can only be used with abstract nouns. The difference between the instrumental of means and that of cause is this. The instrumental of means, or *karaṇa*, goes with the verb while the causal instr. qualifies the whole statement or sentence. The subject depends upon the cause and the instrument or *karaṇa* depends upon the subject.

[ But in some cases the instrumental can be taken either way ; e. g. *śrameṇa ha sma devā jayanti*, the gods are victorious for (their) toil ( ŚB. 1.6.2.3 ). *tāḥ vīryeṇādhitiṣṭhati*, overcomes them with vigour ( AB. 40.3.3 ). *tān gāyatrī chando bhūtvā vayasāpnot*, Gāyatrī having become a metre, overtook them by vigour ( ŚB 1.3.4.1 ). *āyur yajñena kalpatām*, may the life prosper through sacrifice ( ŚB. 5.2.1.4 ). ]

Examples : *tasyā eva yūcanāyai dveṣeṇa devās tirobhūtāḥ*, being



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indignant at that importunity, the gods then disappeared (ŚB. 2.3.4.4). *ati śriyā bhrātṛvyaṃ ricyate*, excels his rival in fortune (PB. 12.13.2). *imāḥ prajā anāśakena notparābabhūvuḥ*, these creatures did not suffer from starvation (ŚB. 2.4.3.2). *anaśanatayā me prajā parābhavanti* (ŚB. 2.5.1.3). *sa bhīṣā ni lilye* he fled for fear (ŚB. 1.2.3.1). *stoko hyaptū rakṣobhyo bhīṣā*, the drop is nimble for the fear of Rakṣas (ŚB. 3.6.3.8). *tasmād bhīṣā prāblīyanta*, whence they shrunk for fear (ŚB. 3.7.3.2). *kāmena eva tad dadāti*, he gives it away with the hope (ŚB. 4.3.4.32). *kāmena hyālabhata*, it was with a desire that he slaughtered (them) (ŚB. 6.2.1.6). *ekaiko' paro jarasānupraiti*, each subsequent one of them dies of old age (ŚB. 13.8.3.1). *tato 'surā atimānenaiva ceruḥ*, then the Asuras roamed through arrogance (ŚB. 5.1.1.1). *yadi tvasmād apojjigāṃsed yajñena*, if one desires to refuse (to officiate at a sacrifice) on account of (another) sacrifice (AB. 30.8.5). *kṣipram enaṃ sa kāma upanamati yena yajate* (TB.3.1.4.15). *bhiyā eva śaṃsati*, he utters it out of fear (KB. 16.7).

*januṣā ekarcau bhavataḥ*, by nature they are of one *ṛc* each (PB. 11.5.12). *Aṅgiraso janmanāsi*, thou art of an A. by birth (AB. 33.5.3). *ghṛtācy asi juhūr nāmnā*, fond of butter thou art *juhū* by name (ŚB. 1.3.4.14). *dhruvāsi Ghṛtācī nāmnā*, fixed thou art, G. by name (TS. 1.1.11).

*trayīr u tu punar ṛcā*, three kinds according to the *ṛc* (ŚB.2.5.1.2). *bahu hi vācā ghoraṃ nigacchati*, by speech one gets into much terrible (trouble) (ŚB. 9.3.1.12).

*sā hi vahenāgneyī*, by her shoulder she is of Agni's nature (ŚB. 5.2.4.13). *dyaur iva bhūmnā*, like the sky in plenty (ŚB. 2.1.4.28). *aindro vai devatayā kṣatriyo bhavati*, K. has Indra for his deity, (AB. 34.5.1). *vaiṣṇavaṃ devatayā*, has Viṣṇu for his deity (ŚB. 3.5.3.2).

*yad evātra svapnena vā yena vā mithyā karma*, whatever mistake is committed here by sleep or by anything else (ŚB. 3.2.2.23). *vādyena vā karmaṇā mithyā karoti*, whatever mistake he commits by speech or by deed (ŚB. 2.3.4.18).

Pronoun : *etena satejasaḥ*, by that they are vigorous (ŚB. 1.3.4.1); *kena mad eṣa śreyān*, in what respect forsooth is that one



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better than I ? ( ŚB. 3.5.1.21 ); *kenāvam asarvau svaḥ*, in what respect are we two incomplete ? ( ŚB. 4.1.5.10 ).

Cf. Pali : *puriso ekena kammena janapadaṃ gato*, the man went to the town for some business (J. 1. p. 258). *mama vacanena bhagavato pāde sirasā vanda*, on my word touch the feet of the Master with thy head (Cullavagga 1.13.4 ); *raño dhaṃmacaraṇena bherighoṣo* the beating of drum on accoount of the king's performing *dhamma* ( Girnar IV. 3) ; *lipikārāparādhena* ( Girnar XIV. 6 ). In Pali, too, either the instr. or the abl. is available with a masc. or neut. abstract noun.

(2) The instrumental of deficiency or excess.

This idiom is derived from the causal instrumental. Such an instrumental is generally followed by an adjective ( See below ).

*anantā vā etā ya ekayā na catvāriṃśat*, infinite are they which are forty less by one ( i. e. thirtynine ) ( PB. 24.9.2 ). *yad dvābhyām ūnaṃ tad ūnam* what is defective in two is indeed defective (ŚB.11. 1.2.9 ). *tribhir akṣarair nyūnam*, less by three syllables ( AB. 15.28 ). *tenaiva sāhīnā bhavati*. thereby it does not become neglected ( AB. 10,4.6 ). In Cl. Skt. the ablative is also available here ; cf. *kāntodantaḥ suhṛdupanataḥ saṃgamāt kiṃcid ūnaḥ* ( Meghadūta 2.39 ).

*ekenātiriktāni*, excessive by one ( ŚB. 2.5.2.14). *yat pañcabhir atiriktaṃ tad atiriktam*, which exceeds by five is indeed excessive ( ŚB. 11.1.2.9 ). *taṃ indram bṛhad ekayā tanvā 'tyaricyata*, the ( Sāma ) Bṛhat excelled Indra with one body ( PB. 12.13.1 ).

(3) The Dative Instrumental.

The distinction between '*hetu*' ( cause ) and '*nimitta*' ( purpose or motive ) is often so subtle that the two are not infrequently confused. Hence we sometimes find an instrumental in the place of the dative ( Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita under P. 2.3.23, remarks " *phalam apīha hetuḥ*, in this rule, the object of an undertaking is also '*hetu*' e. g. *adhyayanena vasati*, resides for study " ).

*yadi mahasā yajeta*, if one sacrifices with ( a desire for ) abundance ( ŚB. 11.8.3.3 ). *yad udgātā audumbarīm prathamena karmaṇā anvārabhate*, when the Udgātṛ begins (to chant) the hymn U. for the first ritual ( PB. 6.4.1 ). *teṣāṃ rathantaraṃ mahimnā*



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*nāśaknod ulpatat*, of them R. could not rise up owing to weight (PB. 7.7.17).

*ṛtunā preṣya*, give directions for the seasons (TS. 6.5.3). [See Dative, *infra*].

7. The instrumental of space [AS., p. 128ff].

In the Brāhmaṇas the spatial instrumental is generally confirmed to the words *pathā* and *dvārā* or *dvāreṇa*. But in classical Sanskrit its scope is wider (P. 2.3,6). Logically this is connected with the instrumental of means. (See the temporal instrumental below).

*patho va eṣo'dhyapathenaiti*, he wanders from the path on a trackless way (TS. 2.2.2). *sarasvatyā yanti*, they go along the Sarasvatī (TS. 7.3.1). *yo vai prajavaṃ yatām apathena pratipadyāt*, he who, among men going swiftly, falls in with a trackless way (TS. 7.3.1). *nānyasya niyānena yāti*, he does not go along others' way (PB. 7.9.14). [Cf. *āryeṇa mārgeṇa tu yāsyatīti*, he will follow the path of virtue (Buddhacarita 1.84.a)]. *yena pathā havyan ā vo vahāni*, which way I would carry oblation to you (ŚB. 1.5.1.26). *anyena pathaiṣyann anyena pratipadyeta*, wishing to walk along one path he should go along another (ŚB. 2.1.4.6). *ṛtasya pathā preta*, go forword in the way of truth (ŚB. 4.3.4.16). *tasyai hādhyantena vavrāja*, he walked along its bank (ŚB. 11.5.1.4).

*sa yathā dvārā prapadyeta*, as if he was to enter through a door (ŚB. 2.3.3.14). *dakṣiṇena dvārā patnīṃ niṣkrāmayati*, takes out his wife through the southern gate (ŚB. 3.5.3.13). *pūrvayā dvārā vasatīvarīḥ prapādayanti*, they take Vasatīvarī water by the front door (ŚB. 5.1.2.16). *dvāreṇaiva tat svargasya lokasya vittam prapādayati*, it is by the gate that he thus makes him enter into the fortune of the world of heaven (ŚB. 6.6.2.4). *parayā dvārā havirdhāne prapadyante*, they enter the two oblation-holders by the western door (KB. 27. 6). *dvāreṇa paśyet*, he should look through the door (ŚB. 4.6.7.9). *vācaś chidreṇa sravanti*, speech comes out through a slit (PB. 8.6.13). *uruṇā upa pravartayati*, along the thigh he causes it to flow (TS. 6.5.8).

Sometimes such an instrumental is used —(perhaps adverbially)—in a locative sense.



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*nakṣatrāṇām avakāśena puṇḍarīkaṃ jāyate*, lotus is generated in the region of stars ( PB. 18.9.6 ). *madhenāntarikṣasya vāyuḥ*, the wind is in the middle of the aerial region ( ŚB. 9.3.1.5 ). *yathā kṣetrajño 'nyena pathā pratipādayet*, just as one who knows the field well may walk through another path ( ŚB. 8.22.1 ). *etair ha vā antarākāśair devāḥ svargaṃ lokaṃ jagmuḥ*, through these intermediate spaces the gods went to the world of heaven ( KB. 13.3 ).

[ Cf. Pali : *maggena abhinnena eva gamissāmi*, I shall go along the identical road (J. 1. p. 98) ; *uttareṇa dvāreṇa pāvesetvā*, entering through the northern door ( Mahāp. 255 ) ; *uppathena gacchanto pathena gacchantassa*, of one going astray, coming to the true path ( Pat. 9. 72 ) ; *vanena nīhari*, went along the forest ( Sutta Pār. 1.10.9 ). Such elliptic phrases are characteristic of Pali and Buddhistic Skt. literature : *yena sāvatthī tena pakkami*, went to S. ( Cullav. 1.13.5 ) ; *yena bhagavān tenopasaṃkrāntaḥ*, went where the Lord was ( Divyāvadāna ).

Av. : *yōi patha uzbarente spānasca irista*, the path along which a dead dog is carried ( Vend. 8.14 ) ].

(1) A number of adverbs has arisen from the fossilied instrumental of space. Those words generally signify direction : e. g., *pūrveṇa*, *uttareṇa*, *dakṣiṇena*, *agreṇa*, *jaghanena* etc. These were later branded as '*enap*' formations. [ See the adverbial instrumental below. ]

8. The temporal instrumental [ AS., p. 130 ].

As distinct from the temporal accusative, the temporal instrumental signifies the completion of an action. The accusative merely denotes extension in time without reference to the accomplishment of an action, which latter is the function of the instrumental P. 2.3.6 ). This type of the instrumental is connected with the sociative type. The temporal instrumental is rather rare in Vedic prose ( AS. p. 130 ).

*devā vai prathamenāhnā indrāya vajraṃ samabhran*, by the first day the gods collected thunderbolt for Indra (AB. 16.1.1). *aṅgebhyo māsaiḥ pāpmānam apahate*, from limbs he drives away evil in a few months ( AB. 18.8.6 ). *tā varṣā vardhante*, they grow by the rains



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(ŚB. 1.5.3.12). *yad evāhnā sādhu karoti*, whatever good he does on the day (AB. 25.1). *ṣaḍbhir ito māsair adhvānaṃ yanti*, hence in six months they tread (their) way (PB. 4.3.17). *prathamenāhnā kurute*, he does it during the first day (PB. 10.12.1). *sa yat tato rātryāśnāti*, when he takes his evening meal (ŚB. 2.3.1.11). *ahnāśnāti*, eats by day (ŚB. 2.3.1.12). *etaṃ vā ete gacchanti ṣaḍbhir māsaiḥ*, they go to it in six months (ŚB. 4.6.2.1).

Sometimes this instrumental is indistinguishable from the temporal accusative; e. g. *ahorātrābhyāṃ khalu vai prajāḥ prajāyante*, offsprings are born through day and night (TS. 5.1.5). *ahorātrābhyāṃ khalu vai parjanyo varṣati*, Parjanya rains through day and night (TS. 2.1.7).

In Cl. Skt. the instr. very rarely indicates the sense of the loc. of time; e. g. *sa puṣpadantaḥ kiyatā kālenāsmān upaiṣyati*, at the end of what period would P. come to us? (Kathās. 2.17). But this idiom is a characteristic feature of the Pali and Buddhistic Sanskrit syntax; *ito tiṇṇaṃ māsānaṃ accayena tathāgato parinibbāyissati*, at the end of three months from hence etc. (Mahāp 78). *mamaccayena kulasantake nagare rajjaṃ kāreyyātha* (J. 1. 158). *katipahāccayena* (J. 1. 205). *tesaṃ... antardhānena*, after their exit (Sutta. Pār. 1.3.2).

For the ordinary instrumental of time, cf. Pali: *tena samayena vāraṇasīrājā migavadhapasuto hoti*, at the time the king of V. was addicted to the killing of deer (J. 1. 149). *apareṇa samayena*, another time (J. 1. 109). *tena khaṇena tena muhuttena* (Sutta. Par. 1. 5. 9). *yārise bahūhi vāsasatehi na bhūtapuve*, the like of which has never happened for a long time (Girnar IV, 4)].

(1) The temporal instrumental has given rise also to the stereotyped adverbial forms; e. g. *divā*, *rātryā*, *doṣā* etc. (See the adverbial instrumental below).

9. The instrumental with verbs [AS., p. 130ff].

(A) Verbs meaning *association*.

*yuj*: *yena yogyaṃ yuñjanti*, with which they yoke the team (ŚB. 1.9.3.33). *praśāstroḥ praśiṣā yunajāni*, I bind (thee) by the direction of the (two) directors (ŚB. 5.4.3.5).

[Cf. *yamaṃ yunajmi kālena* (Bhaṭṭikāvya 6.37).]



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*grah* : *sā yam pāpmanā gṛhṇāti*, whom she seizes upon with evil (ŚB. 5.2.3.3).

*vyadh* : *svarbhānur ha.....sūryaṃ tamasā vivyādha*, S. smote the sun with darkness (ŚB. 5.3.2.2). *tenemāḥ prajā udarena avidhyat*, in that shape he affected these creatures in their belly (ŚB. 1.6.3.17).

*yat* : *yatasva sadasyaiḥ*, unite with the Sadas priests (ŚB.4.3.4.18).

*tan* (*ni-*) : *nitata iva nyagrodho' varodhaiḥ*, the banian tree is tangled with shoots (AB. 38.5).

*sic* (*ni-*, *abhi-*, etc.) : *kṣmayā retaḥ...nyasiñcat*, he dropped his seed on the earth (ŚB.1.7.4.4) [*kṣmayā* here has the sense of the locative; instr. '*sic*' means something like '*lip*' to smear]. *enam etaiḥ kāmair abhyasiñcan*, showered upon him those wishes (ŚB. 9.3.2.2). [Cf. *viśrāntaḥ san vraja vananadī-tīra-jātāni siñcann udyānānāṃ navajalakaṇair yūthikā-jālakāni* (Megh 26 ab).] But, *retas tat siñcati*, scatters seed (AB. 10.6.1). [In Cl. Skt. this verb, with a few others of the same import, is construed with both the acc. and the instr. Mallinātha commenting on Megha 26 (quoted above) says : *atra siñcater ārdrīkaraṇārthatvād dravadravyasya karaṇatvaṃ, yathā, retaḥ siktvā kumārīṣu, sukhair niṣiñcantam ivāmṛtaṃ tvaci* (Raghu 3), *evam ādi*; *evaṃ kiratīyādīnām api, rajaḥ kirati mārutaḥ, avākiran vayovṛddhās taṃ lājaiḥ paurayoṣitaḥ* (Raghu 4), *ityādiṣu arthabhedāśrayaṇena rajolājādīnāṃ karmatva-karaṇatve gamayitavye*].

*kir* (*anu-vi-*) : *sikatābhir anuvikirati*, bestrews it with gravel (ŚB. 3.5.36).

*stṛ* (*ā-*) : *vyāghracarmaṇāstṛṇāti*, he covers (it) with a tiger skin (AB. 37.2.1).

*lip* (*pra-*) : *kṛtyayeva tvad viṣeṇeva tvat pralilipuḥ*, (Asuras) then defiled partly by magic and partly with poison (both kinds of plants) (ŚB. 2.4.3.2). *na karmaṇā lipyate pāpakena*, he is not defiled with any evil action (TB. 3.12.9). *tā jātāḥ pitaro viṣeṇālimpan*, the Pitṛs smeared them with poison, when born (TB. 2.1.1).

[Cf. Pali : *gandhehi vilimpāpetvā*, having smeared with scented paste (J. 1. p. 129). *tiṇāni madhunā makkhetvā nilīyi*, having smeared grasses with honey he stayed aside (J. 1. pp. 157-58)].



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*tac* ( *ā-* ) : *indrasya tvā bhāgaṃ somenātanacmi*, with Soma I coagulate thee, the portion of Indra ( ŚB. 1.7.1.19 ).

*sañj* ( with several prepositions ) : *rudriyeṇa paśūn na prasajati*, he does not impose Rudra's power on the cattle ( ŚB. 1.7.4.12 ). *sarvaṃ yajñaṃ rasena prasajati*, imbues the whole sacrifice with flavour ( ŚB. 4.2.5.13 ). *puruṣam eva tat paśubhir vyatiṣajati*, intertwines man with cattle (AB. 16.3.2). *vyatiṣajyante prajayā paśubhiḥ*, they have both offspring and cattle ( TS. 7.4.3 ). *ayam anena hāsya martyenātmanaitaṃ daivam ātmānam anuprasajati* ( ŚB. 9.3.412 ).

*sṛj-* (*upa-*) : *prajayaiva tat paśubhiḥ preṣyair annādyenetyātmānam upasṛjate*, thus he adds to himself in offspring, cattle and proper food ( KB. 17.1 ).

*gam* : *sa paśubhiśca dīkṣayā cāgacchat*, he returned with cattle and consecration ( TS. 6.1.6 ).

*sāy* ( *nir-ava-*) : *tasmāj jyeṣṭhaṃ putraṃ dhanena niravasāyayanti*, therefore they establish the eldest sons with wealth ( TS. 2.5.2 ).

*iṣ* : *tasmād ātreyaṃ candreṇecchanti atrir hi candrasya jyotiḥ*, whence they wish to pay gold to one of Atri's race, because Atri is the radiance of the bright one ( PB. 6.6.1 ).

*āp* : *yadaiva te brahmaṇāpur athāmṛtā āsuḥ*, only when they became possessed of the Brahman they were immortal (ŚB.11.2.3.6).

[ This use of '*āp*' with the instrumental is very peculiar. I have noted only one parallel in later Sanskrit, and that in the Bhaṭṭikāvya : *samprāpthā vinayena vā* ( 6.69 ) ].

*arpay* : *tamasā somavikrayiṇam arpayati*, he sends the seller of Soma to darkness ( TS. 6.1.10; KS. 19.5 ). *pātrāṇi śucārpayet*, he would affect pots with pain ( TS. 5.1.6 ). *ātmānaṃ yajñayaśasenārpayeyam*, may I bestow upon myself the glory of sacrifice ( TS. 6.5.1 ).

( i ) With the preposition *sam*.

*arj* ( *ava-* ) : *mātṛbhir vatsān samavārjanti*, they let the calves join their mothers ( ŚB. 1.7.1.3 ).

*añj* : *saṃ jyotiṣā jyotir aṅktām*, let light be joined with light ( TS. 1.1.12; KS. 37.16 ).



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*ṛcch* : *yathāyatayā samṛcchate*, as when one goes to meet the exact interval ( TS. 3.2.9 ).

*gam* : *tayā mitrāvaruṇau saṃ jagmāte*. Mitra and Varuṇa met her ( ŚB. 1.8.1.7 ). *etābhiḥ ..... saṃgacchante*, they unite with these ( ŚB. 1.2.1.2 ). *sam aham āyuṣā saṃ varcasā sam prajayā ... gmiṣīya*, may I attain ( full ) age, glory and offspring ( ŚB. 2.3.4.24 ). *tābhiḥ sa na saṃgacchātai*, with them may he not be united ( AB. 4.7.5 ). *janako ha vai videho brāhmaṇair dhāvayadbhiḥ samājagāma*, now Janaka of Vidheha met some Brahmanas who were travelling about ( ŚB. 11.6.2.1 ). *sam amuṣmin loka iṣṭāpūrtena gacchate*, is united in yonder world with what he has sacrificed and bestowed ( TS. 3.3.8 ). *sam enayā gaccheya*, may I be united with her ( TB. 3.1.4.2 ). *sam priyeṇa gacchate*, he is united with the desired ( TB. 3.1.4.2 ). *sam patnī patyā sukṛtena gacchatām*, may the wife along with the husband be united with good deed ( TB. 3.7.5 ).

*gai* : *purāṇair imaṃ yajamānaṃ rājabhiḥ sādhukṛdbhiḥ saṃ gāyata*, sing ye of this sacrificer along with the righteous kings of old ( ŚB. 13.4.3.3 ). [ Harisvāmin thus explains this passage 'compare this sacrificer in song with the old riteous kings' ].

*tan* : *saṃ tanoty ahnā rātrīm*, continues the night with the day ( ŚB. 3.2.2.27 ). *yajñenaiva yajñaṃ saṃ tanoti* ( TS. 6.1.6 ).

*dhā* : *saṃdhīyate prajayā paśubhir ya evaṃ veda*, he is united with offspring and cattle, who knows thus ( AB. 11.7.13 ). *mā etaiḥ ..... akṣarair upasaṃdhehi*, do unite me with these syllables ( AB. 13.4.3 ). *yajñaṃ yajñena saṃdadhāti*, unites sacrifice with sacrifice ( ŚB. 1.9.2.23 ).

*nī* : *sa evainam mitreṇa saṃ nayati*, he brings him into harmony with his friend ( TS. 2.1.8 ). *indriyeṇaivainaṃ devatābhiḥ saṃ nayati*, he brings him into harmony with the senses and the gods ( TS.6.1.4 ).

*pṛc* : *saṃ mā bhadreṇa pṛṅktām*, unite me with good ( ŚB. 5.1.2.18 ). *saṃ brahmaṇā pṛcyasva*, be united with ( our ) prayer ( TS. 1.1.8 ). [ Cf. *evaṃ vadan dāśarathir apṛṇag dhanuṣā śaram* ( Bhaṭṭikāvya 6.39 ) ].

*paśy* : *sam ūrjā mām paśyata*, see me with strength, i. e., give me strength ( KS. 7.1 ). *tān virājā jyotiṣānupaśyanto 'nuṣṭubhā vajreṇa*



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*rātrer nirāghnan*, seeing them with Virāj, the light, they drove them from the night with Anuṣṭubh as the weapon (PB. 9.1.1).

*bhāṣ* : *anāryair na saṃbhāṣeta*, one should not converse with a non-Aryan (Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa 1.2.5).

*bhū* : *saṃ devair abhūma*, we have been united with the gods (ŚB. 1.9.3.14; 5.1.2.18). *sa* (Aufrecht reads *tat*) *tisṛbhiḥ samabhavat*, with the three he was united (AB. 12.12.1). *tayā sambhava*, have intercourse with her (ŚB. 3.2.4.9).

*yā* : *rūpaiḥ samāyāma*, let us be united with our forms (ŚB. 8.7.1.4).

*labh* (*upa-ā-*) *anena yajña upālabhate*, with it, during the sacrifice, he touches (ŚB. 1.9.2.21).

*śri* : *sa payasā śriṇāti*, he mixes with milk (ŚB. 4.1.4.8). *tenātmānaṃ samaśriṇāt prajayā paśubhir indriyeṇa*, thereby he increased himself with offspring, cattle and power (PB. 9.6.7). [Cf. *cūtena saṃśritavatī navamālikeyam* (Śakuntalā 4)].

*sṛj* : *saṃ nas tābhyāṃ ṣṛjantu viśvakarmā*, may Viśvakarman unite us with them (TS. 3.2.8c). *na pāpmanā saṃ sṛjyante*, are not united with evil (AB. 3.5.40). *tāny etair vīryaiḥ samasṛjyanta*, united them with these vigours (PB. 24.18.3). *pāpmanā vā eṣa Indraḥ saṃsṛṣṭaḥ*, Indra was bound up with evil (ŚB. 4.3.3.15). *ūrjeva tad rasena haviḥ saṃsṛjanti*, they unite the sacrifice with strength and sap (KB. 12).

*spṛś* : *tair evaitat saṃ spṛśate*, puts himself in contact with them (ŚB. 5.2.5.3). *tad enam ābhir digbhir mithunena priyeṇa dhāmnā saṃsparśayati*, he makes him consort with the regions as his mate, his loved resort (ŚB. 3.9.4.20).

*vad* : *patnyā saṃvadate*, converses with the wife (KS. 14.8).

(ii) With *mithuna*.

*kṛ* : *ṛtubhir diśo mithunī karoti*, unites the quarters with the seasons (ŚB. 2.4.4.24). Cf. *tad rātryā mithunaṃ karoti*, whereby he effects a union with the night (ŚB. 2.3.1.37).

*as* : *mithuny enayā syām*, may I pair with her (ŚB. 1.7.4.1 2.2.4.15).



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(B) Association in combat and rivalry.

*ji* with *vi-*. Here the preposition *vi*, rather than the verb *ji*, is responsible for the instrumental.

*vi pāpmanā bhrātṛvyeṇa jayate*, he overcomes the evil foe (TS. 2.2.1). *tāṃ vāva devā vijitim uttamām asurair vyajayanta*, that was the highest victory that the gods won over the Asuras (TS. 2.4.2; KS. 10.10). *tena vijayate*, becomes victorious over him (KS. 10.10).

*yudh* : *indraś ca ha vai viṣṇuś cāsurair yuyudhāte*, Indra and Viṣṇu fought with the Asuras (AB. 28.7.11). *pitaiva putreṇa yuyudhe*, the father himself fought with the son (ŚB. 4.1.5.3).

[ See the instrumental with nouns etc., below ].

*spardh* : *viśvāmitra-jamadagnī vasiṣṭhenāspardhetām*, Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni had a quarrel with Vasiṣṭha (TS. 3.1.7; 5.4.11). *vṛtreṇa spardhamānam*, when battling with Vṛtra (ŚB. 1.1.3.8; KS. 10.10).

*bādh* : *tena vibādhate*, fights with him (KS. 10.7).

(C) Separation.

[ Almost all such verbs are preceded by the separative 'upasarga' *vi* ].

*vi-arth* : *sa viśvaṅ vīryeṇa vyarthat*, everything he separated from vigour (PB. 18.5.2).

*vi-ardhay* : *garbhais tat prajā vyardhayet*, he should deprive people of embryo (AB. 11.11.11). *prāṇenainaṃ vyardhayāni*, I shall deprive him of life (AB. 11.3.3).

*vi-ṛdh* : *indraḥ somapīthena vyardhyata*, Indra was deprived of Soma-drink (AB. 35.2.1). *sa indriyeṇa somapīthena vyārdhata*, he was deprived of vigour and Soma drink (TS. 2.3.2) *yajñena yajamāno vyṛdhyate*, the sacrificer is deprived of the sacrifice (PB. 6.7.14). *vi vā eṣa prajayā paśubhir ṛdhyate*, he is deprived of offspring and cattle (ŚB. 14.3.2.1). *avaruddhena vyṛdhyeta* (TB. 1.3.8.3); (KS. 12.10).

*vi-ā-kṛ* : *vatsena vyākṛtya*, after separating from her calf (ŚB. 1.7.1.4).



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*vi-grah* : *vi hyenaṃ tair gṛhṇate*, for they take it away from them ( TS. 6.3.2 ).

*vi-pu* : *pāpmanaivainaṃ vipunāti*, purges him of evil ( KS. 14.3 )

[ In classical Sanskrit *vi-muc* is sometimes construed with the instrumental. ]

Cf. *kaluṣeṇa mahatā medinī parimucyatām*, may the earth be cleared of the great evil ( Pañcatantra )].

*vi-vic* : *yathā surā pūyamānā balkasena vivicyate*, as the liquor, whilst being purified, is cleared of impure matter ( ŚB. 12.8.1.16 ). *vivicyate pāpmanā*, he is severed from evil ( KB. 18,4 ). Cf. Pali : *vivicceva kāmehi* separated from desires ( Sutta Pār. 1.1.5 ).

*vi-vṛt* ( also *vyavṛtam i* ) : *vi pāpmanā vartate*, is separated from evil ( PB. 2. 1. 4 ). *vi pāpmanā bhrātṛvyena vartate*, is distinguished from the evil enemy ( TS. 6.2.6 ; 7.1.10 ; 7.4.5 ). ( KS. 8.6, etc. ). *tato vai so 'nyābhir devatābhir vyāvṛtam agacchat*, then indeed he became separated from the other gods ( TS. 7.2.5). Cf. *tair devā na vyāvṛtam agacchan*, the gods were not separated from them ( TB. 1.4.1.3 ).

*vi-jus* : *māhaṃ rāyaspoṣeṇa vijoṣam*, may I not be deprived of wealth and food ( TS. 1.2.5 ).

*vi-pṛc* : *vi mā pāpmanā pṛṅktām*, disunite me from evil ( ŚB. 5.1.2.18 ). Cf. KS. 37.18.

*vi-sthā* : *tān yān na tarpayet, prajayā paśubhir vi tiṣṭheran*, if he does not satisfy them, he would stand separated from offspring ( TS. 2.2.5 ).

*viṣvaṅ i* : *viṣvaṅ prajayā paśubhir eti*, is separated from offspring and cattle ( TS. 1.5.9 ).

*viṣvaṅ kṛ* : *mātrā viṣvañcaṃ karoti*, separates it from the mother ( ŚB. 4.5.1.10 ).

[ Avesta also shows the same construction with '*vi*', e.g. *vī no thištam thaēšebiš vī mano bara*, away from the hatred of the enemies, do thou remove our mind ( Ys. 9.28 )].

( i ) Without *vi*.

*nirava-day* : *rakṣāṃsyeva tat syena bhāgadheyena yajñān niravadyate*, with their share he excludes the Raksasas from the



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sacrifice ( AB. 6.7.1 ). *tam etena niravadayante*, they exclude him from this ( PB. 9.8.3 ).

(D) Enjoyment.

*juṣ* : *ahaḥ ketunā juṣatām*, may the day be pleased with its brightness ( ŚB. 14.2.2.42 ).

*tṛp* : *tṛpyati prajayā paśubhir ya evaṃ veda*, he is pleased with offspring and cattle who knows thus ( PB. 16.3.9 ). *atṛpyan brāhmaṇā dhanaiḥ*, Brāhmaṇas were satisfied with wealth ( ŚB. 13. 5.4.18 ). *tṛpyati prajayā paśubhiḥ*, they are satisfied with offspring and cattle ( TB. 3.12.5 ).

*tarpay* : *tarpayati hyenaṃ somena*, satisfies him with Soma ( ŚB. 4.5.6.4 ).

*nand* : *surve ha vā etena kriyamāṇena nandati*, every one rejoices in this when it is being done ( AB. 1.13.8 ). *nandati ha vai yajño viduṣāgacchatā*, the sacrifice rejoices at the approach of a wise man ( KB. 27.1 ).

Cf. Pali : *nandati puttehi puttimā*, one who has sons rejoices in them ( Sutta-Nipāta ).

*bhuj* : *tair bhuñjate*, by these they profit ( AB. 18.8.5 ). *grāmam āhṛtair bhuñjate*, they enjoy ( the food-stuff ) brought to the village ( PB. 6.8.11 ).

*tasmān madhyata ūrjā bhuñjate*, when from the middle they enjoy strength ( TS. 6.1.3 ). *madhyata ūrjā bhuñjate*, from the middle ( i. e. in the stomach ) they enjoy strength ( TS. 6.2.1c ). *madhyato vā annena bhuñjate*, it is in the middle that people feed themselves ( TS. 6. 2. 5 ). *tasmāt pṛthivyā ūrjā bhuñjate*, whence they enjoy the strength of the earth ( TB. 3.3.6.5 ). *tad yathā ha vā asmiṁl loke manuṣyāḥ paśūn aśnanti yathaibhir bhuñjate*, just as in this world men eat cattle, just as they enjoy them ( KB. 11.2 ).

*mad* : *rāyaspoṣeṇa samiṣā madema*, we shall rejoice in wealth and food ( TS. 1.2.3 ). *amādyad indraḥ somena*, Indra was exhilarated with Soma ( ŚB. 13.5.4.18 ).



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*ram* : *paśubhir eva tat vaśavo ramante*, animals sport with animals ( ŚB. 6.2.1.12 ). *kikkiṭākāreṇa vai grāmyāḥ paśavo ramante*, at the sound 'kikkiṭā' the domestic animals rejoice ( or stop ( TS. 3.4.3 ). *kṣamā ramate*, is content with the earth ( AB. 14.1.5 ). Cf. *lolāpāṅgair yadi na ramase locanir, vañcito' si*, if you do not enjoy ( yourself ) with lolling eyes ( of the damsels of Ujjayinī ) you are indeed unfortunate ( Megha. 27 ). *mā raṃsthā jīvitena naḥ* ( Bhaṭṭi 6.15 ).

*vṛdh* : *bṛhaspatir no haviṣā vṛdhātu*, may Bṛhaspati rejoice in our oblation ( TS. 6.1.2 ).

*Note.* In classical Sanskrit some other verbs of cognate meaning are construed with the instr., viz. *krīḍ* ( *saṃ* ) : *saṃkrīḍante maṇibhir amaraprārthitā yatra kanyāḥ* ( Megha, an interpolated verse ). In Pali *krīḍ* is constructed with both the instrumental and the accusative : *ghaṭikena, akkhena kiḷati* ( Cullav. 1.13.2 ) also *aṭṭhapade pi kīlanti. tuṣ* : *ambā tuṣyati na mayā*, mother is not pleased with me ( Ind. Spr. 540 ). *hṛṣ* : *hṛṣyati tad dhanalubdho yadvat putreṇa jātena* ( Pañcatantra ).

(D) Prosperity.

*ṛdh* : *yena karmaṇā ṛtset*, if he is desirous of prospering in a rite ; *ṛdhnoty eva tena karmaṇā*, ( TS. 3.4.6 ).

*ardh* ( *sam-* ) : *aṅgaiḥ samardhayati*, makes him prosper in his limbs ( ŚB. 5.3.5.25 ). *tenaivainam etad mithunena priyeṇa dhāmnā samardhayati*, makes him prosper in this pair, in a delightful abode ( ŚB. 14.1.2.11 ). *edh* ( *sam* ) : *sam edhante 'smā ime lokāḥ prajayā paśubhiḥ*, to him these worlds prosper in offspring and cattle ( TB. 3.3.1 ).

*bhū* ( *sam* ) : *asya dviṣan bhrātṛvyo vaṇijyayā kenacid vā sam bhavati*, if his spiteful enemy is to thrive in trade or anything else ( ŚB. 1.6.4.20 ).

*radh* : *tena me radhya*, therewith serve me ( ŚB. 5.4.4.15 ).

*pis* : *pisyati ha prajayā paśubhiḥ*, prospers in offspring and cattle ( ŚB. 1.7.3.18 ).

(E) Repletion.

*pyā* ( *ā* ) : *prajayā paśubhir āpyāyate*, he is filled with offspring and cattle ( ŚB. 1.6.4.9 ).



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*pṛ* : *juhuṃ ghṛtena pūrṇāṃ dakṣiṇe pāṇāv āvapati*, he places the spoon filled with ghee on the right hand (ŚB. 12.5.2.7).

Cf. *śabdāyante madhuram anilaiḥ kīcakāḥ pūryamāṇāḥ* (Megha 56).

*vṛdh* : *vardhante prajayā paśubhiḥ* (TS. 7. 4. 3).

*prath* : *prathate prajayā paśubhiḥ*, he is extended with offspring and cattle (TS. 5. 6. 5); caus : *yajña eva yajamānam prajayā paśubhiḥ prathayati* (TS. 3.3.7).

(F) Subsistence.

*jīv* : *yayā manuṣyā jīvanti*, whereupon men subsist (TS. 1.7.2). *sā ṛjīkeṇa ajīvat* (TB. 2.1.1.1). But *upa-jīv* governs the accusative. See *supra*.

This idiom is rare in the Brāhmaṇa literature.

Cf. *nakṣatrair yatra jīvati*, who lives by Astrology (Manu 8. 162). *yasmin daśa sahasrāṇi putre jāte gavāṃ dadau | brāhmaṇebhyaḥ priyākhyebhyaḥ so 'yam uñchena jīvati* || (quoted by Haradatta in his Padamañjarī, p. 265). *uñchena jīvanti khagā ivānye* (Buddhacarita 7.15a). This idiom is found in Pali.

Also cf. *prāṇānām anilena vṛttir ucitā* (Śakuntalā 7).

Note. In the following instance the instrumental is not of foodstaff but of an instrument :

*khanitreṇa jīvati*, lives on the spade i. e. lives on roots dug with a spade (PB. 16.6.5).

(G) Sacrifice or Adoration.

*yaj* : (1) instrumental of sacrifice : *sampratyeva yajñena yajate*, he sacrifices with the correct sacrifice (TS. 7.1.10).

*ātitheyna vai devā iṣṭvā*, the gods having offered the guest offering (ŚB. 3.4.2.1). *taṃ devā yajñenaiva yaṣṭum adhriyanta*, the gods set about offering him up in sacrifice (ŚB. 10.2.2.1). *anena tvā kāmapreṇa yajñena yājayāni*, let me perform for thee this wish fulfilling sacrifice (ŚB. 11.1.6.18); causative, *etena yajñakratunā yajate* (AB. 4.5.15).

(2) instrumental of the thing offered or sacrificed : (here the instrumental is not 'an accusative' instrumental but an instrumental of means 'yaj' means here 'worship (acc.) with (instr.)' : *apa somenejānād devatāś ca yajñaś ca krāmanti*, the deities and the sacrifice do part from him who offers Soma (TS. 3.5.4). *aśvena*



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*medhyeneje*, sacrificed with the sacred horse ( AB. 30.7.1 ). *tena tvā yajai*, with him let me sacrifice to you (AB.). *rājñā vapām pariyajati*, he makes offering of the king (Soma) on both sides of the omnetum ( ŚB. 13.2.11.2 ). Cf. Av.: *kana yasna frāyazānē imat dāma yat ahurahe mazdāo* ( Vend. 19.17 ); *tem yazāi surunvata yasna* ( Ys. 57.3 ).

*stu* : *ekaikena vai taṃ devāḥ stomenāstuvan*, with each stoma the gods praised him ( AB. 14.4.5 ). *rāthantarena vai saṃdhināśvināya stuvate*, they chant the Rathantara the Sandhi for the Āśvina ( AB. 17.4.6 ). *sarparājñyā ṛgbhis stuvante* ( PB. 4.9.4 ). *kena stosyāmahe*, wherewith shall I sing praise ? ( ŚB. 8.4.3.2 ). *dhuryaiḥ stuvate*, chant the Dhuryas ( ŚB. 4.2.5.8 ). *ślokena purastād sadasaḥ stuvanti*, they sing the śloka ( Sāman ) in front of the Sadas ( TS. 7.5.8 ).

*vand* : *brahmaṇā vandamānaḥ*, worshipping with the hymn ( ŚB. 9.4.2.17 ).

*(upa)sthā* : *atha sarparājñyā ṛgbhir upatiṣṭhate*, then he stands worshipping by (the fire) while muttering the verses of the queen of serpents ( ŚB. 2.1.4.29 ).

Cf. *stutyaṃ stutibhir arthyābhir upatasthe sarasvatī* ( Raghu 4 ).

*(vi-ā)dhāray* : *ājyenottaravediṃ vyādhārayati*, with ghee they offer on the high altar ( ŚB. 9.2.1.7 ).

*namasy* : *brahmaṇaivainaṃ taṃ namasyati*, with holy power he honours him ( AB. 13.10.10 ).

*(ā)śās* : *ṛkṣāmair hyāśāsate*, by Ṛk and Sāman people pray ( ŚB. 9.4.1.12 ). Cf. *ṛkcchandasāśāste* ( Śakuntalā 4 ).

*yve* : *ya vā etena yajñena devatā hvayati*, whatever deities he invites at the sacrifice ( ŚB. 4.4.4.5 ).

*(upa)hve* : *bṛhatā mana upahvaye*, with the great I invoke mind ( AB. 11.8.3 ).

(H) Procedure.

*car* : (1) Concrete type : *te devāś cakraṃ carantaḥ*, the gods driving on wheels ( ŚB. 6.8.1.1 ). *kena carasi*, you hold intercourse with whom ? ( ŚB. 2.5.2.20 ). *api svayā jāyayā tira iva cicarişati*, even with one's own wife one desires to meet in seclusion ( ŚB. 6. 4.4.19 ).



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(2) Abstract type : *atha gandhena ca vai rūpeṇa ca gandharvāpsarasaś caranti*, the Gandharvas and the Apsarasas busy themselves with sweet scent and beauteous form ( ŚB. 9.4.1.4 ).

*pravargyeṇa pracariṣyāmaḥ*, we shall proceed with Pravargya ( AB. 4.1.3 ). *asya ghṛtenānte caranti*, they offer ghee in his neighbourhood ( AB. 4.9.3 ). This example practically goes under class (G) above.

*yat kusīdam apratīttam mayi yena yamasya valinā carāmi*, that loan which I have not yet paid back, the tribute that I still owe to Yama ( TS. 3.3.8 ab ). *pracarati dvir ekayā*, he performs twice each ( ŚB. 3.4.4.17 ). *tad vācaivaitat sampradāyaṃ caranti*, they hand it down by means of speech ( ŚB. 1.5.2.7 ). *atha yat krayeṇa caranti*, when they proceed with the buying ( of the Soma plant ) ( SB. 12.1.3.3 ).

*i* : *jyotir gaur āyur iti stomebhir yanti*, they proceed with the Stomas : Jyotis, Go and Āyus (AB. 18.1.1). *tryahair avyavacchinnair yanti*, they proceed uninterruptedly with Tryaha ( AB. 19.4 ). *suktāntair hotā paridadhad eti*, the Hotṛ keeps concluding with the ends of the hymns ( AB. 27.5.10 ). *tābhyām vai viparyāsam eti*, he proceeds with the two alternately ( ŚB. 6.7.4.12 ).

(*prati*)*pad* : *mayā pratipatsyate*, with me he will commence ( KB. 11.4 ).

*pad* : *vāyavyayā hotā pratipadyate*, the Hotṛ starts with the hymn to Vāyu ( AB. 11.4.11 ). *prathamena karmaṇābhipadyate*, he proceeds with his first act ( ŚB. 1.1.1.12 ).

*tvar* : *karmabhiḥ samatvaranta*, they hastened with the performance ( AB. 15.1.2 ).

(*upa-ā*)*kṛ* : *vācaivopākaroti*, verily with speech he begins ( AB. 7.5.15 ).

( I ) Exchange.

*krī* : *kalayā te krīṇāni*, I will buy (him) of thee for one-sixteenth (of the cow) ( ŚB. 3.3.3.1 ). *padā te'rdhena te gavā te krīṇāni*, I will buy ( him ) of thee for one-fourth, for half ( the cow ), for the cow ( ŚB. 3.3.3.3 ). *keśavāt puruṣāt sīsena parisrutaṃ krīṇāti*, buys "parisrut" for a piece of lead from a long-haired man ( ŚB. 5.1. 2.14 ).



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*(vi)krī* : *vācā vā eṣa vikrīṇīte yaḥ somakrayaṇyā* ( TS. 6.1.7 ). *ko hi tejasā vikreṣyate*, what shall barter brilliance ( TS. 6.1.10 ). Cf. Cl. Skt. *tatas tīvreṇa tapasā krīto 'dhīrayā tvayā* ( Kathāsaritsāgara ).

*(niṣ)krī* : *aham eṣām ekenātmānaṃ niṣkrīṇai*, let me redeem myself with one of them ( AB. 33.3.7 ). *anena ta imaṃ niṣkrīṇāmi*, with this I buy him of thee ( ŚB. 5.1.5.28 ).

*paṇ* : *mayā paṇadhvam*, with me barter it (AB. 5.1.1). Cf. *ābhiradeśe kila candrakāntaṃ tribhir varāṭair vipaṇanti gopāḥ* (Pañcatantra).

There must have been, in the older dialect an independent instrumental of exchange, cf. *yābhir gobhir udamayam praiyamedhā ayājayan*, the cows for which Udamaya the Praiyamedhas has aided in his sacrifice ( AB. 39. 8. 4 ). Cf. *bho gṛhṇātu kaścid aluñcitair luñcitāṃs tilān* ( Pañc., Kosegarten's edition, p. 121 ). *nākasmāc chāṇḍilīmātā vikrīṇāti tilais tilān luñcitān itarair yena hetur atra bhaviṣyati* (Pañc., Kosegarten 2.68.83). *ekaikena ca yat krītaṃ tacchatena pradīyate* ( Pañc., Kose. 1, 17 ). *api putrakalatrair vā prāṇān rakṣeta paṇḍitaḥ* ( Pañc., Kose. 1,402 ). *ātmānaṃ satataṃ rakṣed dārair api dhanair api* ( Pañcatantra ).

(J) Utility.

(i) With *kim. kṛ* : *kiṃ hi sa tair gṛhaiḥ kuryāt*, what should he do with these houses ? ( ŚB. 1.6.1.19 ). Cf. Pali : *udakena kiccaṃ natthi*, no use with water ( J. 1.101 ); *bhavissati saṃghassa parikkhārena karaṇīyaṃ* ( Cullavagga 12.1.1 ).

*vid* : *kiṃ svit putreṇa vindate*, what does (a man) gain by a son ? ( AB. 33.1.2 ).

In classical Sanskrit the verb is more often suppressed than not, e. g., *kiṃ pitur utkulayā tvayā* (Śakuntalā 5). In later Vedic literature such use appears : *kiṃ kāmopabhogaiḥ* (MU. 1.3). Cf. Pali : *kiṃ me iminā* (J.1.243); *kiṃ tuhy iminā pāpakena dujjīvitena* (Pātimokkha 3.3). The particle 'alam' and the past participle 'kṛtam' are also substituted for ' kim ' ; e. g. *alaṃ prayatnena tavātra, mā nidhāḥ padaṃ padavyāṃ sagarasya saṃtateḥ* ( Raghu. 3 ). *athavā kṛtaṃ saṃdehena* ( Śakuntalā 1 ). Cf. Pali : *alaṃ te idhāvāsena* ( Pātimokkha 4.13 ).

(ii) With *artha* :

*as* : *na hyavarcase vyāptyā canārtho'sti*, the inglorious has no



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concern with success ( ŚB. 5.2.5.12 ). Cf. Pali : *atthi pana te devadhammehi attho* ( J. 1. 129 ). *na mamattho buddhena* ( Sutt. Pār. 1.8.3).

*bhū* : *yarhi vāva vo mayārtho bhavitā*, when you will have need of me ( AB. 5.1.1 ). *tad devāṃś ca brāhmaṇāṃś cāhaitair hyatrobhayair artho bhavati yad devaiś ca brāhmaṇaiś ca*, this he says to the gods and Brāhmaṇas, because it is of these two, the gods and Brāhmaṇas, that he has need ( ŚB. 3.3.4.20 ).

(K) Naming after.

*cakṣ* : *etāny enena pūtrāṇy ācakṣyāte*, these pots are named after him ( ŚB. 4.1.3.10 ). *tvayā mācakṣāntai*, they shall call me after thee ( ŚB. 13.1.6.1 ).

*(abhi)vad* : *priyeṇaivainaṃ nāmnābhivadati*, calls him with a dear name ( ŚB. 13.1.6.1 ).

Cf. *ataḥ pitā brahmaṇa eva nāmnā tam ātmajanmānam ajaṃ cakāra*, then the father named ( his ) son Aja after Brahman ( Raghu. 5 ).

(L) Measurement.

*mi* : *eṣa sarvair eva chandobhir mito bhavati, tasmād aticchandasā mimīte*, he metes out with an Aticchandas verse, for that one embraces all metres ( ŚB. 3.3.2.11 ). Cf. Cl. Skt. : *narapaśunā kim u mīyate gavendraḥ* ( Pañc. Hertel 1. 16 ).

*(vi)mi* : *tān eṣa mahimnā vimimīte*, he measures them by his greatness ( ŚB. 6.3.1.18 ).

*(sam)mi* : *tisṛbhir hā sāma sammitam*, for with three is the Sāman commensurate ( AB. 12.12.1 ).

*(sam)paś* : *ṛtubhir hyeva garbhe santaṃ sampaśyanti*, by seasons people compute ( the age of men ) whilst in the state of embryo ( ŚB. 7.4.2.31 ).

(M) Miscellaneous.

(a) Desire. *kam* : *yatra hi cakrīvatā kāmayate*, where one desires a chariot ( PB. 16.13.4 ). *yena vayasā kamiṣyate tenodeṣyati*, he would come out with whatever age he shall desire ( ŚB. 4.1.5.12 ).

(b) Correspondence.

*(sam)pad* : *kathaṃ saṃvatsareṇāgninā saṃ padyate*, how does it



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correspond to the year, the Agni ? ( ŚB. 6.2.2.31 ; 9.1.1.43 ). *katham eṣaḥ . . . etayā vedyā sampadyate*, how does this . . . correspond to this Vedi ? ( ŚB. 10.2.3.5 ). *sa rohiṇyā sampadyate*, that coincides with the Rohiṇī ( ŚB. 11.1.1.7 ).

*(anu)vad* : *pūrvam u tad rūpam apareṇa rūpeṇānuvadati*, the former appearance corresponds with the latter ( PB. 11.6.4 ). *yad ahno rūpeṇa sampadyate*, which accords with the symbol of the day ( KB. 20.4 ).

(c) Discourse.

*(sam)vad* : *malavadvāsasā na saṃvadeta*, one should not converse with ( a woman ) with stained garments ( TS. 2.5.1 ); *saṃvādayainaṃ devaiḥ*, make him discourse with the gods (ŚB. 1.8.3.20) ; caus. *sarveṇa vai saṃvadante brāhmaṇena*, ( the gods ) commune only with a Brāhmaṇa ( ŚB. 3.1.1.10 ).

(d) Accord.

*(saṃ)vid : indreṇa devī virudhaḥ saṃ vidānāḥ*, the divine plants in accord with Indra ( TS. 3.1.8 ). *kṣatriyo viśā saṃvidānaḥ*, Kṣatriya with the approval of the clan ( ŚB. 7.1.1.3 ). *viśvair devair yajñiyaiḥ saṃvidānaḥ*, in unison with the All-gods worthy of sacrifice ( TS. 5.7.24 ).

(e) *(abhi-ā)hve* : *nṛmedhasam āṅgirasaṃ satram āsīnaṃ śvabhir abhyāhvayat*, ( he ) pitted dogs against Nṛmedhas, son of Aṅgiras, when he held a sacrificial session ( PB. 8.8.22 ).

(f) *(prati)grah* : *adhvaryuḥ pratigṛhṇāti pañcākṣareṇa*, the Adhvaryu responds in five syllables ( AB. 1.2.1.1 ). *(prati)vac, pracch* : *sa ekayā pṛṣṭo daśabhiḥ pratyuvāca*, he, asked in one verse, replied in ten ( AB. 33.1.3 ).

(g) *(prati)sthā* : *yā vai śaphaiḥ pratitiṣṭhanti*, they who stand on hoofs ( ŚB. 4.2.4.16 ). *agninā pratitiṣṭhate*, it rests with Agni ( TS. 6.1.11 ).

(h) *(sam)sthāpay* : *sa yad grāmyaiḥ saṃ sthāpayet*, were he to complete ( the sacrifice ) with tame ones ( ŚB. 13.2.4.2 ).

(i) *(abhi)sic* : *enam etaiḥ kāmair abhyasiñcan*, showered upon him these wishes ( ŚB. 9.3.2.2 ).



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Cf. *viśrāntaḥ san vraja vanandītirajātāni siñcann udyānānāṃ navajalakaṇair yūthikā-jālakāni* ( Megha. 26 ) ; *dhārāsārais tvam iva kamalāny abhyavarṣan mukhāni* ( Megha. 48 ).

(j) (*apa*)*hnu* : *tayā te'pahnuve*, with her I make atonement to thee ( ŚB. 4.1.5.7 ).

(k) (*nir*)*bhaj* : *yāvad vai bhāginaṃ svena bhāgadheyena nirbhajanti*, for as long as a cosharer is not bought off by ( receiving ) a share of his own ( ŚB. 11.7.4.2 ).

(l) (*api*)*kṛ* : *tad viṣṇunā yajñenāpikaroti* ( PB. 13.5.5 ).

(m) (*upa*)*ram* : *yatra kva cārdharcena vā pādena voparmet*, whenever he stops at a half verse or a quarter verse ( KB. 7.10 ).

(n) *śikṣ* : *tam etābhiḥ śiśikṣuḥ*, him they desired to please with these ( verses ) ( KB. 30.6 ).

10. Cognate Instrumental.

*īkṣ* : *asya te 'kṣibhyām īkṣante brāhmaṇāḥ*, that of his, the Brāhmaṇas see with their eyes ( ŚB. 3.1.1.11 ).

(*pra*)*an* : *prāṇena prāṇiti*, breathes with breath ( ŚB. 3.8.4.5 ).

*dīkṣ* : *tayā dīkṣayā dīkṣate* ( AB. ).

*yaj* : *sampratyeva yajñena yajate* ( TS. 7.1.10 ).

*mṛ* : *yady anyena mṛtyunā mriyeta*, if he dies of any other death ( PB. 21.14.19 ).

(*upa*)*sad* : *upasadbhir upāsīdan*, besieged them these with sieges ( ŚB. 3.4.4.4 ).

*su* : *sarvaiḥ savaiḥ sūyemahi*, may we be consecrated by all the rites of consecration ( ŚB. 9.3.4.6 ).

*tap* : *tapasā tapyamānāḥ*, undergoing penance ( TS. 4.3.11 h ).

*kram* : *kramair atyakramad vājī*, with stride the courser has strode out ( TS. 5.7.24 ).

Non-etymological.

*vācā vadati*, speaks with speech ( ŚB. 5.3.5.16 ). Cf. Kāṇvīya ŚB. 1.2.2.16. *kiṃ ca vācā vyāharati*, whatever he speaks ( ŚB. 2.4. 2.6 ). *anṛtaṃ vai vācā vadati, anṛtam manasā dhyāyati* ( TB. 1.1.16 ).

Cf. *taē-ca narō sraēšta gaya jvainti*, these men lived a happy life ( Vend. 2.41 ).



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11. Instrumental of Quantity.

*yasmai vai alpenāharanti nātmanā tṛpyati*, the man to whom they bring anything in small measure is not himself pleased ( TS. 2.5.4 ).

*mahatā pūrṇaṃ hotavyam*, one should offer in full and large measure ( TS. 2.5.4 ).

*na hi lavena lokād vyathate*, he does not by ever so little fall from his place ( ŚB. 11.2.7.19 ).

*pūrṇayā juhoti* ( TS. 6.1.2 ).

*ekena pādena vyāvartante* ( the seasons ) differ in one foot ( TS. 5.3.1 ). See *infra*.

12. Instrumental with Nouns, Adjectives and Adverbs.

(1) Verbal nouns and derivatives also govern the instrumental after the manner of corresponding verbs.

*yuddha* : *devā vā asurair yuddham upaprāyan vijayāya*, gods undertook battle with the Asuras for conquest ( AB. 14.1.1,2 ).

*saṃvāda* : *enaṃ śūdreṇa saṃvādo vindet*, should there be occasion for him to converse with a Śūdra ( ŚB. 3.1.1.10 ).

*ārti* : *āyuṣārtim atijīvati ya evaṃ veda*, outlived the danger of his life ( PB. 6.5.2 ). *paṅkti* : *saiṣā devatābhiḥ paṅktir bhavati*, this then consists of five parts in respect of deities ( ŚB. 3.1.4.19 ).

*sadṛgbhava* : *tā henena sadṛgbhavam ivāsuḥ*, they were in a state of equality with him ( ŚB. 4.5.3.1 ). ( The instrumental here is evidently due to the adj. *sadṛk* in the compound *sadṛgbhava* ).

(2) Nominal compounds.

*sarūpa* : *yad ṛcā sarūpaṃ yanti*, that they attain similarity with ṛc ( PB. 5.7.9 ). *ātmanvin* : *sarveṇa hyātmanātmanvī*, full of self with the entire self ( TB. 1. 2. 47 ). *saṃtva* : *tair eva saṃtvaṃ gacchati*, attains equality with them ( TB. 1.1.72 ).

Adjectives.

(3) Compounds with *sa-*.

*sajuj* : *agniṣ ṭvā gāyatryā sayuk chandasārohatu*, may Agni in unison with the Gāyatrī metre mount thee ( AB. 37.2.3 ).

*brāhmaṇena . . . . . sayug bhūtvā*, becoming united with the Brāhmaṇa ( AB. 15.1.8 ). *ṛtubhiḥ sayug bhūtvā* ( ŚB. 8.2.2.7 ).



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*sajus* : *sajūr devena*, with the god ( ŚB. 2.3.1.37 ); *sajūr uṣā aruṇībhiḥ*, the dawn in unison with the ruddy ( cows ) ( TS. 5.6.4 ). *samāna* : *anayā samānaṃ sad viparyāsaṃ vadati*, speaks differently although the same ( ŚB. 4.2.2.9 ); *marudbhiḥ samānaṃ graham agṛhṇan*, drew a cup common with the Maruts ( ŚB. 4.3.3.15 ); *sa yathā vijayasya kāmāya viśā samāne pātre'śnīyāt*, as one might, for the sake of victory, eat from the same vessel with the people ( ŚB. 4.3.3.15 ).

*sadṛṅ* : *indro vai sadṛṅ devatābhir āsīt*, Indra was equal with the gods ( TS. 2.2.8 ); *ya evainena sadṛṅ*, he who is equal to him ( TS. 2.4.1 ).

*saloka* : *ardhamāsaśo vā aham amunādityena saloko bhavāmi*, every half month, indeed, I become a sharer of the same world with yonder Sun ( ŚB. 11.2.6.12 ).

*sādhāraṇa* : *pitaiva tat putreṇa sādhāraṇaṃ kurute*, the father makes common property with the son ( TS. 2.6.1 ).

( 4 ) Compound with *vi-* : *yaḥ samānair mitho vipriyaḥ syāt*, who is mutually at variance with his fellows ( TS. 2.2.11 ).

( 5 ) *miśra* : *miśrā devebhir ādhvam*, keep ye mingling with the god ( ŚB. 9.2.3.24 ). *ājyena miśraḥ*, mixed with butter ( ŚB. ).

[ Note. *yātayāmāni vai devaiś chandāṃsi*, strength of the metres were exhausted by the gods ( ŚB. 4.3.2.5 ); *yāta*, though compounded, governs the instrumental here. The compound is grammatically improper " *sāpekṣatve'pi gamakatvāt samāsaḥ* " ].

( 6 ) Some possessive or qualitative adjectives are accompanied by the instrumental of the substantive of the thing or quality possessed. This use has fundamental agreement with the causal instrumental.

*prajayā vā suprajā vīravān*, by offspring he has good offspring and heroes ( AB. 17.5.3). *balavān balena bhava*, with that strength be thou strong ( ŚB. 5.1.4.10 ). *śukraś śukraśociṣā*, radiant with radiance ( TB. 1.1.2 ).

( *a* ) In the following examples the instrumental ( substantive ) is connected with the adjective, not etymologically, but in sense only :

*bahur haiva prajayā paśubhir bhavati*, he is multiplied with



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offspring and cattle ( ŚB. 1.6.3.30 ). *yathāsau dyaur bahvī nakṣatraiḥ*, as the sky is plenty with stars ( ŚB. 2.1.4.28 ). *viśā vai kṣatriyo balavān bhavati*, through the people the noble becomes strong ( ŚB. 4.3.3.9 ).

Cf. *tenāsa lokaḥ pitṛvān vinetrā tenaiva śokāpanudena putrī* (Raghu 14). *tapobhir āḍhyā vibhavair daridrāḥ* ( Buddhacarita 1.61 ).

( 7 ) With comparatives and superlatives.

Two instances have been noted, one in *-iṣṭha-* and one in *-iyas-*, where the substantives (denoting 'limb') qualified by the adjectives take the instrumental. This use has evident connection with that prescribed by Pāṇini under the rule *'yenāṅga-vikāraḥ* 2.3.20 ( of this rule I have found a single illustration in the Brāhmaṇas treated by me ).

*padyābhir javiṣṭhaḥ*, most rapid of foot ( AB. 30.9.13 ).

*pārśvābhyāṃ varīyān sakthibhyāṃ variṣṭhaḥ*, greater in the ribs, greatest in the thighs ( PB. 16.2.6 ).

Cf. Pali : *ahaṃ tumhehi jātiyā mahallakataro* ( J. 1.21 ). Also cf. Pali : *rattehi akkhīhi kilantarūpa paññāyittha* ( J. 1.195 ) with cl. Skt. *akṣṇā kāṇaḥ* etc.

In Pali as well as in epic and Buddhistic Skt. instrumental sometimes replaced the ablative in comparative constructions. *natthi bata bho loke rasataṇhāya pāpakataraṃ nāma* ( J. 1. 158 ); *na kir'atthi rasehi pāpiyo* ( J. 1. 158 ); *tumhe tena paṇḍitatarā ca* ( Cullav 1.1.1 ). Cf. *mama prāṇaih priyataraḥ* ( Rāmāyaṇa ). The following construction is significant : *mātāpitaro pan'assa annatthikā gharāvāsena araññe hi aggiṃ paricarāpetukāmā honti* ( J 1. 285 ).

( 8 ) The following privative adjectives and the particle *na* govern a numeral in the instrumental.

*ūna* : *yad dvābhyām ūnaṃ tad ūnam*, that which is defective in two is indeed defective ( ŚB 11.1.2.9 ). *ekayāyur ūnaḥ* ( TS. 1.2.29 ). *nyūna* : *tribhir akṣarair nyūnam*, deficient in three syllables ( AB. 15.2.8 ).

*hīna* : *tenaiva sāhīnā bhavati*, thereby it does not become neglected ( AB. 10.4.6 ). *atirikta* : *ekayā gaur atiriktaḥ* ( TB. 1.2.22 ). Note. *vibhavair daridrāḥ* ( Buddhacarita 1.61 ).



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*na : anantā vā etā yad ekayā na catvāriṃśat*, infinite is that which is forty less by one ( PB. 24.9.2 ). *dvābhyāṃ nāśītiṃ*, eighty less two i. e. 78 ( ŚB. 11.1.2.9 ).

Adverbs.

( 9 ) With *sa-* compounds.

*sārdham : sa hovāca madhucchandāḥ pañcāśatā sārdham*, he, Madhucchandas, said with the fifty ( brothers ) ( AB. 33. 6. 3 ). *sākam : te'gnim mukhaṃ kṛtvā sākam aśvenābhyakrāman*, they went away with the horse ( PB. 8.8.4 ). Compare the use of *saddhim* and *saha* with the instrumental in Pali.

( 10 ) Other compounds.

*dvandvam : dvandvam indreṇa devatāḥ śasyante*, jointly with Indra the deities are celebrated ( AB. 15.6.5 )

*parokṣam : tena retasā bhūtenarṭvijaḥ sampradāyaṃ caranti yajamānena parokṣam*, with it as with seed the priests carry on the tradition imperceptibly to the sacrificer ( ŚB. 1.5.2.7 ).

( i ) *ned ekavacanena bahuvacanaṃ vyavāyam eti*, lest they should suggest the plural by a singular ( ŚB. 13.5.1.18 ).

13. Instrumental with prepositions.

( i ) *saha : sahaiva vāsasā abhyavaiti*, he approached with garments ( worn ) ( AB. 1.3.23 ). *sahaivāhnā saṃsthāpayeyuḥ*, with the day should they complete it ( AB. 14.6.1 ). *tayāsyaiṣaḥ saha bhāgaḥ*, this is his share with her ( ŚB. 2.6.2.9 ). *tair enaṃ sahāgamayati*, with them he causes him to come ( AB. 3.2.18 ).

( ii ) *sam : sam devi devyorvaśyā sampaśyasva*, gaze, O goddess, together with goddess Urvaśī ( TS. 1.2.5 ).

( See the list of verbs with *sam, supra* ).

14. Double Instrumental.

The examples would explain the idiom.

*evaṃ u hāsya vāyavyaiva pratipadyamānasya ṛcena ṛcenaivaitābhir devatābhiḥ stotriyo'nuśasto bhavati*, so though he begins with ( a verse ) to Vāyu ; in each triplet though these he follows in recitation ( the triplet ) of ' stotra ' ( AB. 11.4.11 ).

*sa yathā prathamayā samarpaṇena parābhinatti*, that first one by which he pierces on hitting ( of fixing ) ( ŚB. 5.3.5.29 ).



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*indro marudbhiḥ sāṃvidyena madhyaṃdine savane vṛtram ahan*, Indra, in league with the Maruts, slew Vṛtra at the midday pressing ( TS. 6.5.5 ).

15. Adverbial Instrumental.

The development of the adverbial instrumental can be traced from all the principal functions of the instrumental. Some, however, have lost other case-forms and have become petrified adverbs.

*tam mitrakṛtyevopāsate*, him they serve in friendliness ( AB. 11. 4.6 ). *gacchati vai vartamānena yatra kāmayate*, he goes with it turning wherever he desires ( AB. 18.1.7 ). *dhiyā-dhiyā tvā vadhyāsuḥ*, at pleasure may they slay thee ( TS. 2.6.6 ). *turīye haiva saṃgrahītāro vadante' munaivānūkāśena*, the charioteers claim a fourth ( of the booty ) for force of the example ( AB. 9.1.6 ). *yena eto'bhīvartena yanti*, where mind goes repeatedly ( PB. 4. 7. 1), *yat strī satī vahaty adharmeṇa*, being a female, she improperly draws ( the cart ) ( ŚB. 5. 2. 4. 13 ). *tasmād u ha svapantaṃ dhureva na bodhayet*, one should not therefore forcibly awaken him who sleeps ( ŚB. 10.5.2.12 ). *vīryeṇa vā etāḥ syandante*, with vigour these flow ( ŚB. 5.3.4.5 ). *enam prāñcaṃ sāṃkāśinena hṛtvā*, having taken it straightway eastward ( from the Gārhapatya ) ( ŚB. 6.6.4 14 ). *sa ādhyā jalpan kurukṣetraṃ samayā cacāra*, wailing with sorrow he wandered all over Kurukṣetra ( ŚB. 11.5.1.4 ). *śṛṅgāṇi no jāyantām iti kāmena*, with this desire, ' may horns grow to us ' ( TS. 7.5.1 ). *vayasāṃ vā eṣa pratimayā cīyate*, it is piled in the likeness of birds ( TS. 5.5.3 ). *tāsām aśraddhayā śṛṅgāṇi prāvartanta*, they had only mock horns ( AB. 18.3.3 ). *puruṣo hi sa pratimayā*, for it is a man in counterfeit ( AB. 10.3 ).

*ātmanā* : This reflexive pronoun is frequently used adverbially in the Brāhmaṇas, e. g. *nātmanā dṛpyati*, he does not himself become proud ( AB. 6. 7. 9 ). *bhavati ha vā ātmanā*, he is himself victorious ( ŚB. 1.4.1.35 ). *eka ātmanā bhavati*, he of his own self is one only ( ŚB 1.8.1.34 ).

Adverbial instrumental in Pali : *piyasa vacanena* ( Allahabad Pillar Edict ) ; *eva saṃkhitena asti vistat(e)na* ( Girnar Rock Edict XIV ) ; *anaṃtaliyena* ( Kālsi VI, 19 ) ; *tena tena pakāreṇa* ( Girnar XII ).



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There are also in Av. a number of adverbial instrumentals of manner: *nemaṅhā*, humbly (Ys. 28. 1); *rūiti*, according to (Ys. 40. 4); *apaitibusti*, unawares (Vend. 13.10, 40); *naomaya*, ninetimes (Vend 8.17); *yavata*, so long (Ys. 9. 5. etc.); *yava*, ever (Ys. 19. 10. etc.).

Pronouns, demonstrative and interrogative, and numerals are also used adverbially in the instrumental.

*tena bāhū sadṛśau*, therefore the two arms are alike (ŚB. 3.2.4.1). *ete na bhūyiṣṭha iva vratam upayanti*, in this way they mostly enter on the vow (ŚB. 1.1.1.3). *maiva tvā kena cana hiṃsiṣma*, we should in nowise harm thee (ŚB. 2.3.4.30). *ubhayena te paśavaḥ*, either way are they animals (ŚB. 6.2.1.37).

*dvayena vā eṣa indro bhavati*, he is Indra in a two-fold way (ŚB. 5.3.5.27).

Stereotyped forms.

*anuṣṭhyā*, properly (ŚB. 2.4.4.22, etc.); *akṣṇayā*, crossways (TS. 6.2.8, etc.); *āśuyā*, quickly (TS. 1.2.14, etc.); *mithuyā*, falsely (TS. 1.3.7, this form is found in the earlier Brāhmaṇas only); *mithyā*, falsely (ŚB. 2.3.4.18, etc.; it is the later form); *sādhuyā*, rightly (ŚB. 8.2.1.4, etc.); *samayā*, near, over (ŚB. 11.5.1.4): etc.

*sahasā*, forcibly (ŚB. 2.3.2.9, etc.); *añjasā*, quickly (ŚB.13.2.3.2, etc.); *nāmnā*, by name (ŚB. 1.3.4.14, etc.); *nidānena*, really (AB. 13.9, etc.); *divā*, through the sky (PB. 12.6.3); *paścā* : *paśceva hi hīno 'nusaṃjigamiṣati*, an inferior person wishes to go in the rear (AB. 16.4.5 ; 11.29, etc.).

*avareṇa*, below; *antareṇa*, *antarā*, between; *uttareṇa*, in the north; *dakṣiṇena*, in the south; *pareṇa*, beyond; *agreṇa*, above; *jaghanêna*, behind; *madhyena*, in the middle; *bāhyena*, outside.

*uccaiḥ*, high (AB. 6.7.6; ŚB. 2.3.2.11); *nīcaiḥ*, low (ŚB. etc.); *parācaiḥ*, low (TS. 1.4.39); *śanaiḥ*, slowly (PB. 7.9.11); *śanakaiḥ*, (MU.).

16. Instrumental Absolute.

What was originally a sociative instrumental was sometimes used absolutely in Old (as well as in Middle) Indo-Āryan (Vide Whitney §. 281 g; Speijer, SS, §. 372). It was not altogether un-



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known in Indo-European. Some cases of Ablative Absolute in Latin represent, an original Instrumental Absolute.

*devā vai vrātyāḥ satram āsata budhena sthapatinā*, the gods held a sacrificial session, Budha being the Sthapati (PB. 24.18.2). *devā abruvan arājatayā vai no jayanti, rājānaṃ karavāmahā iti, te somaṃ rājānam akurvaṃs, te somena rājñā sarvā diśo 'jayan*, the gods said, '(Asuras) are conquering us for having no king; let us elect a king'; they made Soma the king; with Soma as their king, they conquered all the quarters. *te .... somaṃ rājyāyābhyaṣiñcata te somena rājñā ebhyo lokebhyo 'surān anudanta*, they anointed Soma in the kingship; with Soma as king they drove away the Asuras from these worlds (KB. 7.10).

*sakṛd dhiṅkṛtena śirasā pārācāḥ stuvate*, having uttered him once and the head (being bare), the Pārāca hymns are chanted (PB. 5.1.5).

*tvayāvasena somaśīmahi tvā*, thou being our help we would attain thee (MB. 2.1.8).

*dhenum upāhvayat tena vatsena yajamānāya sarvān kāmān duhe*, summoned a cow; with it as calf it milked all desires for the sacrificer (AB. 26.3.1). *anumatayaivainayā krīṇāti*, he buys with her approval, i. e. she approving he buys (TS. 6.1.7). It was originally an instrumental of price, but as it stands here it is practically an instrumental absolute.

*ekaikayā stutayā samāyanti*, they come up each before one verse has been sung (TS. 7.5.8).

*tvayā mukhenedaṃ jayāma*, with thee as leader we will win this (PB. 8.8.1). *varuṇaṃ devā abruvan tvayāṃśabhuvā somaṃ rājānaṃ hanāmeti*, the gods said to Varuṇa, 'with thee as the helper we would kill (press) Soma the king' (TS. 6.4.8). *sa visrastaiḥ parvabhir na śaśāka saṃhātum*, he was unable to rise with his relaxed joints i. e. his joints being relaxed he was unable to rise (ŚB.1.6.3.36).

There are also a few instances in the classical language:

*na tvayātra mayāvasthitena kāpi cintā kāryā*, with me at hand, thou needest feel no anxiety whatever on this point (Pañcatantra quoted by Whitney). *etair jitaiś ca jayati sarvān lokān imān gṛhī*, these being won the householder wins all these worlds (Manu.



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4. 181 ). *caturbhir divasair atikrāntair bhūyo 'pi sā preṣitā* ( Vetāla, p. 9 ). *yātrāmātraprasiddhyarthaṃ svaiḥ karmabhir agarhitaiḥ । akleśena śarīrasya kurvīta dhanasaṃcayam* ( Manu 4. 3 ). *vyañjanais tu samutpannaiḥ somo bhuṅkte hi kanyakām* ( Pañc. Hertel, 3. 184a ). *subhage samastaiḥ śatrubhir hatair annam pānaṃ cāsvādayāmi* ( Pañc. Kosegarten, p. 47 ). *bhadra na bhetavyam asmadvidhair mitrair vidyamānair* ( do ). *sakhi bhuktaiḥ phalair etair jarā na te bhaviṣyati* ( Kathāsaritsāgara 29. 55 ). *tair jñātaiḥ svapakṣaḥ parapakṣaśca vaśyo bhavati* ( Pañcatantra ). *paropakāraḥ kartavyaḥ prāṇaiḥ kaṇṭhagatair api* ( Ind. Spr. 3981 ). *nābhakṣyam bhakṣayet prājñaḥ prāṇaiḥ kaṇṭhagatair api*, the wise should not take improper food even if life nears its end ( Pañc. Kosegarten ). *api putrakalatrair vā prāṇān rakṣeta paṇḍitaḥ । vidyamānair yatas taiḥ syāt sarvaṃ bhūyo'pi dehinām* ( ibid.).

The instrumenal absolute is not unknown in Pali and Buddhistic Sanskrit.

The following represent the intermediate stage :

*tvayaiva hotrā vayaṃ svargaṃ lokam eṣyāmaḥ*, with thee as Hotṛ, we would attain the world of heaven ( AB. 30.8 ). *agninā vai hotrā devā asurān abhyabhavan* ( TS. 6.3.7 ).

17. Elliptical Constructions.

( i ) *tasmād ātreyyā yoṣṭānasvī*, one becomes guilty ( by intercourse ) with a woman who has just miscarried ( ŚB. 1.4.5.13 ).

( ii ) *tasmād garbhaṃ vijñātena brahmahā*, therefore ( a man ) is a slayer of a Brāhmaṇa ( through slaying ) an embryo which has not yet been discriminated ( TS. 6.5.10 ).

( iii ) *yo' śṛtaṃ śṛtam āha sa enasā*, he who says what is not cooked, ( is burdened ) with sin ( TS. 6.3.10 ).

( iv ) *taiḥ saṃgṛhya rātrim prāviveśa*, seizing them he entered the night with them ( ŚB. 2.3.4.2 ).

Here '*taiḥ*' = acc. *tān* + instr. *taiḥ*.

( v ) *tasyāṃ vareṇa vācaṃ visṛjate*, at this ( offering ) he releases speech by ( bestowing ) a boon ( ŚB. 13.4.1.10 ).

( vi ) One peculiar instance calls for notice :



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*ed u puruṣaiḥ puruṣān parvāṇy eṣām parvaśaḥ saṃvraścam parvaśo vibhajamānān*, and lo! men were dismembering men, hewing off their limbs one by one ( ŚB. 11.6.1.2 ).

Here *puruṣaiḥ* ought to be in the accusative as it goes with *vibhajamānān* and is governed by the interjection *ed. puruṣān* is the object of *vibhajamānān.* The double accusative has been avoided here for the distinction of import. Or, it may be that the instrumental here is multiplicative in sense as in the Pali idiom *sabbeṇa sabbaṃ* "every body ; all", *kālena kālaṃ* "from time to time; always", etc.

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## DATIVE.

1. Dative is the case of concern, and "the true dative expresses the person to, or for whom, something is done, or who is regarded as chiefly affected or interested".

Dative was originally exclusively, and later generally, a personal case, and it was used with a comparatively limited sets of words. In the archaic language the ethical dative was mostly found with personal pronouns. Of all cases the dative is most influenced by word, meaning and context. The dative with verbs denoting sentiment, such as pleasing, favouring, trusting etc., is due to word meaning. It is remarkable that the dative of direction ( Richtungsdativ ), which is so common with "impersonal" words in Cl. Skt., and which is not rare in the Mantras, is not met with in the prose of the Brāhmaṇas. In the latter language locative was generally the idiom here ; e. g. *girau bhāraṃ harann iva*, taking a load uphill ( ŚB. 13.2.9.3 ; TS. 7.4.19, 2 ; etc. ).

There are however a few such instances in the prose portions : *abhiplavante hy anena svargāya lokāya yajamānāḥ*, the sacrificers approach the world of heaven by means of this ( KB. 2.6 ).

Pāṇini thus defines dative : *karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam* ' dative is that which is approached with the object of a verb or an act of gift ' (1.4.32). This definition has been thus amplified by Kātyāyana : *kriyayā yam abhipraiti so 'pi sampradānam* ' ( in an intransitive verb ) he too is *sampradāna* for whom the act is intended '. This *vārttika* defines the case fully.



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In Pali the genitive mostly served for the dative ( also for the ablative ).

2. Dative has close connection with the accusative. The dative is the 'toward' case and the accusative also is often a 'to' case. (*gatyarthakarmaṇi dvitīyācaturthau ceṣṭāyām anadhvani* ( P. 2.3.12 ) ). But there is yet a faint distinction though not frequently noticeable. If the destination of an actual motion be a person the dative is usually preferred, e. g. *bhojena dūto raghave visṛṣṭaḥ*, a messenger was sent to Raghu by Bhoja ( Ragh. 5 ). If the destination be emphasised it generally takes up the accusative ( or the locative ) *gacchatyasyāhutir devān* ( AB. 3.5.41 ) ; *aganma devān* ( ŚB. 1.9.3.14 ) ; but *sa id deveṣu gacchati* ( RV.), but if the goal or destination be inexact, the dative is generally the case e. g. *vanāya pīta-pratibuddha-vatsāṃ yaśodhano dhenum ṛṣer mumoca*, the famed one set the cow loose for the forest ( Ragh. 2 ). It should be noted here that the aim or destination reached is never put in the dative.

3. As the scope of the dative is comparatively limited some of its secondary uses were taken up by other cases, notably the genitive. Some of the verbs which should logically govern the dative, and which are actually so construed in the older language, are found governing the accusative or the genitive in the later classical language. In most cases this syntactical change is necessitated by semantic change undergone by the verbs. Thus, for example, the verb *day* ( 'to allow' ) is used with the dative in the Brāhmaṇas : *tasyai dayasva*, allow her a share ( ŚB. 14.2,1.10 ), but in the classical literature *day* ( 'to take pity on' ) governs the genitive : *śauvastikatvaṃ vibhavā na yeṣāṃ vrajanti teṣāṃ dayase na kasmāt* ( Bhaṭṭikāvya 2 ).

Parallel to the genitive the dative developed a type of possessive use, e. g. *vibhur viśvasmai bhuvanāya*, the ruler of the whole universe ( RV. 1.4.2 ). This use is frequent in the epics but lost altogether in the classical literature.

Dative is sometimes ( though very rarely ) interchangeable with the genitive : *indrāya rājñe sūkaraḥ*, to Indra, the king a boar, .....; *kṣipraśyenasya varttikā*, for the swift falcon a quail ( TS. 5.5.11 ).

4. There is a very interesting syntactical phenomenon which is peculiarly Brāhmaṇic. But this idiom is not of exclusively



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Indian growth. It is possibly Indo-Iranian, as it is found in both the prose and the verse portions of the Avesta ( Vide Paul Horn : 'Genitiv auf āi im Avesta'). This idiom is the substitution of the suffix of the dative singular of feminine substantives ending in ā, ĭ, ŭ for the ablative and genitive singular. These forms do not occur in the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā and only once in the Atharva Saṃhitā ( *svapantu asyai jñātayaḥ*, let her relatives sleep). But these are plentiful in other Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas. It, however, does not occur in the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā and in the Kāṇva recension of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa; and on this basis Prof. Caland claims for the priority of the latter to the Mādhyaṁdina version. In the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, the proportion of the abnormal to the normal forms is about ten to one, and this proportion increases with the lateness of the work, so that in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the normal forms are almost wholly absent. But strangely these forms are altogether absent in the classical language. Pāṇini noted this phenomenon.

The extension of this dative suffix did not stop with the ablative and the genitive. I have noted a few cases in which it has been extended even to the locative.

These pseudo-dative forms ( for the ablative or the genitive ) appear invariably if they are accompanied by counterforms in the masculine in genitive singular. Normal forms are never balanced by any such masculine genitive forms.

Here are some examples illustrating what has been stated above.

Ablative : *yajñād deva-yonyai prajanayati*, he propagates from the sacrifice, as the birth place of the gods ( AB. 12.8.2 ). *tasyā ālabdhāyai sā vāg apacakrāma*, Speech went away from her when she was slaughtered ( ŚB. 1.1.4.26 ). *sūryas tvā purastāt pātu kasyāś cid abhiśastyai*, may Sūrya guard you against any imprecation ( ŚB. 1.3.4.8 ).

Avestan parallel : *us mazdayasnanąm vīsąm zyanayaē-ca vīvāpat-ca*, ( I solemnly condemn ) both the damaging and laying waste of the villages of Mazda-worshippers ( Ys. 12.2 ).

Genitive : *varṣma pṛthivyai*, surface of the earth ( AB. 6.2.7 ). *sarvasyai vācaḥ sarvasya brahmaṇaḥ parigṛhītyai*, to secure the



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whole of speech, the whole of holy power ( AB. 7.5.8 ). *tasyai yad aindram padam* ( AB. 9.2.6 ). *na ekasyai bahavaḥ saha patayaḥ* ( AB. 12. 12. 1 ). *madhyaṃ striyai prāpya* ( AB. 28.1. 5 ). *guptyai asyai ca pṛthivyai*, for protection to this earth ( ŚB. 1.1.2.23). *tasyai garbhaḥ papāta*, she miscarried ( ŚB. 1.4.5.11 ). *yasyai devatāyai havir bhavati tasyai medhyaṃ karoti* , for whichever deity the oblation is intended, for that one he thereby renders it sacrificially pure ( ŚB. 1.1.3.11 ).

Avestan parallel : *paiti jahikāyāi yatumaityāi .....kehrpem..... Haoma zūire, vadare' jaidhi*, against the body of the wicked woman full of wiles, O golden Haoma, smite (thy) weapon ( Ys. 9.32 ). *xsathremca ahurāi*, and the strength of Ahura ( *Yathā ahu··* ). *yathā urvathėm spitamāi*, as it were a friend of Spitama ( Ys. 19.14 ). *ahmāi dāmaṇ*, His creation ( Ys. 19.14 ).

Locative : *tam asyai tanute*, he spreads him thereon (ŚB. 3.9.3.2). *yasyai vā asyai bahulatamā oṣadhayaḥ*, where the plants are most abundant on her ( ŚB. 1.3.3.10 ). *asyai paśūn dadhāti*, upon this he places cattle ( ŚB. 7.4.2.10 ).

Avestan parallel : *us-nu ainhāi vīse jamyāt ašèmca xšathremca*, may there indeed arise in this place both righteousness and power ( Ys. 60.2 ).

Note : (1) Once the dative singular suffix for consonant stems appears to be used for the ablative : *vibhvam viśe-viśe*, spreading from house to house ( ŚB. 2.3.4.14 ).

(2) In the Avesta an example has been noted in which the dative plural has been used for the genitive plural : *yat dim dāmabyō cinasti*, when acknowledges him ( as lord ) of ( all ) creations ( Ys. 19.14 ).

5. These are the chief uses of the dative :

I. With verbs meaning giving, worshipping, speaking, leading, favouring, being angry, etc. ( see *infra* ).

II. With (a) substantives, (b) adjectives, and (c) adverbs.

III. *Dativus commodi et incommodi* ( Dative of Advantage and Disadvantage ).

IV. *Dativus finalis* ( or Dative of Purpose ).



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V. Temporal Dative.

VI. Adverbial Dative.

VII. Dative with prepositions.

6. Dative with verbs :

(1) To give, to assign :

*day* : *tasyai dayasva*, allow her a share ( ŚB. 14.2.1.10 ).

*dā* : *tebhyaḥ . . . . adaduḥ* ( AB. 30.9.1 ). *yasmai kāmayeta tasmai dadyāt*, should give to him whom (he) likes ( ŚB. 2.5.2.47 ). *tasmād gāyate na deyam* ( TS. 5.1.8 ). *yasmā etad dadāti* ( PB. 17.1.16 ). For Avesta see Vend. 15.3 etc. In Av. *upa-dā* also has the same construction ; vide Yt. 13.13.

*diś* (*anu-* ) : *tasmā ākhum eva paśūnām anu diśati*, assigns to him a mouse as the only animal ( ŚB. 2.6.2.10 ). ( *upa-* ) : *tasmā āraṇyam eva paśūnām upadiśati*, to him assigns of animals that of the forest ( ŚB. 3.7.2.3 ).

*dhā* : *vāk pataṅgāya dhīyate*, song is bestowed on the winged one ( ŚB. 2.1.4.29 ). *nāma me dhehi*, give me a name ( ŚB. 6.1.3.9 ). ( *api-* ) *kumārāya vā jātāya . . . . stanam apidadhyāt*, should give the breast to the newly born baby ( ŚB. 2.2.1.1 ). *rudrāyāpidadhāti*, entrusts ( him ) to Rudra ( TS. 2.2.10 ). *devatābhyaḥ samadaṃ dadhāti*, he causes strife among the deities ( TS. 5.5.1 ).

( In the Brāhmaṇas the locative is more frequent with the root *dhā* than the dative ).

*pṛ* ( *ā-* ) : *yan me tanvā ūnaṃ tan ma āpṛṇa*, what defect there is in my body, supply that to me ( ŚB. 2.3.4.19 ).

*man* ( *anu-* ) : *tad asmai devā anumanyantām*, may gods grant him that ( ŚB. 1.9.1.19 ). *anvevāsmā anumatiṛ manyate*, Anumati gives approval to him ( TS. 3.4.9 ).

*muc* ( *prati-* ) : *athāsmā adhvaryur niṣkam pratimuñcan vācayati*, the Adhvaryu then, hanging a gold ornament round him, makes him utter ( ŚB. 13. 4.1.7 ). *tam asmai srajam pratyamuñcat*, hang that garland round him ( PB. 16.4-3 ).

*kṛ* ( *causative* ) : *ṛtvigbhyas taṃ kārayet*, he should cause it to be given to the priests ( KB. 18.22 ).

*pad* ( *sam-, causative* ) : *devebhyo havyam sampādayati* (ĀB. 6.5.9).



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*bhaj* : *prajāpatiḥ . . . . yajñaṃ devebhyo . . . . vyabhajat*, Prajāpati assigned to the gods the sacrifice ( AB. 12.2.1 ). *kim mahyam abhākta*, what have you attached to me ? ( AB. 22.9.2 ).

*yam* : *yathā pipāsate kṣipram prayacchet* ( AB. 27.5.7 ). *mahyam asminn āsane'cchidraṃ śarma yacchata*, in this seat do ye me accord unfailing protection ( AB. 40.4.5 ). *nāpitāya kṣuram prayacchati*, gives the razor to the barber ( ŚB. 3.1.2.9 ).

*rā* : *devā vā imam mahyam arāsata*, gods granted that to me ( AB. 33.5.2 ). *tad asmai devā rāsantām*, may god vauchsafe that to him ( ŚB. 1.9.1.19 ).

*vid* ( *anu-* ) : *etaṃ devebhyo' nuvidya* ( ŚB. 6.3.3.9 ).

*śiṣ* ( *pari-* ) : *nāsmabhyaṃ kiṃ cana pariśekṣyati*, he will leave nothing to us ( ŚB. 4.3.4.23 ). *tāvantam eva tad dviṣate lokam pariśinaṣṭi* ( AB. 4.6.7 ). *yajamānāyaiva tal lokaṃ śiṃṣati* ( TB. 3.3.8.2 ).

*hā* ( *ati-pra-* ) : *pratiprasthātre 'tiprajihīte*, hands it to the Pratiprasthātṛ ( ŚB. 2.5.2.40 ).

*sādh* : *saniṃ goḥ . . . . yajamānāya sādha*, accord to the sacrificer the gain of a cow ( TS. 4.2.4.1 ).

*sū* : *tad asmai savitā prasavitā prasauti* ( ŚB. 5.1.5.16 ).

(2) To worship, offer in sacrifice :

*kṛ* : *pūṣṇe caruṃ kurvanti*, offers the mess to Pūṣan(ŚB. 1.7.4.7). *kiṃ ca na svāya mahimne iti kriyate*, no worship has been offered to his own greatness ( ŚB. 1.7.3.3 ). *evam asmā ātithyaṃ karoti*, so he prepares for him the guest – offering ( ŚB. 3.4.1.2 ).

*yaj* : *vapāyai yajati*, ( this ) he says for the omentum (AB. 6.9.5).

*hu* : *śraddhāyai hotavyam*, should be offered to Śraddhā ( AB. 32.2.4 ).

The locative is also construed with *hu* : *yad agnau juhoti tad deveṣu juhoti*, what he offers in the fire he offers to the gods ( ŚB. 2.3.1.1 ).

*labh* (*ā–*) : *hantainam agnibhyaḥ kāmāyālabhai*, well then, I will slaughter them for the Agni, as for the ( object of my ) desire ( ŚB. 6.2.1.6 ). *te'gnim evāgnaye medhyāyālabhanta*, they offered Agni as sacrifice to Agni, the holy ( TS. 6.3.5 ). *tām aviṃ vaśām ādityebhyaḥ kāmāyālabhanta*, they offered the barren ewe to the Ādityas as desire ( TS. 2.1.2 ).



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*yajñiya* ( nominal verb ). *devā devebhyo yajñiyanto'sthuḥ*, the gods stood ready to perform the sacrifice to the gods (ŚB. 9.2.3.10).

(3) To speak, to praise, to command etc. :

*ah* : *tasmād apacitim evāsmā etad āha*, mentions honor for him ( AB. 40.3.5 ). ( *anu* ): *yādṛśāya vai sate' nvāha*, what he for whom they recite is like (ŚB. 1.3.5.12). *stokebhyo 'nvāha* recite to the drops ( ŚB. 3.8.2.22 ) ( *nir-* ): *puṣṭim uttamāṃ yajamānāya nir āha*, announces highest prosperity to the sacrificer ( ŚB. 1.9.2.33 ). ( *vi-* ): *ya upahatāya vyāha*, if one points out ( an error ) to one who comes to grief ( TS. 7.3.1 ).

*khyā* ( *ā-* ) : *iti hāsmā ākhyāya*, thus he told him ( AB. 33.1.14 ).

*gṛ* ( *prati-ā-* ) : *tasmā etad girate pratyevādhvaryur āgṛṇāti*, to him thus singing the Adhvaryu responds ( ŚB. 4.3.2.1 ).

[ Cf. Pāṇini : *anupratigṛṇaśca* 1. 4.41 ].

*iṣ* ( *pra-* ) : *devāya savitre preṣya*, prompt ( the Hotṛ to recite the offering prayer ) to the god Savitṛ ( ŚB. 4.4.1.7 ).

*cakṣ* ( *ā-* ) : *tan ma ācakṣva*, tell me that ( AB. 33.1.2 ).

*diś* ( *ā-* ) : *kim anyasyai devatāyā ādiśet*, what should he announce to another deity ( ŚB. 1.6.2.7 ).

*brū* : *iti me somāya brūtāt*, say thou for me unto Soma ( ŚB. 3.3. 2.6 ). *mā devebhyaḥ sukṛtam brūtāt*, tell the gods of me as a doer of good ( ŚB. 4.5.3.10 ). *tebhyo brūhi* ( ŚB. 10.4.3.7 ). (*anu*): *sadyo ha brāhmaṇāyānubrūyāt*, he should teach the Brahman at once (ŚB. 11. 5.4.12 ). *paryagnaye kriyamāṇāyānubrūhi* ( AB. 6.5.1 ). *yad agnaye mathyamānāyānu vācāha* ( AB. 3. 5. 3 ). *agnaye pavamānāyānubrūhi*, pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni ( ŚB. 2. 2.2.11 ). *devebhyo'nvabravīt*, he recited it to the gods ( AB. 7.5 ). ( *pra-* ): *pra tvevāsurebhyo bravāma*, let us then treat openly with the Asuras ( ŚB. 2. 2. 2. 11 ). ( *prati-pra-* ): *tāṃ haibhya āgatām pratiprovāca*, he reported to them her having come ( ŚB. 3.2.1.22 ).

*vac* : *vaktāsmo vā idaṃ devebhyaḥ*, we shall declare this to the gods ( AB. 25.4.1 ). *prātar vaḥ prativaktāsmi*, I shall give you the reply next morning ( AB. 12.11.1 ). *indrāya vīrājaṃ uvāca* ( ŚB. 12.6.1.40 ). *pūrve pūrvebhyo vaca etad ūcuḥ* ( TB. 3.12.9 ). ( *anu-* ): *sa prajāpatir manasa evānūvāca*, Prajāpati decided in



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favour of the mind ( ŚB. 1. 4. 5. 11 ). *so' yam paro'varaṃ yajño 'nucyate pitaiva putrāya brahmacāriṇe*, this same sacrifice is taught by the former to the latter, the father to his son when he is a student ( ŚB. 1.6.2.4 ). ( *pra-* ): *tasyai gandharvā vedān eva procire*, the Gandharvas recited the Vedas to her (ŚB. 3. 2.4.5 ). *etad dha vai tac chāṇḍilyo vāmakakṣāyaṇāya procyovāca*, and regarding this, Śāṇḍilya having instructed Vāmakakṣāyāṇa said (ŚB. 10.4.1.11). (*prati-pra-*): *yo brahmaṇe devebhyaḥ pratiprocyāśvam badhnāti*, he who fetters the horse without announcing it to the Brahman and the gods ( ŚB. 13.1.2,4 ).

*vad* : *sā hāsmai vācam uvāda*, she spoke to him ( ŚB. 1.8.1.2 ). *sa vadeta purodhāyai* ( AB. 40.4.1 ). *tat saṃjñām evaitat kṛṣṇājināya ca vadati*, he establishes a mutual understanding between her and the black antelope skin ( ŚB. 1.1.4.5 ).

*vid* ( *ni-, causative* ) : *tebhyo yo'nivedya svargaṃ lokam eti*, whoever without notification to them goes to the world of heaven ( AB. 2. 4.2 ). *enam etad devebhyo nivedayati*, introduces him to the gods ( ŚB. 1.4.2.3 ; 3.2.1.39 ; 5.2.2.15 ).

*hve* (*abhi-* ) : *asmā āraṇyān paśūn abhihvayanti*, they would even call forest beasts to him ( ŚB. 5.3.5.4 ).

*śru* ( *prati-* ) : *tasmai hāmantryamāṇo na pratiśṛṇoti*, when addressed he made no answer to him ( SB. 1.4.1.10 ). Cf. Pali : *rañño māgadhassa paṭissutvā* ( Mahāparinibbānasutta 49 ).

*hnu* : *atho' nyevāsmai hnuvate* ( TB. 3.9.6.2 ). ( *apa-* ) : *tayā te' pahnuve*, with her I make atonement ( or apologise) to thee ( ŚB. 4.1.5.7 ). ( *ni* ) : *tasmā evaitan nihnute*, he thereby propitiates it ( ŚB. 1.1.2.10 ). *asyā evaitan nihnute*, thus she propitiates her ŚB. 1.3.1 ). *devebhyaḥ . . . . ārtvijyaṃ kariṣyan nihnute*, ( ŚB. 1.4.5 ). *tad ahaṃ nihnuve tubhyam*, that I apologise to thee ( AB. 33.5.4 ). *tasmā etan nihnute' hiṃsāyai* ( ŚB. 6.7.3.13 ). In Av. the following verbs meaning to 'speak' are construed with the dative : *mru, vac, paiti-vac, du, ā-peres, berezay, gerez, sanh, budh* ( causative ).

(4) To hear :

*śru : tasyai yatra vadantyai śṛṇvanti*, when they hear her speak ŚB. 1.1.4.16 ). *ārē 3 asme ca śṛṇvatā 3*, to him who hears us even from afar ( ŚB. 2.3.4.10 ).



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*ram* (causative) : *paśūn evāsmai ramayati*, he makes cattle abide for (i. e., listen to) him (TS. 6.3.6).

(5) To believe in, to have confidence in :

*śraddhā* : *bṛhaspatir akāmayata śran me devā dadhīran*, Bṛhaspati desired, 'may the gods have faith in me' (TS. 7.4.1). *tasmā eva śrad dadhāma*, we shall believe him (ŚB. 1.3.1.27). [Genitive also is available with this construction (see *supra*)]. *tato vai tasmai śrad devā adadhata* (TB. 3.1.4.11). Cf. Pali : *mayhaṃ na saddahatha* (J. 1. 222).

*ślāgh* : *yasyā eva bhūyiṣṭhaṃ ślāgheta tām bhikṣeta*, let him beg alms only from her in whom he has the greatest confidence (ŚB. 11.3.3.7).

In Pali too *silāghati* is also construed with the dative (see Childers).

(6) To help, to be gracious to :

*nam* (*sam-*) : *tam asmai yajña āśiṣaṃ saṃ namayati*, that blessing the sacrifice realises for him (ŚB. 1.5.1.2).

*mṛḍ* : *ta evāsmai mṛḍayanti*, they are indeed gracious to him (ŚB. 8.6.1.16).

*śak* : *karmaṇe vāṃ devebhyaḥ śakeyam*, may I aid the gods for your rite (TS. 1.1.4).

*śam* : *enam ayam etad devebhyo lokebhyaḥ śamayati*, he appeases him towards the gods, towards these worlds (ŚB. 6.7.3.14). *asmā evainā lokāya śamayati*, he appeases them towards this world (TS. 6.1.2).

*man* (*anu-*) : *yasmai vai rājyam anumanyanti*, to whom the (other) kings allow to assume the royal dignity (ŚB. 9.3.4.5).

*sthā* : *tiṣṭhasva no' nnādyāya*, serve us for food (AB. 15.1.8).

(7) To please, to satisfy ; to be pleased, to be satisfied :

*kam* : *yasmai kāmayate*, to whom he pleases (ŚB. 2.5.2.47).

*chad* : *tebhya eṣa loko'cchandayat*, that would please them (ŚB. 8.3.1.2). *asmā acchandayat*, pleased him (SB. 8.5.2.1). *sā hāsmai na chadayāṃ cakara*, she did not appeal to him (Kāṇva ŚB. 1.2.3.3).

*ruc* : (Vide P. 1.4.33). *ṛṣibhyo yajñaḥ prārocata*, the sacrifice pleased the Ṛṣis (ŚB. 11.2.3.7). Pali : *mā āyasmantānaṃ pi*



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*sanghabhedo rucittha* ( Pāt. 4.11) ; *mā te rucci* (Sutt. Pār. 1.2.2). *sāmi tumhākaṃ kiriyā mayhaṃ ruccati* ( J. 1. 242 ).

*svad* : *svadate hāsya devebhyo havyam*, his oblation is palatable to the gods ( ŚB. 2.4.4.16 ). *sarvam asmai svadate*, all is pleasant to him ( TS. 5.1.3 ). *svadante hāsmā oṣadhayaḥ* ( TB. 2.1.1.3 ).

Cf. *apāṃ hi tṛptāya na vāridhārā svāduḥ sugandhiḥ svadate tuṣārā* ( Naiṣadhakāvya ).

*svad* ( causative ) : *asmai svadayati*, makes pleasant for him ( AB. 6.9.7 ). *svadayatyenaṃ devatābhyaḥ*, he makes it palatable to the gods ( ŚB. 1.7.1.19 ). *svadayati ha vai devebhyo havyam*, makes the oblation palatable to the gods ( ŚB. 2.4.4.16 ). *annam evāsmai svadayati* ( TB. 1.1.63 ).

(8) To succeed : [ See *Dativus Commodi* below ]

*klp* : *kalpate'smai*, things go in order for him, i. e. he succeeds ( TS. 5.6.2 ). *tasyai janatāyai kalpate*, ( all ) is in order for that people ( AB. 2.3.2 ). *rājñe āsade'cīklpat*, he makes (the two) for the king to sit on ( AB. 5.3.7 ). *asmai jyaiṣṭhyāya kalpadhvam*, accept his superiority ( AB. 33.5.7 ). *kalpate ha vāsmai yogakṣemaḥ*, fortune attends him ( AB. 37.2.3 ). *devebhyaḥ kalpasva*, be thou meet for the gods ( ŚB. 3.5.1.33 ). *diśo hāsmai kalpante*, the quarters are in order for him ( KB. 30.7 ). ( Vide Vārttika ' *klpi sampadyamāne ca* ' under P. I. 4.44 ). Cf. Pali : *idaṃ vo kappati idaṃ vo na kappati* ( Mahāp. 257 ). *na kappati samānānaṃ* ( Cullav. 12.1.1 ). In Pali some synonyms of *klp* also are construed with the dative.

*klp* ( causative ) : *tābhyām etam bhāgam akalpayan* ( ŚB. 2.4.3.8 ).

*ṛdh* : *ṛdhyate'smai kṛṣau*, prosperity accrues to him in agriculture ( PB. 11.5.8 ). *so'smai kāmaḥ samṛdhyate*, he succeeds in that desire ( ŚB. 1.6.2.7 ). *sa ebhyaḥ kāmaḥ samārdhyata*, they succeeded in that desire ( ŚB. 1.6.2.7 ). *na haivāsmai tat samānṛdhe*, he did not succeed in that ( ŚB. 4.1.4.3 ).

*ṛdh* ( causative ) : *yad asmaī tat kāmaṃ samardhayeyuḥ*, they are bound to fulfil his wishes ( ŚB. 1.1.2.19 ).

*rādh* : *tan me rādhyāsam*, may I succeed in it ( ŚB. 1.1.1.2-3 ).

(9) To bring, to carry, to go, etc. ( Vide P. 2.3.12 ) :

*i* : *yanty asmai ca lokāya*, goes to that world ( AB. 1. 3. 2 ).



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(*prati-*) : *tubhyaṃ pratiyantu śatā gavām*, thine be the hundreds of kine (AB. 33.5.4). Cf. Av. : *urva parāiti parō-asnāi aṅhuhe* (Vend. 13.8).

*aj* (*abhi-ā-*) : *asmā ṛṣabhaṃ dakṣiṇām abhyājanti* (AB. 26.3.7). Cf. Av. : *dānubyō azen peshanāo* (Yt. 13.37).

*ūh* (*pari*) : *sajātān asmai yajamānāya paryūha* (TS. 1.1.7).

*gam* (causative) : *agnaya eva taj juṣṭiṃ srutiṃ gamayati*, verily thus he causes the libation to gladden Agni (AB. 5.4.13).

*nam* (*sam-*) : *tā asmai tṛptāḥ prītā etaṃ yajñasya rasaṃ saṃnamanti* (ŚB. 3.9.3.13).

*nī* : *manuṣyān .... devebhyo dakṣiṇā nayati*, men .... he leads as fees to the gods (AB. 25.3.4). *savitre yajñaṃ naya* (TS. 3.5.10). *mṛtyave vā eṣa nīyate yat paśuḥ*, the victim is led to death (TS. 6. 3. 8). *suvargāya vā eṣa lokāya nīyate*, he is led to the world of heaven (TS. 6.3.8).

*pad* : (causative with *upa-* and *ni-*) *mahiṣīm aśvāyopanipādayanti*, they cause the Mahiṣī to lie down near the horse (ŚB. 13.5.2.2).

*bhṛ* : *devebhyo havyam bharati*, carries the sacrifice to the gods (ŚB. 1.4.2.2). Cf. Vend. 8.71.

*vah* : *devebhyo yajñaṃ vahanti*, carry the sacrifice to the gods (ŚB. 1.3.4.6). Cf. Av. : *yat aētē yōi mazdayasna baēshazāi fravazaontē* (Vend. 7.36).

*hā* (*upa-pra-*) : *asmai tām pratiprajighyuḥ*, they bade her go to him (ŚB. 11. 5. 1. 11). (*pra-*): *aṅgirasa ādityebhyaḥ prajighyuḥ*, Aṅgirasas sent to the Ādityas (KB. 30.6).

*hṛ* (*ā-*) : *tṛṇānyasmā āharata*, bring him grasses (AB. 40.1.6). *rājña āgatāyodakam āharet*, should bring water to the king when he has come (ŚB. 9.3.4.26). (*ud-*): *uddhāraṃ me uddharata*, assign me a choice portion (AB. 12.80.2); (*pari-*): *brahmaṇe parihṛtyaḥ*, it is to be handed over to the Brahman (AB. 34.8.3). *bhagāyaitad dakṣiṇāya pariharata* (ŚB. 1.7.4.6). *tad bhagāya parijahruḥ*, they kept it for Bhaga (KB. 6.13).

*hṛ* (causative) : *atre evaitadādyaṃ valiṃ hārayati*, whereby he makes the food pay tribute to the eater (ŚB. 4.2.1.29). *prayājeṣu yajamānāya dviṣantam bhrātṛvyaṃ valiṃ hārayati*, in the Prayā-



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jas he causes the spiteful enemy to pay tribute to the sacrificer ( ŚB. 1.8.2.17 ; 1.5.3.18 )

(10) To be subject to, to fall a prey to :

*radh* : *asurebhyo vā idam bhrātṛvyebhyo radhyāmaḥ*, we are being subject to the Asuras, our foes ( TS. 6.2.2 ). *dviṣadbhyo radhyāma*, we shall fall a prey to our enemies ( ŚB. 3.4.2.3 ).

*vraśc* (*ā-*) : *yāṃ vā adhvaryuśca yajmānaśca devatām antaritaḥ syāt tasyā ā vṛścete*, to that deity whom the Adhvaryu and the sacrificer overlook do they fall victims ( TS. 3.7.9 ). *ā devatābhyo vṛścyeta*, would be brought low to the deities ( TS. 6.1.4 ); *na kasyai cana devatāyā āvṛścyate*, thereby he does not fall a victim to any deity ( KB. 11.4 ). *ā sūryāya vṛścyeta yat sūryāya prātar juhuyāt* ( TB. 2.12.10 ).

[ Note. There is no doubt that in ṚV. the construction of a *vraśc* was with the dative as the following instance shows : *viśaṃ gavāṃ yātudhānāḥ pibantu । ā vṛścyantām aditaye durevāḥ* ( ṚV. 10.87.18ab ). But in the most of the examples in the Brāhmaṇas the case is not so clear. Almost all of the instances are plural forms which are alike in the dative and the ablative, and the ablative sense ( 'to be removed from' ) may very well fit in ; cf. *devebhya ā vṛścyante*, are cut off from the gods ( ŚB. 3.4.3.19 ) ].

(11) To yield to :

*kṣam* : *na ha vā etasmā agre paśavaś cakṣamire*, animals did not at first submit to him ( ŚB. 3.7.3.1 ). *paśavo dānāya cakṣamire*, the animals submitted to being given away ( ŚB. 4.3.4.14 ).

*dhṛ* : *etasmā adhriyanta*, submitted thereto ( ŚB. 3.7.3.12 ). *dānāyādhriyanta*, were ready to give ( ŚB. 11.4.3.7 ).

*nam* : *tasyai namantāṃ janayaḥ* ( ŚB. 6.8.2.3 ).

*sthā* ( Vide Pāṇini *ślāghasthāhnuśapāṃ jñīpsyamānaḥ* 1. 4. 34 ) : *devebhyo vai paśavo 'nnādyāyālambhāya nātiṣṭhanta*, cattle would not serve the gods for slaying as food ( AB. 6.3.3 ). *indrāya vai devā jyaiṣṭhyāya śraiṣṭhyāya nātiṣṭhanta*, the gods did not admit the seniority of Indra ( AB. 19.3.8 ). *devarātāya tasthire dhṛtyai śraiṣṭhyāya gāthinaḥ*, accepted the control and pre-eminence of Devarāta ( AB. 33.6.8 ). *tiṣṭhante' smai samānāḥ śraiṣṭhyāya*, his equals



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submit to his superiority ( PB. 15.2.30 ). *anyonyasya śriyā atiṣṭhamānāḥ*, unwilling to yield to each others excellence ( ŚB. 3.4.1.2 ). *nāsya prajāḥ śriye'nnādyāya tasthire*, his offspring did not abide for his joy and food ( ŚB. 3.9.1.1 ). *kasmai nu vayaṃ tiṣṭhemahi*, to whom should we submit? ( ŚB. 3.2.4.14 ). *aśvāya tiṣṭhate ghāsam* ( ŚB. 6.6.3.8 ). *devebhyo ha vai mahāvrataṃ na tasthe*, now the Mahāvrata did not yield itself to the gods ( ŚB. 12.2.3.8 ). *athaiṣa evāsmā atiṣṭhata*, and the ( 'carma' ) itself submitted to that ( earthen pot ) ( ŚB. 14.2.2.54 ).

[ This idiom obtains in classical Sanskrit with some change of meaning ; '*sthā*' there means to impart one's inner motive. ( Vide P. 1. 4. 34 ). *tasthe saumitraye'sakau*, the creature ( Śūrpaṇakhā ) went to Saumitri to express her desire ( Bhaṭṭikāvya 4 ) ].

(12) To swear :

*śap* : *śepāno'smi namucaye*, I have sworn to Namuci ( ŚB. 12.7. 3.1 ); cf. P. 1. 4. 34. In Pali too this verb is construed with the dative ( see Childers ).

(13) To be angry with ( *krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānāṃ yam prati kopaḥ* P. 1. 4. 37 ) :

*arātīy* ( nominal verb ) : *yo'smabhyam arātīyati*, who has evil designs upon us ( TS. 4.1.10 ). *yaḥ . . . yajmānāyārātīyati*, who has evil designs upon the sacrificer ( ŚB. 1.2.4.14 ).

*asūy* : *sā hāsmā ārakād ivāgra āsūyat*, she at first disdained him from distance ( ŚB. 3.2.1.19 ).

*krudh* : *tebhyo ha vāk cukrodha*, speech was angry with them ( ŚB. 3. 5. 1. 21 ). *te hāpyaṅgirasa 'gnaye 'nvāgatya cukrudhuḥ*, Aṅgirasas going after Agni, were exceedingly angry with him ( ŚB. 3.5.1.16 ). *sa śāryātebhyaś cukrodha* ( ŚB. 4.1.5.3 ). For Pali see Childers.

*gur* : ( *ava-* ) : *brāhmaṇāya avagūrya* ( SmB. 1.7.4 ).

(14) To be averse to :

*glā* : *sāmi hāsmai sa glāyati*, too soon it languishes for him ( ŚB. 2.3.3.4 ). *glāyāmo ha saṃvatsarabhṛtāya*, we are unwilling to carry him for a year ( ŚB. 9.5.1.64 ). *yadi abhyavayanāya glāyet* ( ŚB. 3.8.5.10 ). *yad etasyai glāyāt*, if he is wearied of this ( sacrifice ) ( KB. 4.14 ).



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(15) To seek to injure :

*druh* ( Vide P. 1. 4. 37 ) : *anyonyasmai druhyāt*, should seek to injure one another ( TS. 6.2.2 ). *na satānunaptriṇe drogdhavyam*, one should not show treachery to one united by the bodily covenant ( AB. 4.7.7 ; ŚB. 3.4.2.9 ). *yadi me druhyeḥ*, if you do play me false ( AB. 39.1.2 ). *na yajamānāya druhyeḥ*, if you do the sacrificer no harm ( AB. 39.1.2 ). *na yajamānāya druhyasi*, do not harm the sacrificer ( ŚB. 2.3.4.38 ).

[ Note. So also *apa-rādh* in the classical language : *na dūye sātvatīsūnur yan mahyam aparādhyati*, I am not sorry that the son of Sātvatī harms me (Śiśupālavadha). In Vedic prose the meaning of this verb was 'to miss' e. g. *yathaiva gatvā kāṣṭhām aparādhnuyāt* ( See *supra*, Accusative ); the semantic change has necessitated the change of construction ].

(16) To envy, to hate ; ( P. 1. 4. 37 ) :

*dvis* : *dviṣantam evāsmai tat pāpmānam bhrātṛvyam apabādhate*, verily he drives away the evil rival who hates him ( AB. 3.2.6 ). ( The accusative is more frequent with this verb ).

*spṛhay* : *spṛhayanti u hāsmai*, people envy him ( ŚB. 2.2.3.5 ; Kāṇva ŚB. 1.2.3.4 ).

[ In classical Sanskrit this root has changed its meaning from 'envy' to 'long or yearn' : *spṛhayāmi khalu durlalitāya*, I am longing for this disportive child ( Śakuntala 7) ; *spṛhayālum kapiṃ strībhyaḥ* ( Bhaṭṭikāvya 7. 21 ). *bhavabandhacchide tasyai spṛhayāmi na muktaye* ( Bhāgavatapurāṇa ). From this example it is apparent that the second meaning is the original one. This dative was originally the *dativus finalis*.

(17) To cast at, to hurl : [ vide *Dattivus Incommodi* ].

*hṛ* ( *pra-* ) intransitive : *tasmai vā etena prahara*, smite him with this thunderbolt ( PB. 15.5.20 ). *mā nu me prahārṣīḥ*, do not hurl ( thy thunderbolt ) at me ( ŚB. 1.6.3.17 ). Transitive : *ebhyo vajram prahartāsmi*, I shall hurl the thunderbolt at them ( AB. 7.6.4 ). *vṛtrāya vajram udayacchat tam asami prāharat*, lifted the thunderbolt against Vṛtra and hurled it at him ( AB. 16.2,2 ). *indro vṛtrāya vajraṃ prajahāra*, Indra threw the thunderbolt at Vṛtra ( ŚB. 1.2. 4.1 ). Cf. Av. : *yō sūnē piśtrem jainti yim pasuśhaurvē* ( Vend. 13.10).



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(18) To exist for, to accrue to :

*as* : *abhayaṃ vo'bhayaṃ me'stu*, safety be to you, safety to me (AB. 32.11.8). *tad ṛṣīn prati bhastrāyai yajūṃṣy āsuḥ*, in the case of the Ṛṣis the Yajuṣ text applied to a leather bag (ŚB. 1.1.2.7). *nānā śrāntāya śrīr asti*, manifold is the properity of him who is weary (AB. 33.3.1). *āyur dātra edhi*, be thou life to the giver (ŚB. 3.4.1.6). *sarvasmai me'nnam edhi*, be thou food to my all (ŚB. 1.6.3.17). *devaloke me'pyasat*, may there be a place for me in the world of the gods (ŚB. 4.3.4.6). *astu mahyam apy etasmin bhāgaḥ*, in it may there be a share to me (ŚB. 11.3.3.1). Cf. Av. : *cvat ahmāi nairē mīzhdem aṅhat* (Vend. 8.81).

*bhū* : *abhayaṃ haivāsmai bhavati*, safety becomes his lot (AB. 32. 11.8). *yadā vai kṣatriyāya pāpaṃ bhavati*, when evil happens to a Kṣatriya (AB. 35.3.2). *sarvato hāsmā anamitram abhayam bhavati*, from all sides freedom from foes and danger becomes his (AB. 37. 6.8). *saṃtatavarṣī ha prajābhyaḥ parjanyo bhavati*, Parjanya comes to rain continually for offspring (AB. 8.1.6). *mama bhogāya bhava*, exist for my enjoyment (TS. 1.2.3). *yo'sya prajāyāṃ ṛdhyata asmākam bhogāya bhavāt*, let him who shall be prosperous among his offspring be our for enjoyment (TS. 6.5.6). Cf. Av. : *ušta buyāt ahmāi nairē* (Yt. 10.91).

(19) To appear, to become manifest :

*as* : *asmai sasṛjānāya divevāsa*, after creating him there was, as it were, daylight for him (ŚB. 11.1.6.7).

*bhū* : *sarvam asmai divā bhavati*, everything appears as day to him (PB. 5.8.9). (*pra-*): *devebhyo vai suvargo loko na prābhavat*, to the gods the world of heaven did not become manifest (TS. 6.6.11).

*ruc* : *prāṇāya hīdaṃ sarvaṃ rocate*, everything here shines to life (ŚB. 7.5.2.15). (*pra-*): *athaibhyaḥ pathyā svastiḥ prārocata*, then Pathyā Svasti appeared to them (ŚB. 3.2.3.8).

[The meaning of this verb underwent a change even in the Vedic language. From 'to shine, to appear' it became 'to become pleasant'. Vide Pāṇini *rucyarthānām prīyamāṇaḥ* 1. 4. 33); also *supra*].

*ruc* (*pra-*, causative) : *tebhyo devā vaiva prarocayāṃ cakruḥ*, gods caused it to be attracted to them (ŚB. 1.6.2.3).



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(20) To suffice for :

*bhū* ( *pra-* ) : *sa haibhyo vihṛto na prababhūva*, he did not suffice for them ( AB. 4.1.1 ).

(21) To be able [ This dative approaches the dative infinitive and it is often very difficult to distinguish between the two ] :

*bhū* : *agnir iva na pratidhṛṣe bhavati*, like Agni he is not to be overcome ( TS. 2.2.4 ). *na hi ayanāya cana bhavati*, he is unable to walk ( ŚB. 2.4.2.6 ). *na vā eṣa krūrakarmaṇe bhavati yad yajamānaḥ*, the sacrificer is not capable of a cruel act ( ŚB. 5.4.3.12 ).

(22) To agree, to be in harmony :

*jñā* ( *sam-* ) : *tasmai viśaḥ saṃjānate*, with him are his people in harmony ( AB. 40.4.3 ). *saṃjñānāneṣu vai brūyāt sauhārdyāya me śriyai*, bid these agree for friendship and prosperity to me ( AB. 33.5.7 ). ( *abhi-* ) *tato vā indraṃ devā jaiṣṭhyāya abhi samajānata*, then the gods agreed to recognise Indra's pre-eminence ( TS. 2.3. 11 ). *abhisaṃjānate ha vā asmai svāḥ śraiṣṭhyāya*, his people grants accord to his pre-eminence ( KB. 26. 14 ).

( Pāṇini prescribes Accusative and Instrumental with the verb *saṃ jñā* : *saṃ jño'nyatarasyāṃ karmaṇi* ( 2.3.22 ). But the precise meaning of *saṃ jñā* there is hard to ascertain because not a single instance in illustration can be quotable from Classical literature. Patañjali gives this got-up illustration : *pitrā pitaraṃ vā saṃjānīte* ).

7. Dative with Substantives.

The dative is used independently with the following substantives [ Vide P. 2.3.16 : *namaḥsvastisvāhāsvadhālaṃvaṣaḍyogācca* ].

*namas*. It is used with *kṛ*, *as* and also without any verb : *brahmaṇe namas karoti* ( AB. 37.5.6 ). *namo'stu brahmiṣṭhāya*, salutation be to the best Brahman ( ŚB. 11.6.3.2 ). *namo brahmaṇe*, salutation to Brahman ( AB. 37.5.5 ). *idaṃ ca namo devebhyaḥ* ( ŚB. 1.9.1.23 ). *ṛṣe namas te'stu*, O seer, homage be to thee ( KB. 12. 3 ). Cf. Av. : *nemo haomāi* ( Ys. 9.3 ). The dative is available also when it is compounded with *kṛ* : *brahmaṇe namaskṛtya* (AB.37.5.5 ). *pitṛbhyo namaskriyate* ( AB. 13.13.18 ).

*vaṣaṭ* : *yasmai vaṣaṭ karoti*, to whom he says Vaṣaṭ (AB. 11.7.7 ).

*svasti* : *svastir mānuṣebhyaḥ* ( ŚB. 1.8.3.21 ).



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*gātu* : *gātuṃ yajñāya*, success to the sacrifice ( ŚB. 1.9.1.27 ).

*svagā* : *svagā daivyā hotṛbhyaḥ*, godspeed to Hotṛs ( ŚB. 2.5.2.44 ).

*āśiṣ* ( with the verb *vad* ) : *paśubhya eva tad āśiṣaṃ vadate*, verily thus he pronounces a benediction for cattle ( KB. 8.7 ).

*kam* : *kaṃ vai prajāpatiḥ prajābhyaḥ karīrair akuruta*, Prajāpati created happiness to the offspring with the Karīra ( ŚB. 2.5.2.11 ). *bhavaty asmai kam*, happiness becomes his ( ŚB. 3.9.1.1 ). *candramā hi ādityāya kam*, the moon is a joy to the sun ( ŚB. 10.6.2.6 ). *kasmai kam adhvaryur āśrāvayati*, for whose gain does the Adhvaryu cause (him) to proclaim ? ( TS. 3.3.7 ). *na tat paśubhyaḥ kam* ( TB. 3.3.2.3 ).

*akam* : *na hi tatra kasmai canākam bhavati*, there is no pain for whosoever goes there ( ŚB. 8.4.1.24 ). *na vai tatra jagmuṣe kiṃcanākam*, there is no pain for whosoever went there ( PB. 21.8.4 ). *adhvaryave ca yajamānāya cākaṃ syāt* ( TB. 3.7.2.5 ).

*śam* : *bhava tokāya tanayāya śaṃ-yoḥ*, be kindly to the son ( TS. 1.1.14 ).

[ Note the following instance : *mṛṣaiva te saṃgaraḥ kaśyapāya*, in vain is this thy promise unto Kaśyapa ( ŚB. 13.7.1.18 ) ].

The dative is construed with the indefinite pronoun *ka*. The dative is here practically one of identity ( in a derogatory sense ).

Examples : *ka u tasmai manuṣyo yaḥ* ... ... compared to him what is man that he should appropriate to himself all food ( ŚB. 5.2.2.3 ). *ko hi tasmai manuṣyaḥ*, what man is equal thereto ? ( ŚB. 12.3.3.5 ). *ka u tasmai manuṣyo yaḥ sahasram avārundhīta*, but what is man that he could secure for himself a ( life ) of a thousand years ? ( ŚB. 10.4.4.3 ).

( This should be compared to Pāṇini 2.3.17 : *manyakarmaṇyanādare vibhāṣāprāṇiṣu*. This aphorism confines the dative to inanimate objects and with the verb *man* only. This idiom I have not met with in the Brāhmaṇas I have treated. One of its early occurrence is the following from the Bhaṭṭikāvya : *tṛṇāya matvā raghumandano'sau vāṇena rakṣaḥ pradhanān nirāsthat* ( Canto 2 ); also : *jananīṃ janmasthānaṃ bāndhavalokaṃ vasūni jīvaṃ ca । puruṣaviśeṣāsaktāḥ sīmantinyas tṛṇāya manyante* ( Vetāla., quoted in Ind. Spr. ). The dative is really the predicative dative. )

7. The Dative with Adjectives.



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The dative frequently appears with adjectives meaning *beneficial, friendly, hostile, pleasant, submissive* etc.

*śiva* : *śivo hāsmā eṣaḥ ... ... bhavati*, kind he becomes to him (AB. 35.7.4). *sarvebhyo 'ṅgebhyaḥ śivaḥ*, he is beneficial for all the limbs (ŚB. 3.8.4.4). *śivam prajābhyaḥ*, (ŚB. 6.4.1.2).

*sādhu* : *sādhu devebhyaḥ*, well for the gods (ŚB. 1.3.1.19).

*bheṣaja* and *sukha* : *puruṣāya bheṣajaṃ, sukham meṣāya meṣyai*, a remedy for man, a blessing for the ram and the ewe (ŚB.2.6.2.11).

*hita* : *jīvebhyo hitam*, beneficial to animals (ŚB. 13.8.1.9). *tad yajamānāya hitam* (AB. 7.8.2).

*ahita* : *jñātibhyo hasmai tad ahitaṃ syāt* (ŚB. 2.5.2.20). *api vai tad ṛtvije 'hitam*, that is not beneficial to the Ṛtvij (AB. 9. 8. 5).

*mitra* : *viśvaṃ hāsmai mitraṃ bhavati*, the world becomes friendly to him (AB. 29.4.17).

*syona, suśeva* : *yathā pitā putrāya syonah sus'evaḥ*, as the father is kind and pleasant to the son (ŚB. 8.2.1.6). *sāsasthyaṃ devebhyaḥ*, pleasant to sit upon for the gods (ŚS. 1.1.11 ; ŚB. 1.3.4.11).

*anāgas* : *anāgasas tubhyaṃ cāsmai ca syāma*, sinless we become to you and to her (ŚB. 6.7.3.8).

*durmitriya* : *durmitriyās tasmai santu*, may (the waters and plants) be unfriendly to him (ŚB. 3.8.5.11).

*purogava* : *asmā etat purogavam akaḥ*, he made holy power precede him (AB. 3.2.4).

*abhirūpa* : *prahriyamāṇāyābhirūpā*, is the appropriate (verse) for him when being taken forward (AB. 3.5.20).

*anujīvinī* : *jāyāyai anujīvinī jīvati*, lives as inferior to a wife (AB. 13.11.5).

*pratipratinī* : *kurvanti kṣatrāya viśam pratipratinīm*, make the people rival to the kingly power (ŚB. 10.4.3.2).

*anuvartman* : *viśaṃ caivāsmai tac chaudraṃ ca varṇam anvartmānau kurvanti*, make the people and the Śūdra colour obedient to him (AB. 36. 4. 5). *kṣatrāyaivaitad viśaṃ kṛtānukarām anuvartmānaṃ karoti*, makes the people subservient and obedient to the Kṣatra (ŚB. 4.3.3.10).



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*pratyudyamin* : *yajamānāya ha te yajamānaloke dviṣantam bhrātṛvyam pratyudyāminīṃ kurvanti*, in the sacrificer's realm they raise for the sacrificer a spiteful enemy of equal power ( ŚB. 8.5.3.8 ).

*śuśruṣeṇya* : *śuśrūṣeṇyām manuṣyebhyaḥ*, acceptable to men ( TS. 3.3.2 ).

*joṣita* : *yatraivāsmā āśasanaṃ joṣitaṃ syāt*, at whatever place may have commended itself to him for immolation ( ŚB. 12.5.2.1 ).

*vasīyas* : *śvaḥ śvo'smā ījānāya vasīyo bhavati*, day after day it becomes better for him ( TS. 2.5.4 ).

*ardhuka* : *tasmād brāhmaṇāya sarvāsu dikṣvardhukam*, therefore the Brahman finds prosperity in all the quarters ( TS. 5.6.4 ).

*madhujihva, viṣajihva* : *madhujihvo vai sa devebhya āsīd viṣajihvo 'surebhyaḥ*, sweet-tongued to the gods but poison-tongued he was to the Asuras ( ŚB. 1.1.4.18 ).

*lokakṛt* : *putraḥ pitre lokakṛj jātavedaḥ* ( TB. 1.1.20 ).

*pratyudgāminī* : *pratyudgāminīṃ ha kṣatrāya viśaṃ kuryāt*, should make the people refractory to the nobility ( ŚB. 4.3.3.10 ).

*dānakāma* : *dānakāmā asmai prajā bhavanti*, his offsprings desire gifts to him ( TS. 2.1.6 ; TB. 1.1.9 ).

*rātamanas* : *sa rātamanās tasmai karmaṇe syāt*, he will be well-disposed to that work ( ŚB. 3.6.4.7 ).

*goptrī* : *asmā etad goptrīṃ karoti*, makes a protectress to him ( ŚB. 13.4.1.14 ).

In the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā the following substantives and adjectives are construed with the dative : *alaṃ* ( with *kṛ* and *bhū*), 8.11, etc. ; *avasa*, 21.7 ; *kam*, 22.7 ; *dānākāma*, 11.4 ; *vaṣaṭ*, 19.5 ; *śiva, suhṛdayatama*, 11.6.

Cf. Avesta : *hvō nā frasruidyāi erethwō* ( Ys. 46.13 ) ; *yōi zarazdāo aŋhan mazdāi* ( Ys. 31.1 ) ; *yahmāi ašavā fryō* ( Ys. 46.6 ) ; *ye dregvaite vahišto* ( Ys. 46.6 ).

8. The Dative with Adverbs.

The following adverbs appear with the dative.

*alam* : *yad alaṃ homāya syāt*, if it be enough for an oblation ( AB. 25.2.9 ) ; *alaṃ vai tvam etasmā asi*, thou art equal to this ( ŚB. 1.4.2.1 ). *athālaṃ yajñāya bhavati*, there is abundant (material)



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for sacrifice ( ŚB. 3.2.1.30 ). *ātmane ca nālam bhavati*, there is not enough for himself ( ŚB. 3.2.1.30 ). *na vai brāhmaṇo rājyāyālam*, a Brahman is unsuited for kingship ( ŚB. 5.1.1.12 ). *na vā eṣo'laṃ śriyai dhāraṇāya*, he is not equal to sustain distinction ( ŚB. 8.6. 2.1). *yo'laṃ grāmāya san grāmaṃ na vindate*, who, though fit ( to rule ) a tribe, does not get it ( PB. 18.5.8 ); *alaṃ nu vai mahyam* ( PB. 13.10.8 ).

[ Genitive too appears sporadically, e. g. *yo'lam prajāyāḥ san prajāṃ na vindate* ( PB. 18.5.9 ) ].

*āvis* ( with *as* and *bhū* ) : *keśine vā etad dālbhyāya sāma āvir abhavat*, this Sāman became manifest to Keśin Dālbhya ( PB. 13. 10.8 ). *ebhya āvir abhavat* ( AB. 12.4.2 ). *sa svāya rūpāyāvir bhaviṣyati*, he will become manifest unto his own form ( ŚB. 6.3.1.22 ). *sa tubhyam āvir bhaviṣyati* ( ŚB. 7.3.2.14 ). *asmā āvir asāma*, let us appear to him ( ŚB. 11.5.1.5 ).

9. Dativus Commodi et Incommodi.

The dative sometimes denotes the person who is affected, either advantageously or disadvantageously, by the action. This is a fundamental and well-marked function of the dative. It is highly probable that Pāṇini, though he did not lay out a separate rule, had something of this idiom in view when he thus defined the case : *karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam* ( 1. 4. 32 ). This rule has been improved by the Vārtt. : *kriyayā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam*. But unfortunately both Pāṇini and Kātyāyana overlooked or ignored the *dativus incommodi*. This fact, and the fact that the idiom is scanty ( if it occurs at all ) in classical Sanskrit, point to the artificiality of the so-called '*saṃskṛta*' language. In the latter language the genitive greatly usurped this function of the dative, no doubt perhaps influenced by the Middle Indo-Aryan.

(a) The Dative of Advantage ( *Dativus Commodi* ) :

*yajñam evāsmā etad vitanoti*, for him he extends the sacrifice ( AB. 1.4.2 ). *asmabhyam anuvakṣyati*, for us he will recite ( AB. 7. 5.4 ). *jīmutavarṣī ha prajābhyaḥ parjanyo bhavati*, Parjanya rains much for the people ( AB. 8.1.7 ). *satatavarṣī ha prajābhyaḥ parjanyo bhavati*, Parjanya comes to rain continuously for offspring ( AB. 8.1.6 ). *asmai tad dvāram vivṛṇoti*,



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opens the door to him ( AB. 5.4.19 ). *sa yat purohitāya karoti*, what he does for ( the benefit of ) the priests ( AB. 40.1.4 ). *ātmane'gniṃ cinute*, piles the fire for himself ( TS. 5.2.3 ). *prajābhya evainaṃ śamayati*, for his offspring he makes him gentle ( TS. 5.2.2 ). *prāṇāya vātāyorugāyaṃ kurute*, effects free scope for the air of breath ( ŚB. 1.1.2.14 ). *aśvaṃ babandha sārañyaṃ devebhyo janamejayaḥ*, Janamejaya consecrated a horse for the gods ( AB. 39.7.3 ). *mānuṣāya rājñe ādadate*, they take it up for the human king ( ŚB. 3. 3. 4. 26 ). *tasmā etām puraṃ paryaśrayan*, they drew that rampart round it ( ŚB. 6.3.3.24 ). *tasmāt kṛṣṭāya varṣati*, so it rains for ( the benefit of ) the ploughed ground ( ŚB. 7. 2.4.5 ). *tān haivaṃvide sarvadā sarvāṇi bhūtāni cinvanti*, all beings at all times build them for him who knows this ( ŚB. 10.5.3.12 ). *taṃ vai me tvam eva vṛṇīṣva*, choose thou that for me ( ŚB. 11.5.1.12). *yadā vai puruṣaḥ śriyaṃ gacchati, vīṇā asmai vādyate*, when a man attains distinction, the lute is played to him ( ŚB. 13.1.5.1 ); *yadā khalu vai puruṣaḥ śriyam aśnute vīṇāsmai vādyate* ( TB. 3.9.14). *viśo rāṣṭrāya vañcanti*, the people, indeed, bustle for royal power ( ŚB. 13. 2.9.6 ). *tasmai jātāyāmīmāṃsanta*, they discussed ( in favour ) of him when born ( PB. 12.10.15 ). *ācāryāya karma karoti* ( ŚB. 11.3.3.6). *tasmā imā oṣadhayo'nnam apacanta*, for him these plants prepared food ( ŚB. 6. 1. 2. 11). *ayaṃ me gṛhān kariṣyati*, he will build me a house ( ŚB. 2. 3. 4. 6 ); Cf. KS. 10. 6. *atha yaiva te śivā śagmyā yajñiyā tanus tayeha manuṣyebhyo bhaviṣyasi*, then wilt thou be here for man with that form of thine which is auspicious, helpful and worthy of sacrifice ( KB. 1.1 ). *manuṣyebhyo 'tapat*, he burnt here for man ( KB. 1.1 ). *samedhante 'smā ime lokāḥ prajayā paśubhiḥ*, the worlds prosper for him with progeny and cattle ( TB. 3.3.1 ). *kalpate'smai*, things go in order for him ( see Nominative, *supra* ). *tebhya etad annapānaṃ sasṛje*, for them he has created food and drink ( KB. 6.15 ). *agnicite 'mutra yathākāmaṃ varṣati*, there it rains at pleasure for the Agnicit ( KS. 22.6 ). *indram evāsmai janayati*, begets an Indra for him ( KS. 9.14 ). *yad vai purohito brahma śṛṇoti tad rājñe*, the prayer which the priest recites is for ( the benefit ) of the king ( KS. 27.9 ).

**(b) The Dative of the Disadvantage ( *Dativus Incommodi* ).**

*tasmā upākṛtāya niyoktāraṃ na vividuḥ*, when he was brought



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up, they could not find one to bind him (AB. 33.4.1). *vṛtrāya vajram udayacchat*, lifted the thunderbolt against Vṛtra (PB. 13.5.22; AB. 16.2). *ararus te divam mā skān*, let not Araru mount the sky against thee (TS.1.1.9). *asaṃjñānam evāsmai paśubhiḥ karoti*, he makes discord for him with cattle (TS. 5.3.1). *ājarasaṃ hāsmai vājinaṃ nāpacchidyate*, manly force is not lost by him to old age (AB. 3.2.15). *asmā eṣa yajñam upaprāyan sarvato 'śmapurām pari*, against him he (the sacrificer), now that he enters on the sacrifice, raises a rampart of stone all round (ŚB. 3.1.3.11). *tasmā etaṃ vajram akurvan*, (ŚB. 6.3.3.13). *vyṛdhyate 'smai*, it does not thrive for him (KS. 8. 15). *tābhya etat saha satībhyo'samadaṃ karoti*, among them who are thus gathered together, he thereby establishes concord (ŚB. 1.1.2.18).

The Dativus Commodi occasionally verges upon the function of the possessive genitive ; e. g. :

*athāsmai surākaṃsaṃ hasta ādadhāti*, then he places in his hand a bowl of *surā* (AB. 37.4.8). *asmai .... pāṇau*, in his hand (ŚB. 4.3.1.1). *tasmai vai bṛhaspatiṃ dvitīyam akurvan*, they made Bṛhaspati his ally (ŚB. 9.2.3.3). *tasmai devāḥ prāyaścittim aicchan*, the gods desired an atonement for him (TS. 2.1.2 ; PB. 18.5.2). *saivāsmai pratiṣṭhābhavat* (ŚB. 6.1.1.8). *athāsmai pañcākṣān pāṇāu āvapati*, he then throws the five dice into his hand (ŚB. 5.4.4.6).

In the epics there are distinct traces of a type of possessive dative (with personal pronouns) e. g. *pitā mahyam* (Mbh. 1.51.5). *darśanam mahyam* (Mbh. 1.111.14). *valam mahyam* (R. 1. 54.11).

Cf. ṚV. I. 31.2 : *vibhur viśvasmai bhuvanāya*, ruler of the whole universe. In Greek too the possessive dative is thus sometimes joined with a substantive : οἳ σφι βόες their oxen (Herod.); generally the possessor with εἰμί and similar verbs takes the dative : πολλοί μοι φίλοι εἰσὶν, I have many friends. Cf. Av. : *vasō garethās aṅhen nerebhyō aŝavabhyō* (Vend. 5.43). Cf. Pali : *mahyaṃ paṇḍita bhāvaṃ na jānāti* (J. 1. 102).

10. Dativus Finalis.

It is a function of the dative to denote the end or purpose to which the action leads. When the dative is attached to an action intended it has the power of an infinitive. In fact the dative infinitives are but stereotyped forms of this type of the dative.



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(a) The thing or state wished for ( Pāṇini 2.3.14 : *kriyārthopapadasya ca karmaṇi sthāninaḥ* ) : *no hābhis tam kāmam abhyāpayed yasmai kāmāya praṇīyante*, he would not gain by it the fulfilment of the wish for which it has been brought ( ŚB. 1.1.1.21 ). *aṅgiraso vai svargāya lokāya satram āsata*, Aṅgirasas held a sacrificial session for the heavenly world ( AB. 20.4.7 ). *tasyai sarve devā varā āgacchan*, for her all the gods came as groomsmen ( AB. 17.1.1 ). *prācyānāṃ rājānaḥ sāmrājyāyaiva te' bhiṣicyante*, the kings of the east are anointed for kingship ( AB. 38.3.2 ). *te somaṃ rājyāyābhyasiñcanta*, they anointed Soma in the kingship ( KB. 7.10 ). *abhiṣiñcāmi balāya śriyai*, ( AB. 37.3.5 ). *agniṃ hotrāya prāvṛṇata*, chose Agni for officiating as priest ( ŚB. 1.2.3.1 ). *ārtvijyāya vṛṇīte*, chooses for the office of the *ṛtvij* ( PB. 6.2.11, 6.4.1 ). *sa eṣa sarvasmā annāya jāyate*, he is born here for all kinds of food ( ŚB. 7.2.3.2, 9.1.1.3 ). *asmā u vai lokāya kṣatriyo'bhiṣicyate*, it is for ( the rule of ) this world that the Kṣatriya is consecrated ( ŚB. 12.8.3.5 ). *dīrghām anu prasitim āyuṣe dhām*, may I extend for the long life of the sacrificer ( TS. 1.1.6 ). *savargāya lokāya viṣṇukramāḥ kramyante* ( TS. 1.7.6 ). *suvargāya vā etāni lokāya hūyante* ( TS. 6.3.2 ). *atha kṛṣṇājinam ādatte yajñasyaiva sarvatvāya*, then he takes the black antelope-skin for the completion of the sacrifice ( ŚB. 1.1.4.1 ). *tatho hāsya eṣo'moghāyāhṛto bhavati*, that one is taken over in order to prevent failure on his part (ŚB.2.3.2.7). *ārambhāya eveyam ājyāhutir hūyate*, this offering of butter is offered for the beginning ( ŚB. 9.3.2.4 ). *dvābhyām utkramayati pratiṣṭhityai* ( TS. 5.1.3 ). *tad ātman vyatiṣajaty avibarhāya*, thus in the self he interwines the breaths, to prevent severance ( KB. 7.9 ). *dvādaśamāsaḥ saṃvatsaraḥ saṃvatsaram eva tat pūrvasmai ṣaḍahāya pratyudyacchati savīvadhatāyai* ( PB. 14.1.10 ). *gāyatrīṣu stuvanti pratiṣṭhāyai brahmavarcasāya* ( PB. 13.3.25 ). *yaṇvaṃ bhavati paśavo vi yaṇvaṃ paśūnām avarudhyai* ( PB. 13.3.6 ). *saṃtataṃ gāyati yajñasya saṃtatyai* (PB. 13.3.7). *brahmavarcasāyaivaiṣa mathyate*, he is churned for Brahmavarcasa ( KS. 8.12 ). *sainaṃ rājyāya pariṇayati*, she leads him to kingship ( KS. 13.3 ). *derā vai somāyābhiṣutāya pātraṃ nāvindata*, the gods did not find any pot for ( holding ) pressed Soma ( -juice ) ( KS. 27.2 ).

(b) The action intended ( Pāṇini 2. 3. 15, *tumarthāc ca bhāvavacanāt* ) : *asmā etat savitṛprasūtaṃ dānāya bhavati*, whereby that



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(gift) comes to be impelled by Savitṛ with a view to further gifts (ŚB. 3.2.2.25). *nūnaṃ brahma jyānāyābhidadhyau*, (there was still guilt remaining), if only for having contemplated oppressing the priesthood (ŚB. 4. 1. 2. 4). *akṛtvānyad upyojanāya*, having nothing else for harnessing [(Hotṛs) are summoned for the proclamation of success] (ŚB. 2.5.2.12). *na vā agniḥ svaṃ bhasmātidahati anatidāhāya* (ŚB. 7.1.1.9). Pali: *tumhehi tāva ādito va yuddhāya na gantabbaṃ* (J. 1.178). Cl. Skt. *vahiḥ prayāṇāya cakāra buddhim* (Buddhacarita 3. 2). *bhava praṇāśāya kṛtapratijñaḥ* (ibid 7.44).

Sometimes in such cases the verb substantive is to be supplied.

Examples: *na vā eṣa sarvasmai iva vadanāya na sarvasmā iva karmaṇe*, he is not capable of all and every speech, not of all and every deed (ŚB. 5.4.4.5). *tasmā eva eṣa śrotriyaśca*, of that he, as well as the Śrotriya, is capable (ŚB. 5.4.4.5). *tasya somapānam evaikam mukham āsa surāpāṇam ekam, anyasmā aśanāya ekam*, (ŚB. 1.6.3.2). *madāya vāva somo madāya surā*, for exhilaration is Soma .... (ŚB. 12.7.3.12). Cf. Pali: *ettakaṃ dānādi puññakiriyāya bhavissati* (J. 1.277).

Cf. Av.: *cathwaresatem ayarebaranąm hvaspāi naiṛē baremnāi*, four hundred days' journey for a rider with a good horse (Yt. 5. 101); *yahmāi zayata thraētāonō*, for whom was born Thraetaono (Vend. 1.18).

11. The Double Dative.

(a) The second dative being one of attraction: *yo'sya stṛtyas tasmai startavai*, to lay him low who is to be laid low by him (AB. 6.1.3; 10.3.5); here the second dative may also be taken as dativus incommodi. *saha reto dadhāvahai puṃse putrāya vettavai* (TB. 3.7.1). *bhrātṛvyavantam panthāṃ vā'dhi sparśayet kartam vā yāvān nānase yātavai*, he should make it touch the road so that neither a wagon nor a chariot can go between (TS. 6.2.6). *sarvā vā iyaṃ vayobhyo naktaṃ dṛśe dīpyate*, now all this (earth) in the eyes of the birds shines at night (TS. 5.6.4). *agnir yunaktau tapasā stomaṃ yajñāya voḍhave* (PB. 1.3.5). *na vā eṣo'laṃ śriyai dhāraṇāya*, he is not equal to sustain distinction (ŚB. 8.6.2.1) (*śriyai* here can be taken also as the genitive).



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(b) The verb *sthā* often takes a double dative: one is a dative of concern, that is, is governed by the verb, and the other is a dative of aim or goal.

*ṛk-sāme vai devebhyo yajñāyātiṣṭhamāne kṛṣṇo rūpaṃ kṛtvāpakramyātiṣṭhatām*, the Ṛc and Sāman, unwilling to remain with the gods for the sacrifice, taking the form of a black antelope, departed and remained away (TS.6.1.3). *devebhyo vai paśavo'nnādyāyālambhāya nātiṣṭhanta*, cattle would not serve the gods for slaying as food (AB. 6.8.2). *indrāya vai devā jyaiṣṭhyāya śraiṣṭhyāya nātiṣṭhanta*, the gods did not admit the seniority and superiority of Indra (AB. 19.3.8).

(c) With the verb *klp* the use is analogous: *rājñe āsade'cīklpat*, he makes the two for the king to sit on (AB. 5.3.7); *asmai jyaiṣṭhyāya kalpadhvam*, accept his superiority (AB. 33.5.7). (In this quotation I have adopted the reading from Aufrecht's text).

(d) One being a *dativus commodi* and the other a *dativus finalis*: *eṣa prajābhya evāhiṃsāyai kriyate*, is offered for the safety of the creatures (ŚB. 2.5.1.14). *saṃjñānāneṣu vai brūyāt sauhārdyāya ca me śriyai*, bid these agree for friendship and prosperity to me (AB. 33.5.7). *devebhyas tvā .... yajñasyāyuṣe gṛhṇāmi*, I take thee for the gods for the life of the sacrifice (ŚB. 4 2.3.11).

(e) With *kāma*: *tām aviṃ vaśām ādityebhyaḥ kāmāyālabhanta*, they offered the barren ewe to the Ādityas as desire (TS. 2.1.2). *sampade eva kāmāya caturthaṃ hūyate*, the fourth libation is made for the sake of completeness (ŚB. 3.1.4.2).

(f) *jñā* (*abhi sam*): *abhisaṃjānate ha vā asmai svāḥ śraiṣṭhyāya* the kins-men grant accord to his pre-eminence (KB. 26.14).

Cf. Av.: *yahmāi mithrō jasaiti avaŋhe* (Yt. 10.24): *frā ābyō tanubhyō haomō vīsaiti baešazāi* (Ys. 10.8).

12. The Temporal Dative.

The temporal dative generally expresses the limit of time during which something is to be done.

*saṃvatsarāyādīkṣanta*, consecrated themselves for a year (ŚB. 12.1.1.1). *enaṃ saṃvatsarāya dadāti*, gives him away for a year (AB. 6.2.22). *saṃvatsarāyaiṣa samamate*, for a year he allies him-



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self ( KS. 13.3 ; MS. 2.1.2 ). *saṃvatsarāyaitaṃ parigṛhṇāti*, they take it for a year ( KS. 10.3 ).

*ahnāyaivaitam ariṣṭiṃ svastim* āśāste, he prays for that security and well-being for a succession of days ( ŚB. 6.6.4.3 ). Cf. *ahnāya tāvad aruṇena tamo nirastam* ( Ragh. 5 ; here *ahnāya* = 'at once'). A few other fossils such as *cirāya*, *cirarātrāya* etc., exist in the classical language, temporal dative being otherwise unknown.

Cf. Av. : *yavaēca yavaētātaēca*, for ever and ever ( Vend. 3.14 ) ; *vīspāi yaovē*, for all eternity (Ys. 28.9 ) ; *maidhyāi asnaṃca kshafnaṃca* ( Vend. 4.45 ).

13. The Adverbial Dative.

Only two words *amogha* and *kāma* have been noted to be used adverbially. The idiom is allied to the *dativus finalis*.

*amoghāya devānām manāṃsy upasaṃgatāni bhavanti*, the minds of the gods have not drawn nigh in vain ( ŚB. 3.8.3.14 ; KB. 10.6 ).

*sampade eva kāmāya caturthaṃ hūyate*, the fourth libation is made for the sake of completeness ( ŚB. 3.1.4.2 ). *kāmācārasya vā kāmāya*, from a desire of free-scope ( ŚB. 2.2.3.2 ). *hantainam agnibhyaḥ kāmāyālabhai*, well then, I will slaughter them for the Agnis, as for the ( object of my ) desire ( ŚB. 6.2.1.6 ). [ Cf. *kāmena hyālabhata* ( ŚB. 6.2.1.6 ) ]. *tām aviṃ vaśām ādityebhyaḥ kāmāyālabhanta*, they offered the barren ewe to the Ādityas as desire ( TS. 2.1.2 ). See §10 *supra*.

14. The Dative with the Preposition.

The use of prepositions with the dative is excessively scarce. The example adduced is a doubtful one.

*prati* : *pratyasmai pipīṣate*, to him athirst ( KB. 23. 2 ). In Avesta, however, *avi* and *ā* are construed with the dative Cf. Vend. 7, 70 ; Yt. 9, 9 ; Ys. 39, 1, etc. ).



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## ABLATIVE.

1. As its name implies, the ablative expresses motion from or separation. It is the *from* case as it denotes the starting point from which an action proceeds. It is quite the reverse of the dative.

Pāṇini defines the case similarly : *dpādāne pañcamī*, 2.3.28 ; and *apādāṇa*, he defines thus : *dhruvam apāye'pādānam* ( if there be a withdrawal, that which stays is *apādāna* ) 1.4.24.

2. The uses of this case are generally distinct from the idioms of other cases. But morphologically the ablative, singular and dual, is identical with the genitive, except in the *-a* declension where the singular form, ending in *-ād* is distinct from the genitive singular suffix *-sya*.

Some of the idioms of the ablative, however, are concurrent with those of the instrumental, the genitive and the locative.

The following are the typical uses of the ablative.

I. The ablative with verbs, and with verbal nouns, substantives and adjectives.

II. The comparative ablative.

III. The ablative of the starting point, the temporal ablative.

IV. The ablative with adverbs and prepositions.

V. The causal ablative.

3. The Ablative with Verbs.

( It should be noted that some of the verbs going with the ablative are compounded with the upasarga *apa*, 'away' ).

(1) Verbs meaning to fall from, to go away from :

*i : na indrād devatāyā emi*, I do not depart from Indra as my deity ( AB. 34.5.3 ). *vāco rūpād . . . . . naiti*, does not depart from the symbol of speech ( AB. 16.3.1 ). *patho vā eṣo'dhy apathenaiti*, he wanders from the path on a trackless way ( TS. 2.2.2 ). *anṛtāt satyam upaimi*, truth I approach from falsehood ( ŚB. 1.1.1.4 ). *yo yajñapathād eti*, he who departs from the path of the sacrifice ( ŚB. 5.1.3.6 ). ( *antar-* ) : *yajñād ātmānam antariyāt*, should keep himself off from the sacrifice ( AB. 34.8.2 ). *eti ha eṣa yajñapathāt*, he wanders from the path of sacrifice ( KB. 4.2 ). KS.19.8; 23.9.



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Cf. Av.: *yat spādhem pairi avaēnāt durāt ayantem rasmayō* ( Yt. 5. 68 ).

*īr : divo vṛṣṭir īrte*, rain falls from heaven ( TS. 5.3.1 ); ( causative ) *: divo vṛṣṭim eraya*, draw thou rain from the sky (ŚB.8.2.3.6).

*kram* ( *apa-* ) : *yajño ha devebhyo'pacakrāma*, sacrifice went away from the gods ( ŚB. 1.5.2.5 ). *apa vai somenejānād devatāś ca yajñaś ca krāmanti*, gods and the sacrifice go away from him who performe the Soma-sacrifice ( TS. 3.5.4 ). ( *ud-* ) *: yajño vai devebhyo'nnādyam udakrāmat*, the Sacrifice as food departed from the gods ( AB. 15.1.1 ).

*gam : enaṃ janatāyai havino gacchanti*, to him from the five-fold folk sacrificers go ( AB. 13.7.6 ). *yadi tvasmād apojjigāṃsed yajñena*, if he wants to go away from this owing to ( another ) sacrifice ( AB. 3.8.5 ). *ā no yajñe bhajatām ā no yajñād antargatāstveva no'pi yajñe bhāgaḥ*, ( ŚB. 1.6.1.1 ). cf. Pali: *andhakārā andhakāraṃ gamissasi* ( J. 1.275 ). Cf. Vend. 42.31.

*gā* ( *apa-* ) *: mad eva māpagāta*, do not get away from me ( ŚB. 2.3.4.26 ).

*grabh* ( *ud-* ) : *udgṛbhṇīte vā eṣo'smāl lokād deva-lokam abhi* ( ŚB. 3.1.4.1 ).

*cyu* ( *pra* ) : *pra vā eṣo'smāl lokāc cyavate*, he falls away from this world ( KB. 7. 9 ).

*dru : tasya śvasathād īṣamāṇāḥ viśve devā adravan*, before his snorting in haste all the gods ran away ( AB. 12.9.1 ). *so'sya viṣvaṅṅ eva prāṇebhyo dudrāva*, it flowed in all directions from ( the openings of ) his vital airs ( ŚB. 1.6.3.7; 5.5.4.8 ). *etasmād vai samudrāt sarve devāḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni samudravanti*, from out of that ocean, all the gods and all the beings issue forth (ŚB. 14.2.2.2). Cf. Av. *vidrvānahē ašāt*, ( Vend 4.45 ).

*dhāv : yad dhāved annādyād dhāvet*, if he were to run he would be running from food ( TS. 5.4.9 ).

*pat : sa rathāt papāta*, he fell from the chariot ( ŚB. 1.7.3.19 ).

*pat* ( causative *abhi ud-* ) : *enam manuṣyalokād devalokam abhyutpātayati*, causes him to fly up to the world of gods from the world of men ( ŚB. 1.8.3.14 ).



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*pad* (*ava-*) : *ned rāṣṭrād avapadyeyam*, let me not fall from kingdom ( AB. 39.9.11 ). (*niṣ-*) : *agniḥ ... mukhān niṣpādyātai*, lest Agni fall from the mouth ( ŚB. 1.4.1.10 ).

*ruh* (*prati ava-*) : *evaṃ hāsmād yakṣmaḥ pratyavarohati*, so does disease go down before him ( ŚB. 4.1.3.9 ). Pali : *yānā paccarohitvā* ( Mahāp. 69 ).

*vah* (*ā*) : *digbhyo valiṁ āvahanti*, carry tribute from the quarters ( AB. 35.8.10 ). For Av., cf. Ys 10.39.

*vṛt* ( *upa ā* ) : *yā stuvadbhyaḥ śaṃsadbhyo nṛttaṃ gītam upāvavarta*, she who turned away from those engaged in praising and praying to dance and song ( ŚB. 3.2.4.6 ).

*vyath* : *na hi lavena lokād vyathate*, he does not, by ever so little, fall from his place ( ŚB 1 .2.7.19 ).

*hṛ* (*vi*) : *te devā āgnidhrāt sadasyān agnīn viharanta*, the gods extracted the fires in Sadas from Agni's altar ( AB. 10.4.2 ).

*sṛp* : *etasya homān na sarpet*, till the offering of this he must not slip away ( ŚB. 4.24.7 ).

*sthā* ( *ud*, causative ) : *veder utthāpayanti*, raises him from the altar ( AB. 35.2.1 ).

In Avesta both *us* + *stā* and *fra* + *stā* govern the ablative : *usehista haca gātvō frāshuca haca demānāt*, stepped out from the throne etc. ( Yt. 16.2 ) ; *yat astvatereto frakhštāitē haca apat kaṣuyāt*, ( Yt. 19.92 ).

*li* ( *ni-*) ( *antardhyau yenādarśanam icchati*, P. 1.4.28) : *yajño devebhyonilāyata viṣṇū rūpaṃ kṛtvā*, sacrifice went away from the gods taking the form of Viṣṇu ( TS. 6.2.4 ). *agnir devebhyo nilāyata*, ( TS. 5.1.1.2 ).

(2) To exclude from :

i (*antar-*) : *ṛtubhyaḥ saṃvatsarāt sapatnān antarāyan*, deprived the enemies from the seasons from the year (SB. 1.5.3.4). *soma-pīthād antarito bhavati*, is excluded from the Soma-drink ( AB. 8.4.6 ).

*kālay* : *tenainān ebhyo lokebhyo'kālayanta*, thereby they drove them away from these worlds ( PB. 8.3.1 ).

*ci* : *bhāginam bhāgān nudate cayate vā enam*, excludes or deprives the sharer from the share ( AB. 6.7.4 ).



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*pad* ( *ava-* ) : *ned rāṣṭrād avapadyeyam*, let me not fall from kingdom ( AB. 39.9.11 ). ( *niṣ-* ) : *agniḥ ... mukhān niṣpādyātai*, lest Agni fall from the mouth ( ŚB. 1.4.1.10 ).

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*ci* : *bhāginam bhāgān nudate cayate vā enam*, excludes or deprives the sharer from the share ( AB. 6.7.4 ).



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*cyu : acyutād yajñasya cyaveran*, they would depart from the norm of the sacrifice ( AB. 22.4.5 ); ( causative ) : *na tvām āyatanāc cyāvayāmaḥ*, we will not deprive you of the resort ( ŚB. 1.6.1.6 ). Cf. Pali : *appeva nāma nam imamhā brahmacariyā cāveyyan ti* ( Pāttimokkha 4.8 ).

*chid : yathaiva chinnā naur bandhanāt tiram tiram ṛcchanti plavetaḥ*, just as a vessel which has parted from its fastening floats moving to either bank ( AB. 17.7.4 ). *na manuṣyapātrāc chidyate*, is not cut off from human dish ( PB. 6.5.9 ). *gārhapatyād avicchinnām udakadhārām hareḥ*, ( AB. 32.11.4 ).

*ji* ( of. P. 1.4.26 ) : *tān sadaso'jāyan*, they conquered them from the Sadas ( AB. 10.4.1 ). *sarvasmād devā asurān ajayan*, the gods won everything from the Asuras (ŚB. 1.5.4.11). ( *abhi-* ) : *bhūtavīrebhyaḥ . . . . . somapītham abhijigyuḥ*, won the Soma-drink from the Bhūtavīras ( AB. 35. IX. 2 ). ( *pra-* ) : *indraḥ . . . . asurān ukthebhyaḥ prajigāya*, Indra drove away the Asuras from the chants ( AB. 26.6.10 ). *tāṃs tato' surā ajayan . . . . ta udīcyāṃ prācyāṃ diśy ayatanta te tato na parājayanta* ( AB. 1.14.5 ).

*day* ( *nir ava-* ) : *rakṣāṃsy eva tat svena bhāgadheyena yajñān niravadayate*, with their own shares he excludes the Rakṣas from the sacrifice ( AB. 6.7.1 ).

*dhā* ( *antar-* ) ( of. P. 1.4.28 ) : *vajreṇainaṃ suvargāl lokād antar dadhyāt*, he would shut it off from the world of heaven with the thunder-bolt ( TS. 5.5.7 ). *antarhito vai devaloko' manuṣyalokāt*, the world of gods is shut off from the world of men ( TS. 6.1.1 ).

*naś : naśyeyur lokāt*, is perished from this world ( PB. 4.3.6 ). *pra-* ) *tatho hāsmād etāḥ . . . na praṇaśyanti*, these are not lost to him ( ŚB. 4.3.4.22 ).

*nī : te kavaṣam ailūṣaṃ somād anayan*, they drove Kavaṣa Ailūṣa away from Soma ( sacrifice ) .( AB. 8.1.1 ). *saumyād ājyabhāgān nayanti*, they eliminate from the butter portion of Soma ( ŚB. 2.2.3.22 ). *yadi mā somān neṣyasi*, if thou leadest me away from Soma ( KS. 26.9 ).

*nud : pratiṣṭhāyā mṛtyuṃ nudate*, drives away death from support ( AB. 12.3.8 ). *tān agnir vasubhiḥ prātaḥsavanād anudata*,



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*nī : te kavaṣam ailūṣaṃ somād anayan*, they drove Kavaṣa Ailūṣa away from Soma ( sacrifice ) .( AB. 8.1.1 ). *saumyād ājyabhāgān nayanti*, they eliminate from the butter portion of Soma ( ŚB. 2.2.3.22 ). *yadi mā somān neṣyasi*, if thou leadest me away from Soma ( KS. 26.9 ).

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*cyu : acyutād yajñasya cyaveran*, they would depart from the norm of the sacrifice ( AB. 22.4.5 ); ( causative ) : *na tvām āyatanāc cyāvayāmaḥ*, we will not deprive you of the resort ( ŚB. 1.6.1.6 ). Cf. Pali : *appeva nāma naṃ imamhā brahmacariyā cāveyyan ti* ( Pāttimokkha 4.8 ).

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*day* ( *nir ava-* ) : *rakṣāṃsy eva tat svena bhāgadheyena yajñān niravadayate*, with their own shares he excludes the Rakṣas from the sacrifice ( AB. 6.7.1 ).

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Agni with the Vasus drove them from the morning pressing ( AB. 13.6.2 ).

*bādh* : *mā duścaritād bādhasva*, keep me from evil ways ( ŚB. 3.3.3.13 ). ( Desiderative with *pari* ) : *sarvasmād eva yajñān nindyam paribibādhiṣeta*, one should wish to keep the blameful one from the entire sacrifice (ŚB. 4.2.5.10). *te' surā digbhyo' abādhanta*, the Asuras sought to force them from the quarters ( TS. 5.7.3 ). Cf. KS. 19.11.

*bhaj* ( *nir-* ) : *sarvasmāt sapatnān asurān nir abhajan*, they excluded the inimical Asuras from everything ( ŚB. 1.5.4.11 ).

*bhū* ( *apa-* ) : *yo rāṣṭrād apabhūtaḥ syāt*, who is expelled from his kingdom ( TS. 3.4.8 ).

*yavay* : *yavayāsmad dveṣaḥ*, bar from us foes ( TS. 1.3.1 ).

*yudh* : *yuyodhi asmad dveṣāṃsi*, keep off from us the haters ( ŚB. 6.8.2.9 ).

*rudh* ( *ni-* ) : *enam udakān nirundhīdhvaṃ vaḍavābhyaś ca*, keep it from water and from mares ( ŚB. 13.4.2.17 ). *rāṣṭrād aparudhyamānaḥ*, being expelled from kingdom ( AB. 37.6.7 ).

*lup* ( *apa-* ) : *apa haiva asmāt tal lupyate*, that from his is removed ( AB. 12.8.14 ).

*vāray* ( vide P. 1.4.27 ) : *yo bhūter vārayitvā tiṣṭhati kalyāṇāt karmaṇaḥ*, whichever keeps from well-being, from good work ( ŚB. 11.1.5.7 ).

Cf. Pali : *yo manussaviggahaṃ jīvitā voropeyya* ( Pāt. 3.3 ) ; *pāṇaṃ jīvitā voropeyya* ( Pāt. 7.6.1 ).

*han* ( *apa nir-* ) : *devā asurān ukthebhyo nirjaghnuḥ*, the gods drove away the Asuras from chants ( AB. 28.6.9 ). ( *apa-* ) : *aṅgebhyo māsaiḥ pāpmānam apahate*, from the limbs he drives away evil by the months (AB. 18.8.6 ). *te vai devā asurān evam apāghnata sarvasmād eva yajñāt* ( AB. 27.1.8 ). *tān vai devā asyā apāghnata*, drove them from this earth ( ŚB. 1.2.4.17 ). *apahato' raruḥ pṛthivyai*, Aruru is smitten away from the earth ( TS. 1.1.9 ). *tena yajñamuho rakṣāṃsi tīrthebhyo' pāhan*, with it he smote the Rakṣas, the confounders of the sacrifice, from the fords (KB.12.1).

*hā* : *na sāmno hīyate*, he is not shut out from Sāman chant



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( PB. 6.4.9 ). *tathā bhūtebhyo na hīyate*, thus he is not shut out from beings ( ŚB. 11.5.6.9 ). *hīyate svargāl lokāt* ( PB. 4.2.3 ).

*sah* : *asurān... asmāt sarvasmād asahanta*, conquered the Asuras from all this ( ŚB. 7 4.2.33 ).

( 3 ) To be generated from, to issue from : ( Vide P. 1.4.33,31 ).

*jan* : *dvandvād mithunam prajāyate*, from a couple a pairing is produced ( AB. 15.6.4 ) *vṛṣṭād va ūrg rasaḥ subhūtaṃ jāyate*, from rain much vital sap is generated ( ŚB. 1. 8. 3. 15 ). *mithunāj jāyate*, is produced from a pairing ( ŚB. 2.4. 4.21 ). *agner vai dhūmo jāyate dhūmād abhram*, smoke is produced from fire and from smoke cloud is produced ( ŚB. 5.3.5.17 ). (Causative) : *agnim mukhāj janayāṃ cakre*, generated fire from the mouth ( ŚB. 2.2.4.1 ). *yajñād deva-yonyai prajanayati*, he propagates from the sacrifice as the birth place of the gods (AB. 12.8.2). *mithunāt prajananāt prajanayati* begets through productive union ( ŚB. 2.4.4.21 ).

*jval ( ud- )* : *mukhād ujjajvāla*, flashed forth from his mouth (ŚB. 1.4.1.13 ).

*kṛ ( vi- )* : *na vā aretaskāt kiṃ cana vikriyate*, nothing is fashioned from one who is seedless ( ŚB. 7.1.1.9 ). *( prati )* : *te sada evāsyāḥ pratyakurvata*, they made out of this ( earth ) as a counterpart, the Ṣadas ( AB. 4.6.1 ).

*bhū* : *gor vā etan navanītam bhavati*, this cream is produced from the cow (ŚB.3.1.3.7). [The verb is not infrequently omitted in such cases : *gor vai pratidhuk*, from the cow (comes) fresh milk (ŚB. 3.3. 3.2)]. (*pra-*) : *ātmana evemāni aṅgāni prabhavanti*, from the body these limbs come out ( ŚB. 1.3.2.2 ; 4.2.2.5 ). *aśmano hyāpaḥ prabhavanti*, from the rock water springs forth ( ŚB. 9.1.2.4 ). Cf. *valmīkāgrāt prabhavati dhanuṣkhaṇḍam ākhaṇḍalasya* (Meghadūta 1.15 ). *(sam-)* : *āhutibhyaḥ sambhavati*, is generated from the oblations ( AB. 4.514). *yad ruditāt sam abhavat*, as he originated from crying (ŚB. 9.1.1.6). *etasya vai devasyāśayād arkaḥ samabhavat*, the tree Arka sprang from the resting place of that god ( ŚB. 9.1.1.9 ) Cf : Pali : *himavantā pabhavanti pañca mahānadiyo* ( Kaccāyana ).

*math* : *śamīgarbhād agnim manthati* ( TB. 1.1.65 ).



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*mā (nir-)* : *sarvebhyaḥ vā eṣa chandobhyaḥ saṃ nirmitaḥ*, fashioned out of all the metres ( AB. 16.3.5 ). *yajñād yajñaṃ nirmimai* by means of sacrifice I will perform the sacrifice ( ŚB. 1.1.2.7 ).

*ruh ( pra- )* : *kāṇḍāt kāṇḍāt hyeṣa prarohati*, grows up joint by joint ( ŚB. 7.4.2.14 ).

*sṛj* : *nyūnād dhi prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata*, from the half-filled *( nyūna )* Prajāpati created creatures ( TS. 5.4.7 ).

( 4 ) To blow from, to flow from :

*dhāv ( nir- )* : *sadānīrety uttarād girer nirdhāvati*, the river Sadānīrā flows from the northern mountain ( ŚB. 1.4.1.14 ).

*pu* : *sūryāt pavate*, he blows from the sun ( ŚB. 5.1.2.7 ).

*vā* : *sarvebhyo digbhyo vāti*, blows from all quarters (ŚB. 8.2.3.2).

*vṛṣ* : *amuto vai divo varṣati*, it rains from yonder sky ( ŚB. 4.2.3.16 ).

( 5 ) To measure or to count from :

*khyā ( prati sam- )* : *dhiṣṇyebhyaḥ pratisaṃkhyāya*, counting from the Dhiṣṇya hearth ( ŚB 8.7.2.16 ).

*mā ( pra- )* : *antarikṣaloko hyasmāl lakāt pramita iva*, the air world is, as it were, measured from this world ( ŚB. 8.3.3.5 ).

( 6 ) To dig from :

*khan* : *ebhyo lokebhyo' khanat*, dug from these worlds (ŚB. 6.8.1. 36 ). *( nir- )* : *manaso vai samudrād vācābhryā devās trayīṃ vidyāṃ nirakhanan*, from the mind as ocean, with speech for a shovel, the gods dug the out triple sciences ( ŚB. 7.5.2.52 ).

( 7 ) To be released from :

*muc* : *mumugdhi asmān pāśād iva badḍhān*, release us being bound from a snare as it were (AB. 12.8.17). *yathāhis tvaco nirmucyate*, as a snake frees itself from its skin ( ŚB. 2.3.1 6. ). *yeneṣṭvā varuṇapāśebhyaḥ sarvasmāc ca pāpmanaḥ sampramucyemahi* may we be set free from the nooses of Varuṇa, from all ill ( KB. 5.3 ).

*sṛj ( ut- )* : *yajamānam eva tad bandhutāyā notsṛjati*, thus he does not loose the sacrificer from his connection ( AB. 6.4.16 ).

Cf. Pali : *dukkhā muccissāmi* ( J. 1. 167 ); *kāmāsavāpi cittaṃ vimuccittha*, ( Sutt. Pār. 1.1.8 ).



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*vṛh ( vi- ) : taṃ devāḥ sarvasmāt pāpmano vyavṛhan*, him the gods plucked out from all sin ( ŚB 4.3.3.16 ).

*spṛh : sarvāṇi bhūtani pāpmano mṛtyoḥ spṛṇavāni*, we will free all beings from sin, from death ( ŚB. 3.4.2.2. ).

( 8 ) To take from, to cut from :

*kṛt ( apa- ) : yad adhyasthād apākṛntat*, what they cut from the upper part of the bone ( TS. 2. 2. 2. ).

*do ( ava- ) : uttarārdhād avadyati*, cuts from the north part of the dishes ( ŚB. 1.7.3.20 ). *ned āyuṣo 'vadāya vasāni* ( ŚB. 11.3.3.1 ).

*grah : anasa eva gṛhṇīyāt*, it is from the cart that he should take ( ŚB. 1.1.2.5 ).

*hṛ ( vi- ) : yathā vā idam agner jātād agnayo vihriyante*, as it is from the fire born ( other ) fires are divided ( PB. 16.1.3 ).

*sthā ( abhi ud- ) : pūrṇād eva pūrṇam abhyudasthāma*, ( PB. 15. 12.3 ).

*pyāy ( ā- ) : asmād evaital lokād āpyāyante*, it fills itself out of this world ( ŚB. 1.6.3.17 ).

( 9 ) To live away from :

*vas ( pra- ) : katham vidvān pravasaty agnihotrī gṛhebhyaḥ*, knowing what does the offerer of Agnihotra stay away from his house ( ŚB. 11.3.1.5 ).

( 10 ) To buy of :

*krī : keśavāt puruṣāt sisena parisrutaṃ krīṇāti*, he buys Parisrut for a piece of lead from a long-haired man ( ŚB. 5.1.2.14 ). *( nis- ) : anena te imaṃ niṣkrīṇāmi*, with this I buy him of thee ( ŚB. 5.1. 5.28 ). *devebhya ātmānaṃ niṣkrīṇīṣva*, redeem yourself from the gods ( ŚB. 2.6.2.8 ). *sarvebhya eva tad devatābhyo yajamāna ātmānaṃ niṣkrīṇīte* ( AB. 6.3.9 ). *pitṛbhya eva tad yajñaṃ niṣkrīya yajamānaḥ pratanute* ( TB. 1.3.57 ).

( 11 ) To learn from ( Vide P. 1.4.29 ).

*brū ( anu- ) : sa yadi taṃ carakebhyo yato vā anubruvīta*, if he acquire a knowledge of that either from the Carakas or from anywhere else ( ŚB. 4.2.4.1 ).

( 12 ) To prefer to :



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*vṛ : gavāṃ trīṇi śatāni tvam avṛṇīthā mad aṅgiraḥ*, three hundreds of kine didst thou, O Aṅgiras, prefer to me ( AB. 33.5.3 ).

(B) Verbs denoting sentiment.

( 13 ) To be afraid of ( P. 1.4.25 ).

*tras : mā kasmāc cana pratrāsīḥ*, do not fear from anything ( ŚB. 1.9.1.5 ). *tasmād gṛhāḥ pratrasanti*, for fear of him the house trembles ; *etad dha vai gṛhapateḥ proṣuṣa āgatād gṛhāḥ samutrastā iva bhavanti*, now when a householder comes from a journey, his house trembles greatly for fear of him ( ŚB. 2.4.1.14 ).

*ohī : vajrād··· ··bibhemi*, I am afraid of the thunderbolt ( ŚB. 1. 3.3.14 ). *nagnatāyā vai bibhemi*, I dread nakedness ( ŚB. 1.7.3.28 ). *rakṣobhyo vai bibhemi* ( ŚB. 3.6.3.8 ). *bṛhaspater ha vai pṛthivī bibhayāṃ cakāra* ( ŚB. 5.2.1.18 ). *na agṛhatāyā bhayyam*, one should not dread houselessness ( PB. 10.5.16 ).

*vij* : *yasmād bhūtāni vijante*, whence creatures shudder away ( AB. 11.4.8 ). Cf. *sammānād brāhmaṇo nityam udvijeta viṣād iva*, a Brahman should be afraid of honour as of poison ( Manu 2 ). In Pali *anuvij* is construed with the instrumental.

*śaṅk* : *vimāthān na śaṅketa* ( ŚB. 3. 8. 3. 36 ). It is rather remarkable that ablative is not found with these verbs in Pali. Dr. Otto Franke has noted only one instance where the genitive has been used : *ma cassa bhayittha* ( Cullavagga 1.1.1 ).

( 14 ) To be disgusted of ( cf. *jugupsāvirāma-pramādārthānām upasaṃkhyānam*, Vārtt., under P. 2.3.28 ).

*bībhats* : *vāntād bībhatsante*, men are disgusted by what is vomited ( AB. 15.2.4 ). *asmāt prāṇāt sarve prāṇā bībhatsante*, all the breathings recoil from that breathing ( ŚB. 11.1.6.30 ). *na vai devāḥ kasmāc cana bībhatsante*, gods have no loathing for anything ( ŚB. 12.4.2.2 ). *tasmād u haikā āpo bībhatsāṃ cakrire* ( ŚB. 1. 1.3.5 ). ( *apa-* ) : *tebhyo vai devā apaiva abībhatsanta manuṣyagandhāt*, the gods had loathing of these because of the human scent ( AB. 13.6.4 ).

( 15 ) To save from, to protect from ( P. 1.4.25 ) :

*gopāy* : *brahma mā kṣatrād gopāyatu*, may Brahman guard me from the lordly power (AB. 34.4.4). *yam etā devatā ārter gopāyeyuḥ*, whom these gods would protect from calamity ( ŚB. 1.5.1.22 ).



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*sarvābhyaś ca na ārtibhyo gopāyet* ( ŚB. 4.4.5.21 ). *sarvābhyo mā ārtibhyo gopāya* ( ŚB. 14.1.2.24 ).

*trā : tam pāpmano' trāyanta*, him they saved from sin ( ŚB. 12. 7.1.14 ). *āvāṃ tvā tasmāt trāsyāvahe*, we two shall save thee from that ( ŚB. 14.1.1.23 ).

*pā : sūryas tvā purastāt pātu kasyāś cid abhiśastyai*, let the sun guard thee against any imprecation ( ŚB. 1.3.4.8 ). *digbhyaḥ pāta*, protect him from all quarters ( ŚB. 5.3.5.30 ). *pāhi māgne duścaritāt*, guard me, O Agni from misfortune ( TS. 1.1.12 ). *pṛthivyā sampṛcaḥ pāhi*, guard from the contact of earth ( TS. 1.1.2 ). *agnir evainaṃ vṛjinād anṛtād duścaritāt pāti*, A. protects him from sin, falsehood and evil deed ( TB. 3.3.7.10 ).

*pāray : kasmān mā pārayiṣyāḥ*, whence would you save me? ( ŚB. 1.8.1.2 ).

*pur : purāṇyasmān mahābhayāt*, save us from great danger ( AB. 40.4.4 ).

*muc ( pra- ) : enaṃ varuṇyād dīkṣitavāsāt pramuñcanti*, save him from the Varuṇic garment of initiation ( ŚB. 5.3.5.25 ).

*raks : agnir mā tebhyo rakṣatu*, may Agni protect me from them ( TS. 3.5.4 ).

(16 ) To shy from :

*lajj : yathaivādaḥ snuṣā śvaśurāl lajjamānā nilīyamānaiti*, as it is the daughter-in-law is ashamed in presence of her father in-law and goes away ( AB. 12.11.7 ) ( The ablative *śvaśurāt* may as well be taken with *eti* ).

4. The Double Ablative.

( 1 ) *bhī :* One ablative denotes an action and other is a person or thing connected with that action : *devāḥ ..... svargāl lokād avapātād abibhayuḥ*, the gods were afraid of the falling down from the world of heaven ( AB. 13.4.6 ). *devā vā ādityasya svargāl lokād avapātād abibhayuḥ*, the gods were afraid of Ādityas falling down from the world of heaven ( PB. 4.5.9 ). *te 'surarakśasebhya āsaṅgād bibhayāṃ cakruḥ*, they were afraid of the contact with the Asuras and the Rakṣas ( ŚB. 1.1.2.3 ). *iyaṃ vā agner atidāhād abibhet* ( TS. 5.2.5 ).



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(2) *bibhats : tebhyo vai devā apaiva abībhatsanta manuṣya-gandhāt*, the gods had loathing of these because of the human scent (AB. 13.6.4).

5. Sometimes verbs, other than those enumerated above, which do not in themselves carry any sense of separation, are used with the ablative. In such cases the connection of the ablative with the verb is rather loose. It is rather connected with the subject. Kātyāyana had noted this use in the Vārttika under P. I. 4.31, "*lyab-lope karmaṇyadhikaraṇe ca*" (when a word ending in *lyap* is suppressed, its object and *adhikaraṇa* take the ablative).

*āsandyā upānahau upamuñcate*, from the throne seat he slips into the shoes (ŚB. 5.5.3.7).

*ubhayor lokayor annādyam anu pratidhīyate asmāc ca lokād amuṣmāc cobhābhyām*, through his being united in both the worlds proper food is offered from this and from yonder world for him (AB. 25.6.1).

*gārhapatyam .... samāruhya prathamāṃ citim apaśyāma, prathamāyai dvitīyām*, mounting thereon we saw the first layer, from the first (we saw) the second (ŚB. 8.6.3.1).

*yasyai prathamāt padād devatāṃ abhivyāharati*, in the first word of which he utters the (name of the) deity (ŚB. 1.7.2.20).

Note the following example : *tasmād dhruvād yoner āste ca carati ca*, therefore (in and) from a firm womb he stands and moves (AB. 1.3.12). Cf. *tasmād dhruvād yoner garbhā dhīyante ca pra ca jāyante*, therefore (in and) from a firm womb embryos are placed and grow forth (AB. 1.3.13).

6. The Ablative with Substantives and Adjectives.

(1) Nominal derivatives of verbs governing the ablative, are analogically used with the ablative.

*bhīṣ : yasmād bhīṣā niṣīdasi tato no'bhayaṃ kṛdhi*, that from fear of which thou dost sit down, thence give us security (AB. 25.2.2). *stoko hyaptū rakṣobhyo bhīṣā*, the drop is nimble for the fear of the Rakṣas (ŚB. 3.6.3.8). *rakṣabhyo vai tām bhīṣā vācam ayacchan* (ŚB. 4.2.27).

*etad dha vai vicikitsāyai janma*, this is its birth from out of



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doubt ( ŚB. 2.2.4.9 ). *gandharvo 'si viśvāvasur viśvasmād iṣato yajamānasya paridhiḥ*, thou art the Gandharva Viśvāvasu, the fence of the sacrificer from every attacker ( TS. 1.1.11 ).

*vasanta eva hemantāt punarasur etasmād hyeṣa punar bhavati*, now the spring assuredly comes into life again out of the winter, for out of the one the other is born again ( ŚB. 1.5.3.14 ). Cf. Pali : *pāṭaliputtassa . . . tayo antarāyā bhavissanti aggito vā udakato vā mithuvedā vā* ( Mahāp. 63 ).

( 2 ) Adjectives ending in *-uka* : ( these take the accusative as a rule, but in the following instances the ablative sense is especially prominent ) :

*apakrāmukā yajamānāc chrīḥ syāt*, prosperity is apt to go away from the sacrificer ( PB. 18.5.16 ).

*prabhraṃśukāsmāc chrīḥ syāt*, fortune is apt to depart from him (ŚB. 13.1.5.4) ; *tathā ha yajamānāt paśavo 'nutkrāmukā bhavanti*, cattle are not liable to stray from the sacrificer ( KB. 11.3 ).

( 3 ) Temporal and local adjectives :

*jihma* : *paśubhyo jihmā īyuḥ*, from cattle they would go away ( AB. 22.4.5 ). *tā asmāt sṛṣṭāḥ parācīr āyan* ( TB. 3.1.4.2 ).

*ūrdham, avācīnam, arvāk, uttara, parāñc*, etc. ( see *infra* ).

7. The Ablative with Comparatives.

The comparative use of the ablative is directly deducible from the primary function of the ablative. "He is taller than me" is conceived ( in the original parent language ) as "he is taller from me". The smaller of the two things compared is the standard of comparison and accordingly takes the ablative ( Cf. P. 2.3.42 ). ( See Hübschmann p. 225 ).

Comparatives :

*pāpīyān aśvād gardabhaḥ*, the ass is inferior to the horse ( TS 5.1.2 ). *ta enam etaj jyāyāṃsam eva vadhāc cakruḥ* ( ŚB. 3.3.4.2 ). *bhūyān vai brāhmaṇo kṣatriyāt* ( AB. 33.3.8 ).

*āpi hi bhūyāṃsi śatād varṣebhyaḥ puruṣo jīvati*, man sometimes lives longer than a hundred years ( ŚB. 1.9.3.19 ).

*sa yat kanīyaḥ saṃvatsarād dīkṣitaḥ syāt*, if he be initiated less than a year ( ŚB. 6.2.2.28 ).



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Cf. Av.: *ahmat masyēhiṃ yatha para ahmāt* (Vend. 2.11); *noit vaŋhō ahmāt šyaothnem verezyeiti*, he does no better work as that (Vend. 16.17): *vaŋhaot vaŋhō*, better than the good; *akāt ashyō* (Yt. 59. 30–31).

Cf. Pali: *mataṃ me jīvitā seyyo* (Pat. 3.3); *nāsti hi kaṃmataraṃ sarvalokahitatpā* (Girnar VI. 10.11).

[In Avesta the ablative is available with superlatives also: e. g., *yāo henti paoiryodāta paoiryōfrathwaršta aśnaotca apaatca zemāatea urvarayāatca gaotca* (Vsp. 7. 4)].

[In the epics and in the folk tales the instrumental (and also the genitive) sometimes replaces the ablative with comparatives in *-tara* e. g. *asti nūnam mayā kaccid alpabhāgyataro naraḥ* (Mbh. 3. 373.13). *ko nu svantataro mayā* (Mbh. 9.61.51). *nāstyanyo dhanyataro loke mayā tvayā ca* (Pañcatantra); *nāsti dhanyataro mama* (ibid.); *avajñānasahasrais tu doṣāḥ kaṣṭatarā dhane* (Mbh. quoted in Ind. Spr.). But no such use is found in the Brāhmaṇas].

(1) Comparative adverbial forms also partake of the character of comparative adjectives:

*atitarāṃ ha vai sma itarasmād agnes tapati*, he blazes brighter than any other fire (ŚB. 1.4.3.1). *āvistarāṃ vā agniḥ karmaṇaḥ*, Agni doubtless is more manifest than work (ŚB. 10.5.3.10). *tasmāt striyaḥ pāpāt puṃsa upastitarāṃ vadanti*, therefore women speak more humbly than even a bad man (TS. 6.5.8).

(2) Words (not etymological comparatives) carrying with themselves a comparative sense:

*anya*: *anyo vā ayam asmad bhavati*, he is becoming other than we (AB. 34.5.1). *na vā imam anyat somād dhinuyāt*, no other than Soma shall satiate him (ŚB. 1.6.4.5). *anyam asmad iccha*, seek other than we (ŚB. 7.2.1.9). Cf. Av.: *anyo thwat yat zarathuštrāt* other than you Zarathustra (Vend. 2.2). Cf. Pali: *aññatra pāri-vaṭṭakā* (Pāt. 4.5).

*pūrva*: *pūrvaś chandogebhyo vekṣeta*, he should look earlier than the Sāman singers (AB. 13. 8. 5). *brahma hi pūrvaṃ kṣatrāt* (PB. 11.1.2).

*uttara*: *tasmād yajamāno 'yajamānād uttaraḥ*, therefore the sacrificer is superior to the non-sacrificer (TS. 2.6.5). *uttaraṃ vā*



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*ulbāj jarāyuḥ* ( AB. 1.3.17 ). *nà vā indrād uttaram asti*, there is nothing above Indra ( KB. 17.4 ).

*avara : ye tebhyo 'vare āsan*, those who were later than they ( AB. 6.3.8 ).

*apara : ye vai mad ito'paro janiṣyate*, he who hence other than I will be born ( TS. 6.1.3 ).

Cf. *raṇotsave manaḥ saktaṃ yasya kāmotsavād api* ( Kāvyādarśa 2.269 ) ; *vajrādapi kaṭhorāṇi mṛdūni kusumād api lokottarāṇāṃ cetāṃsi* ( Uttararāmacarita ).

Cf. Pali : *mataṃ me jīvitā varaṃ* ( J. 1. 311 ).

8. The Ablative of the Stating Point.

The point from which some reckoning is made is put in the ablative ( Cf. " *yataścādhvakālanirmāṇam* " Vārtt. under P. 2.3.28 ).

*īśvaro hāsmād dvitīyo . . . brāhmaṇatām abhyupaitoḥ*, the second from him may become a Brahman ( AB. 35.3.3 ). *dvitīyād dhi paro loko'bhiprakramyaḥ* should go to a world other than the second (PB. 20.11.6 ). *ekasmād akṣarād anāptam*, it is deficient by one syllable ( TS. 5.1.9 ). *ūnās tad yad ekasyai na pañcāśat*, they are deficient in that they are fifty less one ( TS. 7.4.7 ). *teṣām alpakād evāgnir asañcita āsa* ( ŚB. 2.1.2.15 ).

( 1 ) Analogically the final point is also put in the ablative. ( Cf. the use of the upasarga *ā* in the sense of *abhividhi* ).

*tad vai trayastriṃśat*, now this ( set runs ) up to the thirty-three versed ( hymn-form ) ( ŚB. 9.3.3.3 ). *eṣa sahasrāt*, thus up to a thousand ( ŚB. 11.1.2.9 ).

*asmāt śreyān jāyate*, grows more ( and more ) glorious up to ( the end of ) it ( ŚB. 12.2.2.23 ).

( 2 ) Similarly the point from which some distance is calculated takes the ablative.

( *yataścādhvakālanirmāṇaṃ tatra pañcamī, tad yuktād adhvanaḥ prathamāsaptamyau, kālāt saptamī ca vaktavyā* ( the starting point in the calculation of time and space takes the ablative ... ... ), Vārttika quoted by Bhaṭṭoji under P. 1.4.31).

*madhyamāc chaṅkor dakṣiṇā pañcadaśa vikramān prakrāmati*, he strides forward fifteen steps to the right of this middle peg ( ŚB. 3.5.1.2 ). *tṛtīyasyām ito divi soma āsīt*, Soma was in the third sky from hence ( TS. 3.5.7 ).



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*tasya ardhāt tiṣṭhan*, standing apart from it at half distance ( AB. 12.11 ). *yadyapy asmad ārakād asi*, although thou art afar from us ( ŚB. 2.3.10 ).

*tasmāc chṛṅge tīkṣaṇīyasī stupāt*, whence the two horns taper from the root ( PB. 13.4.4 ).

*yad ardharcāl lupyeta*, if the (response) were to be omitted after the half-verse ( TS. 3.2.9 ).

( 3 ) These ablatives are often used with spatial adverbs, particularly with those ending in *-añc* ( P. 2.3.29 ) : *yad ūrdhvam madhyād avācīnaṃ śīrṣṇaḥ*, which is above the middle but below the top ( ŚB. 8.3.4.13 ). *ta etasmāc cātvālād ūrdhvāh svargaṃ lokam upodakrāman* ( ŚB. 4.2.5.5. ). *asmād ūrdhvā anye prāṇā veṇanti* ( AB. 4.3.3 ).

*asmād arvāk*, below him (ŚB. 5.4.2.5). *yā etasmād arvācyaḥ prajāḥ* ( ŚB. 2.3.3.7 ). *arvāk sahasrāt*, less than a thousand ( KB. 18.3. ). Note the compound : *arvāksahasram* ( AB. 17. 1.1 ).

*tad uttaraṃ kṛṣṇājinād upastṛṇāti*, spreads it over the black antelope skin ( ŚB. 6.4.1.9 ). *nānyatra dīkṣitavimitāt* ( AB. 1.3.14. ).

*ned asmad idam parāg vīryam asat*, that this strength shall not turn away from him ( ŚB. 2.1.4.23 ).

*paro vā asmāl lokāt*, beyond this world ( AB. 29.4.14 ). Cf. Pali: *paraṃ maraṇā* ( Mahap. 61 ). In the Aśoka inscriptions *para* governs the instr., e. g. *paraṃ ca tena* ( Girnar V. 2 ); ( *pa* ) *laṃ ca tena amṭiyogena* ( Kh. XIII 4. 5 ).

*prāg homāt*, before the offering of oblation ( AB. 3.2.11 ).

(4) The distance itself takes the ablive: the starting point may be expressed or not ( P. 2.3.35 ).

*tasya ardhāt tiṣṭhan*, standing apart from it at half distance ( AB. 12.11.7 ).

Cf. *durād āvasthād mūtraṃ dūrāt pādāvasecanam । dūrācca bhāvyaṃ dasyubhyo dūrāc ca kupitād guroḥ* ( Mahābhāṣya I, p. 457 ).

*nārakāc citraṃ dadṛśe*, one does not see clearly from afar ( ŚB. 2.3.4.22 ). *sā hāsmā ārakād ivāgra āsūyat*, she at first disdained him from the distance ( ŚB. 3.2.1.19 ). *taṃ no nediṣṭhād devān hvayiṣyasi*, from nearest wilt thou summon the gods ( AB. 26.3.6 ).



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*aratnimātrād dhi annam adyate*, from a cubit's distance food is (taken by the hand and) eaten (ŚB. 7.6.1.13). *aratnimātrād dhi vṛṣā yoṣām upaśete*, at a cubit's length the man lies with the woman (SB. 6. 3.) *bālamātrād u heme prāṇā asambhinnāḥ*, these vital airs are separated from each other by the width of a horse hair (ŚB. 8.3.4.1).

9. The Temporal Ablative.

In the sense of 'after' words denoting time take up the ablative (P. 2.3.7). So far as has been noted this idiom is extremely rare in the Brāhmaṇa literatures but it has been liberally used in the epic and the classical literatures.

*etasmāt kālāt upaśete*, it reposes apart from that time (ŚB. 4.2.4.5; 4.5.3.7). *yajñam eva tat saṃtanoti ottarasmād ardhamāsāt* (TB. 3.3,9.11).

Cf. *agacchan ahorātrāt tīrtham*, they went to the shrine after a whole day (Mbh. quoted by Whitney). *eti jīvantam ānando naraṃ varṣaśatād api*, even after a hundred years a man may enjoy happiness (quoted in the Kāśikā, under P. 2.3.54). *mahato pyenaso māsāt tvacevāhir vimucyate*, after a month he is released from a great sin as a snake from its skin (Manu 2.79). *cirāt sutasparśarasajñatāṃ yayau*, after a long time he enjoyed the pleasure of the touch of his son (Raghu. 3).

Note. *yad evārvācīnam ekahāyanād enaḥ karoti*, whatever sin he has committed in the year before (TS. 6.6.3). The ablative here denotes the extent of priority.

10. The Ablative with Adverbs and Prepositions.

(1) Prepositional adverbs: these generally serve to emphasize the fundamental sense of the ablative.

*abhyardhas*: *abhyardha evāgra ṛgbhya āsa*, formerly it was apart from the Ṛks (ŚB. 4.2.3.7).

*ṛte* (Cf. P. 2.3.29): *katham vayaṃ tvad ṛte syāma*, how shall we fare without thee? (AB. 5.1.1). *naitābhyo devatābhya ṛte kiṃ cana naśyati*, nothing whatever is lost out of (the reach of) these deities (ŚB. 13.3.8.6).

Note the compound *ṛterakṣas*, without Rakṣas (AB. 6.72).



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*tiras* : *tira iva vai pitaro manuṣyebhyaḥ*, the Pitṛs are apart from men (ŚB.2.4.2.21). *tira iva vai devā manuṣyebhyaḥ*, the gods are apart from men ( ŚB. 3.1.1.8 ). *tad eva manuṣyebhyas tiro bhavati*, that which is away from men ( ŚB. 13.6.2.20 ).

*purā* : *purā sambhedāt*, before the blending ( AB. 3.2.11 ). *purā vācaḥ pravaditor anūcyaḥ*, before the utterance of speech must it be recited (AB. 7.5.9). *puraibhyo lokebhyo' nvicchati*, he is seeking him outside of these worlds ( ŚB. 6.3.3.2 ). *purā śakunivādād anubrūyāt* ( AB. 7.5.12 ).

*prabhṛti* : *prathamāyai daśataḥ prabhṛti*, from the first set of ten ( ŚB. 8.5.2.16 ).

*vahis* : *taṃ vahis pavitrād gṛhṇāti*, takes it without a strainer (ŚB. 4.1.1.3 ). *vahispavitrāt* may also be taken as a compound.

*vahirdhā* : *na haiva vahirdhā yajñād bhavati*, is not shut out from the sacrifice ( ŚB. 1.6.1.21 ). *vahirdhā yajñāt*, outside the sacrifice ( ŚB. 3.8.2.20 ). Cf. Av. : *cvat drājō haca apat cvat drājō haca baresman frastairyāt*, how far wide from water etc. (Vend3.16) ; *cvat haca anyō anyaēibyō*, how much away from one another ? ( Vend. 9.8 ) ; *pārantare haca anyaēibyō mazdayasnaēibyō*, away from other Mazda-worshippers ( Vend 9.33 ).

Cf. Pali : *ito bahiddhā pāsaṃḍā*, those belonging to other sects ( are ) outside this ( Therīgāthā 184 ).

( 2 ) Prepositions : these serve to make the case-meaning clearer.

*adhi* : *ṛgbhya evādhi preṣitavyam*, therefore direction should be given only after that which contains a ' ṛc ' ( AB. 22.4 ). *tad etad upabhṛto'dhi juhūm mitram āgacchati*, hence a friend thereby join Juhū from out of the Upabhṛt ( ŚB. 1.5.3.17 ).

*ā* ( P. 1. 4. 89 ; 2. 3. 10 ) :

( 1 ) the counting being inclusive ( *abhividhi* ) : *ya ā tṛtīyāt puruṣāt somaṃ na pibet*, he whose ancestors for three generations and himself have not drunk Soma ( TS. 2.1.5 ). *ā sūryasya udetoḥ śaṃset*, he should utter ( it ) up to the sun rise ( PB. 9.1.38 ). *ā haiva sa nakhāgrebhyas tapyate*, he is burned ( with holy fire ) up to the tips of his nails ( ŚB. 11.5.7.4 ). *ā mūlāc chākhābhir anucitaḥ* ( AB. 6. 1.6 ). *ā ha vā asyāṣṭamāt puruṣāt prajānnam atti*, up to the eighth



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generation his offspring eats food ( KB. 6.9 ). Cf. *ā haiva sa nakhāgrebhyaḥ paramaṃ tapyate tapaḥ* ( Manu 2 ).

( 2 ) the counting being exclusive ( *maryādā* ) : *evam ā śatāt*, thus up to the hundred ( ŚB. 4.5.8.16 ). *āntāt ā parārdhāt pṛthivyai samudraparyantāyā ekarāṭ*, from the one end up to the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean, sole ruler ( AB. 39.1.1 ).

*pari* : *divas pari*, from the sky ( TS. 3.3.3.x ). *pari kutsād ihāgahi*, come here from Kutsa ( PB. 9.2.22 ).

*prati* : *ādityā vā etaṃ bhūtyai prati mudante*, it is the Ādityas who repeal from prosperity him . . . . . ( TS. 2.3.1 ).

11. The Causal Ablative.

The Ablative is independently used as the cause or reason from which some action originates or results. This use has developed from the primary function of the case.

The Instrumental is a concurrent idiom here. But there is still a distinction. Originally the causal instrumental emphasised *the cause as the means* while the causal ablative indicated *the cause as the source*; thus, *tapasā prāpyate sattvaṃ sattvāt samprāpyate manaḥ* ( MU. 4.3 ). The ablative is optional with a non-feminine word denoting quality : ( *vibhāṣā guṇe'striyām* P. 2.3.25 ). Instrumental is obligatory with a word denoting a thing and a feminine noun. But if the efficient cause be some obligation ( such as debt ) the ablative only is available (*akartaryyṛṇe pañcamī* P.2.3.24).

*kṛcchrād avapadyai*, let me not fall through the misery of the metres ( AB. 16.4.5 ). *śokāt pṛthivyā uta vai divas pari*, from the pain of the earth or also of the sky ( ŚB. 7.5.2.21 ). *itaḥ pradānād dhi devā upajīvanti*, the gods subsist on what is offered up from this world ( ŚB. 1.2.5.24 ).

Concrete nouns also appear with the ablative of cause :

*yajñād eva yajñe pratitiṣṭhanti*, it is by sacrifice that they establish themselves in the sacrifice ( ŚB. 12.8.1.18 ). *tasya ha sma śvasathād asurarakṣasāni mṛdyamānāni yanti*, by his snorting and roaring the Asuras and the Rakṣas were continually being crushed ( ŚB. 1.1.414 ).

*annād vā aśanāyā nivartate*, hunger ceases through food ( ŚB. 10.2.6.19 ).



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Note the following expression : *api hāsmād garbhiṇyāsa*, (Urvaśi) was even with child of him ( ŚB. 11.5.1.2 ).

( 1 ) The pronouns *ka* and *ta* : *kasmān mā pārayiṣyasi*, wherefore wilt thou save me ? ( ŚB. 1.8.1.2 ). *tasmāt kumāraṃ jātaṃ saṃvadante*, therefore they talk of a ( newly ) born son ( AB. 11.2.7 ).

( 2 ) Note the following sentence : *ahaṃ tvad asmi mad asi tvam etat*, I am for you and then art for me ( TB. 1.2.20 ).

12. The Adverbial Ablative.

The following is a short list of stereotyped ablatives used as adverbs :

*pratyakṣāt*, openly ( AB. 13.13.3 ). *pratyakṣatamāt*, very openly ( AB. 18.6.18 ). *sākṣāt*, openly (AB. 11.8.1). *ārakāt*, afar (ŚB. 2.3.4.22). *parokṣāt*, mysteriously ( AB. 13.12.5 ). *paścāt*, etc.

( 1 ) A few more such adverbs are found in the classical language :—*cirāt*; *acirāt* : *pratyakṣaṃ te nikhilaṃ acirād bhrātar uktam mayā yat* ( Megha. 2.33 ); *kṣaṇāt* : *atha dūraṃ kṣaṇād gatvā* ( Kathāsaritsāgara 3.33 ).

Cf. Av. : *antarnaēmāt*, *upairinaēmat*, *upemāt*, *paurvanaēmāt*, *paskāt*, *uskāt*, *adhāt* etc.

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## GENITIVE

1. The genitive is primarly the possessive and the partitive case. The Greek name of the case was Γενική " the case of kind or species ", but in Latin, owing to some curious mistakes, it was rendered *Genitivus* " the case of origin ". Its fundamental function is to denote the " belonging to ". As to its functions it closely resembles an adjective for its close connection with the noun. As a matter of fact, in Sanskrit and other old I-E. languages the genitive of the personal and possessive pronouns is interchangeable with the possessive adjective.

2. In the parent I-E. *ursprache*— as evidenced from the language of the Ṛgveda, Greek and Avesta— the employment of the verb with the genitive was more abundant than in the later



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stages of its different branches. In ṚV. the following verbs were construed with the genitive *aś* (*aśnāti*), *bhakṣ*, *vī*, *pā*, *juṣ*, *dā*, *pṛc*, *bhaj* (caus.), *as* (*asyati*), *bhikṣ*, *av*, *kan*, *chad*, *mad*, *prī*, *tarp*, *pan*, *pṛ*, *pī*, *vid*, *śru*, *cit*, *budh*, *man*, *adhi*+*i*, *adhi*+*gā*, *kṛ* (*cakarmi*), *dhī*, *irajy*, *īś*, *kṣi*, *rāj*, *śak*, *bhī* (*bhayate*), *trā* (*trāyate*) and *rakṣ*. Cf. Gk. ἀκούω, ἀκροκομαι, I hear ; δισθάνομαι, I perceive ; μιμνήσκομαι, I remember ; ἐράω, I love ; ἐπιθυμέω, I desire ; πυνθάνομαί τί τινος, I learn something about one ; ἐσθίω, I eat ; πίνω, I drink ; γεύω, I give a taste ; ἀπολαύω, I enjoy ; μετέχω μέτεστί μοι, I have a share in ; κοινωνέω, I share ; πιμπλημι, πληρόω, I fill ; etc.

But in the Vedic prose works about half of these verbs were not construed with the genitive, but with the accusative. But in the Vedic prose first appears the construction of the impersonal verbs with the genitive.

In the epics and in Cl. Skt., again the genitive began to be construed with various verbs. There are two sources of this reviving idiom. In the first place those verbs which were construed with the genitive in I–E *ursprache* but do not occur in ṚV. and in Vedic prose (viz., *smṛ : yasya smarate vāsavaḥ*, Mbh. 3. 8446 ; cf. *μιμνήσκομαι τοῦ φίλου*, I remember the friend ; Lat. *memini amici*), or occur in ṚV. but not in Vedic prose [viz. *bhī:* ṚV. 4.38.8 and *kasya bibhyati devaḥ* (R. 1.1.14), *bibhīmas tava* (Mbh. 3.14303 ); *adhi*+*i : yádi stutásya máruto adhīthá* (Rv. 7. 56.15 ) and, *adhyeti tava lakṣmaṇaḥ* (Bhaṭṭi ) etc. ], and secondly in the Prakrit the genitive was fast taking up the uses of the other cases, notably of the dative, and Cl. Skt. imitated this idiom from the Prakrits. This last item is the source of the largest number of verbs taking up the genitive in the epic and Cl. Skt. Thus in Cl. Skt. : *yad anyasya pratijñāya punar anyasya dīyate* (Manu 9.99) ; *na bhikṣām apyadāt kaścid daridrasyādhanasya ca* (Kathāsaritsāgara 6.77 ) ; *yeṣāṃ sa eṣa bhagavān dayayed anantaḥ* (Bhāgavata Purāṇa ) ; *rāmasya dayamāno'sau* (Bhaṭṭi. 8.119 ) ; *na brahmadattas te bhūyo vyabhicariṣyati* (Kathāsaritsāgara 20. 4 ) ; *kupitas tava* (Mbh. ) ; *kruddhaḥ phālgunasya* (Mbh. ) ; *naivāsya sa cukopa ha* (Mbh. ) ; *mamāpi dveṣṭum arhati* (Mbh. 3.15224 ) ; *devās tasyānugṛhṇate* (Bhāgavata Purāṇa ) ; *tutoṣa tasya ... ... muneḥ* (Mbh. 1.8361 ) ; *jñātum icchāmi te* (Mbh. 2.2154 ) ; *tathā tarkayatas tasya* (Mbh. 3.1723 ) ; *amuṣya vayaṃ katham anumimīmahi* (Bhāgavata



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Purāṇa ); *rākṣasasya na cātrāsīt* ( Bhaṭṭi 15.58 ); *aham pratiśrutya devānām*, I having promised to the gods ( Mbh. ); *kasya kṣamemahi*, whom should we pardon? ( Mbh. ); *amṛtasyeya cākāṅkṣed avamānasya sarvadā*, one should desire of insult as of ambrosia ( Manu 2.162 ); *gurūṇām anivedyaiva.* without informing the superiors ( Kathāsaritsāgara 4. 71 ); *mātuḥ sarvaṃ nyavedayat* ( Kathāsaritsāgara 4.19 ); *hiraṇyaguptasya kiṃcin mṛgayituṃ dhanam*, to beg some money from H. ( Kathāsaritsāgara 4. 43 ); *manmātuḥ praṇato 'bravīt*, said to my mother ( *Ibid* 2. 40 ); *nāpṛṣṭaḥ kasyacid brūyāt*, should say nothing to any one without being asked ( Manu 2.110 ); *parokṣe ca samakṣe ca na tāsāṃ viśvaset sudhīḥ* ( Ind. Spr. 3848 ). See *infra*.

Note. The genitive with *smṛ* first appears in AV. (only one occurrence); *yathā mama smarād asau nāmuṣyāhaṃ kadā-cana*, that you ( man ) may love me, not I him at any time ( 6.130.3 ). *adhi+i* it is construed with the genitive in ṚV. and Cl. Skt., but in Vedic prose it is construed with accusative, e. g. *tasmāt putro mātaram adhyeti* ( PB. 17.1.13 ).

Pāṇini thus defines the use of the case : *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* ( 2.3.51 ).

The purport of this somewhat obscure aphorism according to the *Kāśikā* is this; "in all other instances ( namely if none of the cases, taught in the aphorisms 2.3.1-49 be available ), one should use the sixth case." Patañjali explains it differently : *karmādīnām avivakṣā śeṣaḥ*, "the sixth case is to be used if the categories of object and the rest are not to be distinctly expressed."

4. The Genitive and the Accusative.

We shall see subsequently that some verbs are construed with both the genitive and the accusative. There is, however, a distinction between the two uses. When the genitive is used it often expresses partial control by the verb of that which is contained in the object, whereas the accusative expresses complete control.

5. The following are the typical uses of the genitive :

I. Possessive Genitive.

(a) Appositional Genitive.

II. Subjective and Objective Genitive.



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III. Partitive Genitive.
(a) Genitivus Materiae et Originis.
IV. Genitive with Verbs.
V. Genitive with Adjectives.
VI. Genitive with Adverbs and Adverbial Prepositions.
VII. Causal Genitive.
VIII. Elliptical Construction.
IX. Genitive Absolute.

## THE GENITIVE WITH THE SUBSTANTIVE

### 6. The Possessive Genitive.

The possessive genitive expresses various logical relations. The following examples will illustrate some of those relations.

*carma vā etat kṛṣṇasya*, this is the skin of the black deer (ŚB. 1.1.1.4). *tam aśvasya pada ādhatte*, places it under the foot of the horse (ŚB. 2.1.4.24). *vāco rūpān naiti*, does not depart from the symbol of speech (AB. 16.3.3). *na vā enam anyaj jyotiṣāṃ jyotiḥ pratyudeti*, light of no other luminary appears to him (PB.20.6.4).

*vāg evāsya*, speech belonged to him (ŚB. 6.7.9). *nāsya prajāyāṃ dṛpta ājāyate*, nor in his offspring a proud son is born (AB. 6.7.9). *ṣaḍ vā ṛtavaḥ saṃvatsarasya*, six are the seasons in the year (ŚB. 1.2.512).

*rāiño vai pūrvapeyam*, the first drink is the king's (AB. 13.13.10). *asmākam api yajñe bhāgaḥ*, our share too in the sacrifice (ŚB. 1.3.3.15). *indrasya tvā bhāgaṃ somenātanacmi* (ŚB. 1.7.1.19). *śreṣṭhasyoddhāraḥ*, special share for a chief (ŚB. 3.9.4.9). *indrasya puroḍāśaḥ*, the cake for Indra (ŚB. 4.2.5.22). *aindrāvāyavān grahān gṛhṇīyād āmayāvinaḥ*, he should draw the cups for I. and V. first for one who is ill (TS. 7.2.7.).

*sarasvatyā udakam mā pāt*, he may not drink the water of the Sarasvatī, (AB. 8.1.1). *mahāvṛkṣasya agram* (PB. 3.6.2). *mahati rātryāḥ*, in the depth of the night (AB. 7.5.8). In this example the adjective *mahat* serves for the substantive.

*etāḥ svargasya lokasya nāvaḥ saṃpāriṇyaḥ*, these are ships which carry over to the world of heaven (AB. 27.3.6). *sā yathā srutir añjasāyanī evam abhiplavaḥ ṣaḍahaḥ svargasya lokasya*, the A. Ṣ. is the path that leads straight to the world of heaven (AB. 18.3.8).



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Cf. *agastyāśramasya panthāḥ*, the way to the hermitage of Agastya ( Uttararāmacarita ).

*sa yaḥ spandamānānāṃ sthāvaro hradaḥ syāt*, there is a standing pool of flowing waters (ŚB.4.4.5.20). *tad ahnāṃ vā uṣasāṃ vā mithunaṃ karoti* ( ŚB. 2.3.1.38 ). *ko hi manuṣyasya śvo veda*, who knows the morrow of man ( ŚB. 2.1.3.9). *yad vai yajñasya mithyā kriyate*, where anything is done wrongly at the sacrifice ( ŚB. 1.9.3.4 ). *sa teṣāṃ vivacanam ivāsa*, he was, as it were, their authority ( ŚB. 2.4.4.3 ). *atithir vā eṣa etasyāgacchati*, he comes as his guest ( ŚB. 3.4.1.2 ). *etarhi sammarśanasya kālaḥ*, this is the time of touching ( ŚB. 3.8.3.36 ). *eṣa upariṣṭād aryamṇaḥ panthāḥ*, this is Aryaman's path above ( ŚB. 5.3.1.2 ). *yajūṃśi anasaḥ agnau*, the formulas to the cart in the building of the fire altar ( ŚB. 6.8.1.1 ). *evaṃ viduṣaḥ pāpaṃ na kīrtayet*, one must not speak ill of him who knows this ( ŚB. 8.5.1.17 ). *athāto gṛhāṇām evopacāraḥ*, as to the observance in regard to ( the entering of ) his house ( ŚB. 2.4.1.14 ). *sa kālaḥ paridhānasya*, that is the time for conclusion ( KB. 18.4 ).

Abstract nouns : 101066

*sarvasya premāṇāṃ gatāḥ.....sarvasya cārutāṃ gatāḥ*, dear to all .....beloved by all ( AB. 18.3.3 ). *aśnute ha prajānām aiśvaryam ādhipatyam*, he attains prosperity and lordship over ( his ) subjects ( AB. 24.2.5 ). *asti vai agneś ca apāṃ ca vibhrātṛvyam iva*, there is, as it were, enmity between the fire and the waters ( ŚB. 2.4.1.14 ). *śuklānāṃ ca kṛṣṇānāṃ ca saṃdhir bhavati* ( ŚB. 3.2.1.5 ).

*saṃvatsarasya samatā veditavyā*, in the year there should be known to be uniformity ( ŚB. 12.3.5.12 ). Cf Av. *daibiṧvatō dvaēšāo* the malice of the malicious ( Ys. 28.6 ).

(1) With the perfect passive participle :

The genitive with participles in *-ta* is not the subjective genitive though it is felt to be the agent. This genitive is a variety of the possessive genitive.



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[ *ktasya ca vartamāne* P. 2. 3. 67 : *adhikaraṇavācinaśca* 2. 3. 68 ]. This genitive is rather rare in RV. but are plentiful in the Brāhmaṇas.

*teṣāṃ sarvā diśo'bhijitā abhūvan*, they have won all quarters (TS. 3.5.10). *baddha eṣāṃ*, bound by them (TS. 3.2.8c). *acyutād yajñasya cyaveran*, they would depart from the norm of the sacrifice (AB. 22.4.5). *tad vā ṛṣīṇām anuśrutam āsa*, this was heard by Ṛṣis (ŚB. 1.6.2.1). *yo'sya vyāttam āpadyate*, who enters into his open mouth (ŚB. 1.6.4.18). *etad vai juṣṭaṃ devānām*, it is indeed palatable to the gods (ŚB. 1.7.2.10). *eṣāṃ jitam anapajayyam*, their conquest is unassailable (ŚB. 3.4.2.8).

*yatra yatrāgner vyaktam*, wherever the nature of Agni is manifest (ŚB. 2.1.1.1).

Cf. : *samājā sadhumatū devānaṃ priyasa priyadasino rañño* (Girnar I 6/7); *vedaniyamate gal(u)mate ca devānaṃ piyasā* (Ḳhalsi XIII 36); *vidite ve bhaṃte* (Bhabra 2); *savapāsaṃḍā pi me pujitā* (Delhi VI. 7). *imassa ca bhikkhuno suggahītam* (Mahap. 229). *tassa te dulladdhaṃ* (Mahāp. 238). Cf. Av. : *yē nāo īštō*, who is desired of us (Ys. 56.1).

(1a) Similarly gerundives are used with the possessive genitive (Cf. P. 2.3.71) :

*tvaṣṭā vai paśūnāṃ rūpakṛt*, Tvaṣṭṛ is the maker of form of animals (TS. 6. 3. 6). *anyasya valikṛt*, tributary to another (AB. 35.2.3).

*hotar vadasva yat te vādyam*, O Hotṛ, say your say (ŚB. 14.3. 1.20). *yad eṣāṃ jayyam āsa*, what they wished to gain (ŚB.1.6.2.3).

There is a unique instance of a possessive genitive governed by a present participle : *nāsya bruvāṇaṃ cana* ..... nor any one claiming to be his (KB. 6.2, 3, 4 etc.).

(2) Appositional Genitive.

The existence of the appositional or apexegetic genitive in Sanskrit is denied by Whitney (§ 295). But the following examples will suffice for refuting his statement. The appositional genitive can not be denied for Sanskrit. (Cf. Keith : Introduction to the TS.).



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*antar agne rucā tvam*
*ukhāyai sadane sve ।*
*tasyās tvaṃ hara.ā tapan*
*jātavedaḥ śivo bhava ॥*

O Agni with glow within they own seat of pan, । Heating with her blaze । Be thou, O All-knower auspicious ( TS. 4.1.91 ). It should be noted that both the Kāṭhaka and the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitās read *ukhāyām* for *ukhāyai.* ( But *ukhāyai* may well be taken as a locative feminine form ; see Dative *supra* ).

*adād idaṃ yamo 'vasānam pṛthivyāḥ,* Yama hath given this resting-place of earth ( TS. 4.2.4a ).

*saniṃ goḥ ... ... havamānāya sādha,* accord to the sacrificer the gain of a cow ( TS. 4.2.4i ).

*devo devam etu somaḥ somam eta.asya pathā* ( PB. 1.1.2 ). *ṛtasya pathā preta,* go forward in the way of truth ( ŚB. 4.3.4.16 ).

In fact this idiom goes back to the Indo-Iranian, as the following example shows : *garmapadhya māhyā* IX *raucabiš,* nine days in the month of Garmpada ( APL p. 204 ). Cf. the Gk. poetic use : πόλις Αργους, the city of Argos ( Aristophanes ) ; τροίης πτολίεθρον, the city of Troy ( Homer ).

(3) Genitive of authority. ( See *infra* ).

7. Genitive with Verbal Nouns.

The genitive with verbal substantives are allied to the genitive with verbs ( see *infra* ).

(1) Subjective Genitive.

The agent of the action of the verbal noun takes the subjective genitive. It is however interchangeable with the instrumental.

In the Brāhmaṇas ( and so also in cl. Skt.) the instances of the subjective genitive are rarer than those of the objective genitive.

*yajñasya samṛddhyai,* for the prosperity of the sacrifice ( TS. 5.1.2 ).

*uttarasya girer manor avasarpaṇam,* Manu's descent from the northern mountain ( ŚB. 1.8.1.6 ). *yathā vai devānāṃ caraṇaṃ tad*



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*vā anu manuṣyāṇām*, the course pursued by gods is in accordance with that pursued by men (ŚB. 1.3.1.1). *teṣām asya sarveṣāṃ kāmāśanam*, of all those he may eat at pleasure (ŚB. 6.2.2.39). Cf. Gk. : ἡ τοῦ δήμου εὔνοια, the goodwill of the people. Cf. Av. : *vyaxma amešanam spēntanąm*, the assembly of the A. S. (Ys. 57.12).

(2) Objective Genitive.

The object of the verbal noun takes the objective genitive.

*na asaṃvatsarabhṛtasya īkṣakeṇa cana bhavitavyam*, one must not even be a looker-on at the (building up of a fire) not carried about for a year (ŚB. 7. 1. 2. 11). *kāmacārasya vā kāmāya*, from a desire of free scope (ŚB. 2. 2. 3. 2). *svargasya lokasya rohaḥ*, a mounting to the heavenly world (AB. 12.8.6). *eṣa vai naḥ strīṇām upacāraḥ*, such is the way to behave to us women (ŚB. 11.5.1.1). *adhastād hi śreyasa upacāraḥ*, from below, as it were, one serves one's superior (ŚB. 1.1.1.11). *ātmanaḥ pratyabhimarśaḥ*, the touching of himself (AB. 35.7.5). *na purā somasya krayād aporṇvīta*, he should not uncover before the purchasing of the Soma (TS. 6.1.3). *rakṣasām apahatyai* (AB. 3.5.11). *rāṣṭrasya guptyai* (AB. 40.4.8). *syūma haitad yajñasya*, sewing of the sacrifice (AB. 22.7.6). *tasyaitasya paricakṣā*, a slight on this (ŚB. 1.3.5.14). *ūtim evāsya vindanti*, the gods get its satisfaction (PB. 9.5.4). *klptir asi diśām*, thou art the orderer of the quarters (AB. 37.5.12).

Cf. *ahe yasna yazatanąm*, on account of his worship of the deities (Ys. 57.3). *yō vanāno kayadhahe*, who was the victor over the Kayadha (Ys. 57.15). *hvarštanąm šyothnanąm vardèzāi*, for the doing of good deeds (Vsp. 15.1).

*pāpasya karmaṇaḥ kartāraḥ*, doors of evil deed (AB. 35.1.1). *viśvasya bhuvanasya dhartrī*, sustainer of the whole world (TS. 4.2.9 L). *agnir vai . . . . . pathām apinetā*. Agni is the guide of paths (ŚB. 12.4.4.1). *mitrasya yantāsi*, thou art supporter of the friend (ŚB. 9.3.3.11). Cf. *mitrāya yantāsi* (ŚB. 9.3.3.10).

For Av., cf.: *yō jantā daēvayāo drujō*, who was the slayer of the fiendish Druj (Ys. 57. 15).

[In RV. the agent nouns in *-tṛ* generally takes the accu-



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sative when the root is accented and the genitive when the suffix is accented ].

*duravavadaṃ hi śreyasaḥ*, it is unwise to speak ill of a superior ( AB. 24.3.5 ). This use of the genitive with a verbal noun with the suffix - *a* ( *-khal* ) is not sanctioned by Pāṇini 2.3.69 ).

Cf. Gk. *διὰ τὸ παυσανίου μῖσος*, owing to the hatred of Pausanius ( Thucy ).

8. Partitive Genitive.

The partitive genitive expresses either the whole with respect to the part, or a multitude from which an individual is selected out ( *yataś ca nirdhāraṇam* P. 2.3.41 ). ( See Locative *infra* ).

*bṛhaspatir vai devānām udagāyat*, among the gods Bṛhaspati chanted aloud ( PB. 6.7.1 ). *maṇḍūkena paśūnām*, with frog on the part of animal ( ŚB. 9.1.2.24 ). *etāvatīnāṃ devatānām agnim evāmantrayata*, addressed Agni out of so many deities ( ŚB. 9.1.2.16). *tasmāt sarveṣām aṅgānāṃ vācaivānnasya rasaṃ vijānāti*, whence of all organs it is through (the channel of) speech that the essence of food is known ( ŚB. 8.5.4.1 ). *eṣāṃ dundubhīnām ekam*, one of these drums ( ŚB. 5.1.5.7 ). *indraḥ śalmalināṃ yamunāyā havyaṃ niravahat* ( PB. 9.4.10 ). *ajāvikasya ubhayasya ajāḥ pūrvā yanti*, of goats and sheep the goats go first ( ŚB. 4.5.5.4 ). *ete vai vasatūṃ vuram* ( ŚB. 3.9.2.16 ). *agnīṣomau vai devānāṃ sayujau*, Agni and Soma are the yoke-fellows among the gods ( ŚB. 3.4.4.9 ). *sa devatānām eko bhavati* ( ŚB. 3.1.1.8 ). *kaḥ svit so' smākam asti vīraḥ*, who is a hero among us? ( AB. 35.1.2 ). *tān bharadvāja ṛṣīṇām apaśyat*, whom Bharadvāja among the seers saw ( AB. 15.5.1 ).

With pronouns and pronominal adverbs :

*ye jaghanena śamyā piśyamānānām avaśīyante*, whatever portion of the (grains) being ground falls down ( ŚB. 5.2.3.2). *eṣāṃ vai lokānām ayam eva dhruvaḥ*, of these worlds this is the firm one ( ŚB. 5. 1. 2. 4 ). *yad atra payaso 'hāyi*, what milk was left there ( ŚB. 1.7. 1.18 ). *agner ha vai devā yāvad vā yāvad vā apsu praveśayāṃ cakruḥ*, the gods made so much of Agni as would go in, enter the water ( ŚB. 4.4.5.13). *yatra kva ca kurukṣetrasya nigacchati*, wherever in Kurukṣetra one settles there ( ŚB. 14.1.1.2 ).



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(1) Sometimes the part as well as the whole are identical. The sense is 'the best of' e. g. *śiśur vā āṅgiraso mantrakṛtām mantrakṛd āsīt*, the son of Aṅgiras, though a child, was the best of composers of hymns ( PB. 13. 3. 24 ). This idiom is Indo-European.

(2) With superlatives ( and superlative formations ) :

*paramā vā eṣā sanīnām*, this is the best of gifts ( ŚB. 2.3.4,15 ). *uttarasya savanasya prathamaṃ karoti* ( ŚB. 4. 9. 3. 4 ). *hiṅkāraḥ stotriyāṇāṃ daśamaḥ*, the call 'Hiṅ' is the tenth of 'stotra'-verse ( ŚB. 4.4.4.2 ).

*devānāṃ vā aniṣṭā devatā āsan*, these deities were not sacrificed to by the gods ( TS. 3.6.1 ). *mukhaṃ sveṣu bhavati śreṣṭhaḥ svānām bhavati*, he becomes the head among his own, the best among his own (AB. 8.4.9). *ardhasya śreṣṭho bhavati*, becomes the best of the community (ŚB. 2.1.2.8). *paśūnām prayuktatamaḥ*, most often-employed animal sacrifice ( AB. 6.8.4 ). *teṣām yaśasvitamo bhūtvā* ( ŚB. 4.2. 4.10 ). *bhāgī śreṣṭhī devānāṃ syām* ( TB. 3. 1. 4. 10 ). Cf. Av. : *hāiṯaṃ hvō aojistō*, he is the strongest of beings ( Ys. 29.3 ). *kva paoirīm aiṅhāo zèmō ṣāiṧtèm* ( Vend. 3.1 ).

*ya eṣāṃ parastarām iva bhavati*, if any one of them be far away ( ŚB. 3. 4. 2. 3 ). ( A comparative adverb has been used here ). *rājanyabandhavo manuṣyāṇām anutamāṃ gopāyanti*, amongst men princes keep most aloof ( ŚB. 10.5.2.10 ).

(3) With tha numeral : *gavāṃ trīṇi śatāni*, three hundred of kine ( AB. 33. 5. 3 ). Cf. Av. : *hazaṇrèm vairyaṇąm*,' a thousand of channels ( Yt. 5. 4 ).

(4) Under the partitive genitive comes the class of genitive used with iterative numeral adverbs ( Vide P. 2.3.64 ). See *infra*, under Genitive with Adverbs.

(5) Genitivus Materise et Originis.

Sometimes the genitive expresses the material or the origin.

*medasaśca hi ghṛtasya ca bhavanti*, they are of fat and of ghee ( AB, 6.2.8 ). *āśūnām puroḍāśaṃ nirvapati*, prepares a cake from quick grown rice ( ŚB. 5.3.3.3 ). *tasmād eteṣāṃ vṛkṣāṇāṃ bhavanti*, from these trees they are therefore ( taken ) ( ŚB. 1.3.3.20). *taṃ vai*



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*purāṇānāṃ kuryāt*, should prepare it from old (grain) (ŚB. 2.4.3.7). *sa kṛṣṇānāṃ vrīhīṇāṃ nakhair nirbhidya taṇḍulān nairṛtaṃ caruṃ śrapayati*, he cooks the pap of black rice after spitting the grains with his nails ( ŚB. 5.3.1.13 ). *ubhau eva navānāṃ syātām*, both consist of new material ( ŚB. 2.4.3.7 ). *tad ubhayeṣāṃ vrīhīyavānāṃ gṛhṇāti*, he prepares it of both rice and barley (ŚB. 5.5.5.9). *mṛdaśca apāṃ ca mahāvīrakṛtā bhavanti*, the Mahāvīra ( vessels ) are made of clay and water ( ŚB. 14.2.2.53 ).

*sa etaṃ varuṇāya śatabhiṣaje bheṣajebhyaḥ puroḍāśaṃ daśakapālaṃ niravapat kṛṣṇānām* ( TB. 3.1.5.9 ). *kṛṣṇavrīhīṇāṃ nakhanirbhinnānāṃ piṣṭamayīṃ pratīkṛtiṃ kṛtvā* ( Sm. B. 2.5.4 ).

## 9. Genitive with Verbs.

The genitive with verbs falls into two classes :

(A) in one the genitive represents generally the objective case, and, (B) in the other the genitive denotes the whole as affected by the verbs ; i. e. it is of a partitive nature.

### ( A )

(1) Verbs meaning to rule ever, to dispose of :

*kṣi* : *kṣayantaṃ rādhaso mahaḥ*, ruling over great wealth ( ŚB. 7.3.1.33 ). Cf. Av. : *yezī cahyā xšayathā*, if you have power over any one ( Ys. 48.9 ).

*rāj* ( *vi-* ) : *darśatasya hyeṣa vapuṣo virājati*, he indeed shines of beautiful form ( ŚB. 7.3.1.32 ).

*īś* : ( Cf. *adhīgarthadayeśāṃ karmaṇi* P. 2.3.52 ). *na vai tasyā tā īśate*, they have no power to do that ( TB. 3.1.9 ). *savitā vai prasavānām īśe* ( AB. 33.4.5 ). *yo'yaṃ devaḥ paśūnām īṣṭe*, the god here who rules over cattle ( ŚB. 1.7.3.1. ). *gṛhāṇāṃ ha pitara īśate* ( ŚB. 2.6.1.42 ) *na dāyasya caneśate* ( ŚB. 4.4.2.13 ).

*pā* : *prāṇo vai tanūnapāt sa hi tanvaḥ pāti* ( AB. 6.4.5 ). Cf. Gk. Ἔρως τῶν θεῶν βασιλευει, Love is the king of the gods.

( 2 ) To rejoice or delight in :

*tṛp* : *juṣāṇā somasya tṛpyatu*, accept and delight in the Soma ( TB. 3.2.5 ). *tasmād yadā annasya tṛpyati*, when one is satiated by food ( ŚB. 10.3.5.13 ). Cf. *tava bhāgasya tṛpnuhi* ( RV. 2. 36. 4 ).



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Cf. *nāgnis tṛpyati kāṣṭhānāṃ nāpagānām mahodadhiḥ* ( Mbh. 5, 1538; Pañc. I ). *apāṃ hi tṛptāya na vāridhārā svāduḥ sugandhiḥ svadate tuṣārā* ( Naiṣadhīya ). *na śreyasām manas tṛptam vāḍavāgnir na yoṣitām* ( Ind. Spr. 3470 ) Cf. Pali: *accāppassa puriso pāyāsassa pi tappati* ( J. 1.185 ).

*juṣ : svayaṃ vai tad yajñasya juṣate*, sacrifice itself rejoices in the sacrifice ( KB. 10.1; 26.3 ).

*mad : ubhā rādhasaḥ saha mādayadhyai*, you and I will together delight in kindly offer ( ŚB. 2.3.4.12 ).

Cf. Av: *xšnuyāo nō mithra yasnahe*, take pleasure in our worship, O Mithra ( Yt. 10. 32 ).

( 3 ) To take note of, to hear:

*kīrtay : na yajñe rakṣasāṃ kīrtayet*, should not make mention of the Rakṣas at the sacrifice ( AB. 6.7.2 ). *krūram iva vā etat karoti yad rudrasya kīrtayati*, he does, as it were, a harsh thing when he recites that ( text ) of Rudra ( TB. 6.1.7 ) ( This example may also be taken as an elliptic construction ). *pavamānasya kīrtayati* makes mention of the purifying ( KB. 1.4. ); *yad dyāvāpṛthivyoḥ kīrtayati* ( KB. 3.8 ). *lokānāṃ hi kīrtayati*, praises the worlds ( ŚB. 3.1.4.1.5 ).

*cakṣ (ā) : tasmāt palāśasyaiva palāśenācakṣate*, therefore they speak with the word *palāśa* of foliage generally ( AB. 6.1.12 ).

*śru : yatra grāmyasya paśor nāśṛnuyāt tad araṇyam*, where one does not hear ( of the cry ) of domestic animals, it is the forest ( ŚB. 21.3.5 ). Cf. Av. *surunuyāo nō mithra yasnahe*, hear our worship, O Mithra ( K. 10.32 ).

*oit : asya haviṣaś ciketu*, may (she) be aware of the oblation ( TS. 3.3.11 ). Cf. *somo jaitrasya cetasi* ( RV. 9.106.2 ).

*man : manai nu vabhrūṇām aham* of the brown once will I ponder ( ŚB. 7.2.4.26 ). Cf. *vayaṃ hi te amanmahi* ( RV. 1.30.21 ).

*mīmāṃs : tvaṃ nediṣṭhaṃ yājñavalkya agnihotrasya amīmāṃsiṣṭhāḥ*, thou, O Yājñavalkya, hast inquired most closely into the nature of the Agnihotra ( ŚB. 11.6.2.4 ).

*vid : prāṇo vai jātavedāḥ sa hi jātānāṃ veda* ( AB. 10.7.11 ). *prāṇasya vidvān samare na ghoraḥ*, knowing the breath like a valiant



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man in battle ( TS. 3.2.8 ). *tasya haite'pi vadhyasya vidāṃ cakruḥ*, they also knew of his going to be killed ( ŚB. 1.2.3.2 ). *ko veda manuṣyasya*, who knows about ( the life of ) man ( ŚB. 5.5.2.2 ). *eṣa vā etasya vanaspatir vettu*, this tree shall know it ( ŚB. 9.1.2.22 ) *sa etaiḥ supto na kasya cana veda*, when he is asleep, he does not, by means of them, know of anything whatever ( ŚB. 10.5.2.15 ). *yo brāhmaṇaḥ sann aśvamedhasya na veda* ( ŚB. 13.2.4.17 ).

( 4 ) Miscellaneous Verbs.

*jñā : tad dha asya jajñuḥ*, they approved of his words ( ŚB. 11.6. 2.5 ). ( Cf. *jño' vidarthasya karaṇe* P. 2.3.51. This aphorism is generally misinterpreted. The Kāśikā gives the right interpretation. The sūtra should run thus : *jño vidarthasya karaṇe* ).

*su : savitā tvā savānāṃ suvatām*, may Savitṛ quicken thee for ( powers of ) quickening ( ŚB. 9.4.3.16 ).

*lip ( ni ) : sa hotur iha nilimpati*, he anoints the Hotṛ here ( ŚB. 1.8.1.14 ). Cf. *tad dhotā oṣṭhayor nilimpate*, with it the Hotṛ anoints his lips ( ŚB. 1.8.1.14 ).

*mṛḍay : eṣa sarvasya īśāno mṛḍayati*, he, Īśāna, therefore, is gracious to every one ( ŚB. 5.4.4.12 ).

*kaṇḍūya : yo vai garbhasya kāṣṭhena vā nakhena vā kaṇḍūyet* ( ŚB. 5.4.4.12 ).

*vadh ( prati ) : bṛhaspateḥ pratyavadhīt*, he had contended with Bṛhaspati ( AB. 35.2.1 ).

In. Cl. Skt. a few other verbs are also found with this objective genitive ( Vide P. 2.3.52 ). Thus—

*utkaṇṭh : utkaṇṭhamāno bharato gurūṇām*, Bharata being anxious for his superiors ( Bhaṭṭi 3 ).

*upa-kṛ : tām āyuṣman mama ca vacanād ātmanaś copakartum brūyā evam* (Megha.2.40) ; *sā lakṣmīr upakurute yayā pareṣām* ( Kirātārjunīya). *sādhūnām upakaṛtum . . . na kutūhali kasya manaḥ* (Naiṣadhīya quoted by Mallinātha under Megha 2.40) ; *mā kasyacid upaskṛthāḥ* ( Bhaṭṭi. 8.19 ). Cf. *parapāsaṃdasa ca upakareti* ( Girnar XII. 4 ). In the Aśokan inscriptions *apakṛ* also is construed with the genitive : *parapāsaṃdasa ca pi apakaroti* ( Girnar XII. 5 ). *mitrāṇām upakurvāṇo rājyaṃ rakṣitum arhasi* (R).

*prati-kṛ : pratikuryāṃ tathā tasya* ( Mbh. 1,2018 ) ; *pratikartum*



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*prakṛṣṭasya nāvakṛṣṭena yujyate* ( R. 4.17.47 ). *smṛ : kaccid bhartuḥ smarasi rasike* ( Megh. 2.34 ). *yasya smarate vāsavaḥ* ( Mbh. 3,8446 ). Cf. Pali : *sumarati nāgavanassa kuñjaro* (Dhammapada 57). In Pali the verb *cintay* is also sometimes construed with the genitive : *tassa anovādakassa mā cintayi* ( J. 1.159 ). For √*day*, see *supra*. cf. Pali : *telassa dayati* ( Childers ).

*anu-grah : devās tasyānugṛhṇate* ( Bhp. ). The verb *nāth* though included in this class by Pāṇini is not found in cl. Skr. ; but cf. Pali : *tassa nūn 'ajja nādhati* for that he is longing ( J. 5.90 ).

(B) Partitiveness.

(1) To eat, drink, partake of :

*aś : eteṣām medhānāṃ nāśnāti* ( ŚB. 11.1.7.3 ). *hutasya aśnāmi* ( ŚB. 1. 8. 1. 15 ). But in this example the genitive is not partitive : *na dīkṣitasya aśnīyat* ( AB. 6.9,6 ). See *infra*.

Cf. *dadhyaśnīyām* ( ŚB. 4. 2. 5. 19 ). *yadā hi prajā oṣadhīnām aśnanti* ( TB. 3.2.5.7 ).

*ad : tāsāṃ jagdhvā ruṣyanty ait*, eating of them she went ill ( TB. 2.1.1.2 ).

*pā : yasya pītvā*, of which having drunk ( AB. 8. 2. 14 ). *svayam asya pibantu madhunaś ca ghṛtasya ca* ( ŚB. 9.2.1.14 ). *ya etāsāṃ nadīnām pibanti*, who drink of these rivers ( ŚB. 0.3.1.24 ). *sa prathamaḥ somasya pāsyati* ( AB. 9.1.1 ).

*bhakṣ* ( accusative only is found in RV. ) : *somo yad bindūnāṃ bhakṣayet*, if he were to partake of the drops ( TS. 6.6.3 ). *tā yad prathamāḥ somasya rājño bhakśayanti*, they first partake of the king Soma ( ŚB. 1.1.3.7 ).

Note : *gharmasya bhakṣayati*, he partakes of the cauldron ( TB. 6.6.30, AB. 4.5.10 ). But, *hotṛcamasam bhakṣayet* ( AB. 9.6.2 ).

*vi : juṣāṇo'ptur ājyasya vetu*, may the active one gladly partake of the ghee ( TS. 6.3.2 ). *agne ājyasya vyantu*, O Agni, may you accept of the butter ( ŚB. 2. 2. 3. 19 ).

*lips : tasmāt tasyāśitavyaṃ caiva lipsitavyaṃ ca* ( AB. 6.3.12 ). Cf. *tasya lipsāmahe vayam* ( Bhaṭṭi, 7. 88 ).

Cf. Av. *aētayāo zaothrayāo fraṅharōiš*, mayest thou partake of this libation ( Yt. 5.91 ) ; *vāstrayēta geuš vā xvaréthahe vā hurayāo*



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*vā madeuś vā*, let him give them a feed of meat or food, liquor or mead ( Vend 14.17 ).

(2) To give, to sacrifice :

*dā : annasya no dehi*, accord us food ( TS. 5.2.2 ; ŚB. 6.6.4.7 ). *tasya te dattam*, of that to thee let the two give (TS. 2.3.10f). *annasya annapatiḥ prādāt* ( PB 1.8.7 ). ( See *infra*, Dative Genitive ). Cf. Av. *ahyā haō nė dāidī*, give thou us a share in this ( Ys. 40.2 ).

*yaj* ( genitive of the thing offered ) : *ājyasya eva yajet*, let him offer nothing but butter ( ŚB. 2.4.3.10 ). *ghṛtasya yajanti*, they offer ghee ( TB. 6.6.7 ) *puroḍāśasya yajati* ( AB. 6.9.7 ). To worship : *ghṛtasya yaja*, recite the offering prayer of the ghee ( ŚB. 4.42.4 ). *puroḍāśasya yajati*, says as offering verse for the cake ( AB. 6.9.7 ). *haviṣo yajati*, uses as offering verse for the oblation ( AB. 6.10.5 ). *dadhigharmasya yaja* ( ŚB. 14.3.1.30). *yad uccaiḥ saumyasya yajati*, in that he says the offering verse aloud for the soma drink (KB. 16.5).

*vap* ( *nir* ) : *tasya te' kṣīyamāṇasya nirvapāmi*, of thee that art imperishable I make the offering ( TB. 1.1.10 ).

*kṛt* (*ut*) and *kir* ( *pra* ) : *tvaca utkartam avapākānāṃ saṃvraścam oṣadhivaṇaspatīnām prakiranti*, of these without omentum they throw down pieces cut out of the skin, and of herbs and trees they do after cutting them up ( ŚB. 13.7.1.9 ).

*do* ( *ava* ) : *athāsya puroḍāśasya avadyati*, cuts a piece from that cake ( ŚB. 2.6.1.37 ). *dadhnaḥ pūrvasya avadeyam*, one should offer curds first ( TB. 2.5.3 ). *tasmād uttarato' śvasya avadyanti*, hence they cut off the ( meat ) portions from the left side of the horse ( ŚB. 13.3.1.2 ).

*han* ( *upa* ) : *samidha ājyasya upahatya* having cut with a kindling stick some of the butter ( ŚB. 6.6.4.12 ). *sa pṛthivīm adha ārcchat tasya upahatya udamajjat*, he sank under tho earth and taking a part of it rose up ( TB. 1.1.19 ).

*hu* : *tasya rasasya jīvanīyasya devebhyo juhavāni*, I will offer to the gods of that sap ( ŚB. 2.3.1.11 ). *yasya kasya ca agnau juhvati*, of whatever they offer in fire ( ŚB. 2.6.1.33 ). *annayānnasya juhoti* ( TB. 1.3.8 ).

*sic* ( *abhi* ) : *annasya annasya abhiṣiñcati*, he pours down every sort of food ( TB. 5.6.3 ).



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*sū : ghṛtasya sūyate* ( TB. 1.3.9.1 ).

*stṛ* ( *upa* ) : *ājyasya upastṛṇāti*, he makes a basis of butter ( AB. 4.4.4. ) It is probably an instrumental genitive. Cf. *vyāghracarmaṇā upastṛṇāti* ( ŚB. ). *ājyasya upastīrya*, having made an underlayer of butter. ( ŚB. 1.7.4.11; 4.4.2.5 ).

*grah : na vā eteṣāṃ havir gṛhṇanti*, no offering is made of them ( ŚB. 1.1.1.10 ).

( 3 ) To announce, to speak.

*kṛ* ( *anu vaṣaṭ* ) : *na ṛtuyājānām anuvaṣaṭkuryāt*, he should not say the second 'vaṣaṭ' for the offering of the seasons ( AB. 9.5.7 ). *na vā ādityagrahasya anuvaṣaṭkaroti*, for the Āditya libation he pronounces no second *vaṣaṭ* ( ŚB. 4.3.5.23 ).

*khyā* ( *prati* ) : *aśanāyāṃ ha vā eṣo yajamānasya pratikhyāya vāśyate*, she calls aloud to reveal her hunger to the sacrificer ( AB. 25.2.6 ). This translation is according to Sāyaṇa and Haug. Dr. Keith has his own translation : "she calls aloud foreseeing hunger for the sacrificers". According to Dr. Keith, then, *yajamānasya* would be a possessive genitive going with *aśanāyām*.

*brū : na hāsya bruvāṇaṃ cana vaiśvānaro hinasti*, verify, Vaiśvānara does not harm to him that speaks of him ( ŚB. 10.6.1.11 ).

*( anu )* ( used with the dative of the god and the genitive of that to which he is invited ; Cf. P. 2.3.61 ) : *manotāyai haviṣo' vadīyamānasya anubrūhi.* (AB. 6.10.1). *chāgasya vapāyai medaso' nubrūhi* invite ( A and B ) to the omentum and the fat of the goat ( ŚB.3.8. 2.26 ). Note the following use : *gāyatrīm brāhmaṇasya anubrūyāt*, his verse should be recited for a Brāhmaṇa ( AB. 5.2.4 ).

( *ut* ) : *tasyodbruvīta*, let one foreswear ( ŚB. 5.2.2.4 ).

*vad* : *mā śriyo' vādiṣma*, let me not speak ill of prosperity ( AB. 34.3.5 ). *duravavadaṃ hi śreyasaḥ*, it is unwise to speak ill of a superior ( AB. 24.3.5 ).

*veday* ( *ā* ) : *kathaṃ kṣatriyasya āvedayet*, how is one to announce the consecration of a 'kṣatriya' ( AB. 34.7.1 ).

( 4 ) To desire : to obtain.

*kāmay : yad eteṣāṃ nakṣatrāṇāṃ kāmayeta*, the benefits of whichever of the asterisms he might desire ( ŚB. 2.1.2.19 ). *sa*



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*yasya kāmayeta tasya prāṇān ādāyodeti*, he goes away taking away the life of him whom he likes ( ŚB. 2.3.3.8 ). *yasya evātaḥ kāmayeta tasya vrataṃ kuryāt* ( ŚB. 3.2.2.14 ).

*bhaj : bhagasya bhajāmahe*, we shall enjoy prosperity ( ŚB. 2.6.2.13 ).

( 5 ) Other Verbs.

*skand* : *yathā vai haviṣo hutasya skandet*, even as some of the *haviṣ* may be spilled ( ŚB. 13.1.3.1 ). This rather belongs to the partitive genitive. See *supra*.

*dhā* ( *prati* ) : *athāsya śira āḥrtya tad dhāsya pratidadhatuḥ*, having brought his head, they two put it on him ( ŚB. 14.1.1.24 ). It is an almost locative genitive.

*jīv* ( *upa* ) : *tasyās te upajīvanto bhūyāsma*, may we prosper living on this of thine ( TS. 5.5.9 ).

( 6 ) To belong to :

*as* : *manor ha vā ṛṣabha āsa*, Manu had a bull ( a bull belonged to Manu ) ( ŚB. 1.1.4.14 ). *kim nu tvam mamāsi*, what art thou to me ? ( ŚB. 2.3.4.6 ). *na hyavarcaso vyāptyāṃcanārtho' sti*, the inglorious has no concern with success ( ŚB. 5.2.5.12 ). *teṣām aṅgirasāṃ niruptaṃ havir āsīt*, the A. offered the oblation ( TS. 3.5.1 ). *anasa eva yajūṃsi santi na kauṣṭhasya na kumbhyai*, to the cart, therefore, refer ( the following ) Yajuṣ texts, and not to a store-room, not to a jar ( ŚB. 1.1.2.7 ).

*bhū* : *tasya ha ekādaśākṣe rāṣṭram iva prajā babhūva*, of Ekādaśākṣi the offspring became as kingly person ( AB. 25.5.15 ). *adyamānasya bhūyo bhavati*, becomes plentiful to the one which is being esten up (PB. 21.2.2). *yasya paśavo bhavanti*, he who possesses cattle ( ŚB. 8 .2. 3. 15 ). *apyasya svarge loke bhavati*, he becomes a sharer in the heavenly world ( ŚB. 12.3.5.11 ).

## ( C )

## Genitive with Impersonal Verbs.

The origin of this type of the genitive is not clear. Some scholars, however, are of opinion that this genitive is probably possessive. This idiom was not unknown to Pāṇini ( cf. 2.3.54 ).



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*āmay : athaitasya jyog āmayati*, and thus is he long ill (TS. 7.2.4). *yasya jyog āmayati* (PB. 6.10.5) *prāṇena vā eṣa vyṛdhyate yasyāmayati*, he who is ill etc. (TS. 7.2.7).

*ruj* : (*rujārthānām bhāva-vacanānām ajvareḥ* P. 2.2.54). *bhṛātṛvyasyaiva ruktvāgraṃ samānānām paryeti*, having destroyed his rival he reached the top of his equals (TB. 6.4.12). *atha yadasya rujet* (SmB. 2.3.1).

*i (sam)* : *te ha vaiśvānare samāsata teṣāṃ ha vaiśvānare na samiyāya*, they took counsel together regarding (Agni) Vaiśvānara but there was no agreement as to Vaiśvānara (ŚB. 10.6.1.1). According to Sāyaṇa ... "he was unable to instruct them in regard to V."

*tap (sam)* : *yadā vai striyaś ca puṃsaś ca saṃtapyate*, when man and woman are heated (ŚB. 3.5.3.16).

10. Dative Genitive.

In these examples the sense of the dative (i. e. direction of an action) is obscured by the predominating sense of possession. This idiom is rarely found in the Mantras.

*dā* : *tasya śataṃ datvā*, having given a hundred (cattle) to him (AB. 33.3.7). This idiom with verbs meaning to give is found abundantly in classical literature. Cf. *nocchiṣṭaṃ kasyacid dadyāt* (Manu 2.56). *panthā deyo varasya ca* (Manu 2). *sutasya ābharaṇāni dhanuś copanīya arpayati* (Śak. 1).

*śrad-dhā* : *tasya śraddadhati*, him men believe (AB. 10.8.6). *na bahūnāṃ cana anyeṣāṃ śraddadhāti*, he does not believe others however many (AB. 1.6.11). *athāsya śraddadhati* (AB. 1.6.11). Cf. *śrad asmai dhatta* (RV.).

Cf. *na tasya viśvaset prājñaḥ* (Pañcatantra).

*kṛ* : *putrasya jātasya nāma kuryāt*, should give a name to the son born (ŚB, 6.1.3.9). *yaṃ dviṣyāt tasya kuryāt* (PB. 2.13.2). *yad vai patnī yajñasya karoti mithunaṃ tat*, the share of the wife in the sacrifice makes a pair (TS. 6.2.1). *na vā ajātasya garbhasya nāma kurvanti*, they give no name to an embryo unborn (KS. 7.2).

Cf. cl. Skt. : *hiraṇyako' pi mantharakasya praṇāmaṃ kṛtvā* (Pañcatantra).



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*jan* : *tāsāṃ daśasu māssu śṛṅgāṇi ajāyanta* ( PB. 4.1.1 ). *tasya putro jajñe*, a son was born to him ( AB. 33.2.2 ).

Dative of concern or interest :

*tiṣṭhet paśukāmasya*, it should stand for one desiring cattle ( AB. 6.3.1 ). ( It can be taken as a possessive genitive with *yūpaḥ* understood ).

*vāyavyam asya lubdhaṃ śaṃset*, he should recite ( the triplet ) of Vāyu for him in confusion ( AB. 11.3.4 ). *tārkṣye svargakāmasya rohet*, with the Tārkṣya ( hymn ) should he mount for one desiring the heaven ( AB. 18.6.20 ). *aindre pāśukāmasya rohet*, in a ( a hymn to ) Indra should he mount for one desiring cattle ( AB. 29.3.2 ). *yasyaivaṃ viduṣa etam anvāhuḥ*, for whom knowing this they recite this ( ŚB. 1.4.1.35 ).

*yasyaiṣa gṛhyate*, for whom it is drawn ( TS. 3.5.9 ).

*apīva hi devatānāṃ sūyate* ( TB. 1.3.9.1 ).

Cf. *kasyedam uśīrānulepanam mṛṇālavanti ca nalinīpatrāṇi nīyante* ( Śak. 3 ). Cf. Pali : *amaccānaṃ imaṃ gātham āha* ( J. 1. 138 ); *mayhaṃ akathetvā kassa kathesi tāta* ( J. 1. 191–92 ). Cf. Av. : *yaṃ daēnaṃ ahurō saoṣyantō dadāt*, the religion which Ahura gave to S. ( Ys. 53. 2 ). *yō nāirikayāo xvaréthém frabarōt*, who so brings the woman food ( Vend. 16. 5 ).

11. Instrumental Genitive.

The genitive very rarely appears in the place of the instrumental :

*saṃjagmānau diva ā pṛthivyāyuḥ* ( TB. 1. 1. 2. ). *iyaṃ sthālī ghṛtasya pūrṇā*, this pot is full of ( = filled with ) butter ( TB. 3.7.6.11 ). Cf. RV. : *śataṃ kumbhāṅ asiñcan surāyāḥ* (1.156.7). *pūrṇān purisrutaḥ kumbhān* ( ŚB. 11.5.5.13 ).

Cf. Pali : *udakassa pūrāpetvā* ( J. 1. 99 ) ; *elaḷūkānaṃ yānakaṃ pūretvā* ( J. 1. 205 ).

Cf. the use of Gk. πλεως, πλήρης ; Lat. *plenus* ; Lith. *pilnas* ; Goth *fulls*.

Also Pali : *sarīraṃ veṭhetvā ayasāya teladoṇiyā pakkhipitvā aññis-*



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*sa ayasāya doṇiyā paṭikujjetvā* ( Mahāp. 242 ). *akaraṇīyā va bho gotama vajji raññā māgadhena.....yadidaṃ yuddhassa* ( Mahāp. 52 ).

Cf. Av. : *āaṯ hvaṃ tanūm gēuš maēsmana nōiṯ āpō*, let her purify her body with cow-urine, not with water ( Vend 8. 37; 16, 12 ). *pairisxvaxtêm ayaṅhahe*, surrounded with iron ( Ys. 11. 7 ). *āaṯ azêm manya manaṅhō*, and I think in mind ( Ys. 10. 106 ).

12. Ablative Genitive.

Sometimes the genitive is available in such constructions where there is room for the conception of " belonging to " and " proceeding from ".

*grah : yo vā brāhmaṇo bahuyājī tasya kumbhyānāṃ gṛhṇīyāt*, he should take them from the tank of a Brahman who performs many sacrifices ( TS, 6.4.2 ). *catasṛṇāṃ dhārāṇāṃ āgrayaṇaṃ gṛhṇāti*, takes the Āgrayaṇa from the four streams ( ŚB. 4.3.5.22 ). *tā vai syandamānānāṃ grhṇīyāt* ( ŚB. 3.9.2.4 ).

*jan* : *apāṃ taptānām pheno jāyate*, foam is prepared in heated water ( ŚB. 6.1.3.2 ).

*dā* ( *apa-ā* ) : *apādāya bhasmanaḥ*, after taking some of the ashes ( ŚB. 6.7.4.14 ). This may be classed also with the partitive genitive.

*dhā* ( *ā* ) : *vanaspatīnāṃ samidham ādadhāti*, when one puts firewood from trees ( ŚB. 11.6.1.8 ).

*labh* ( *ā* ) : *tāsāṃ varam ālabhata*, he chose a boon from them ( TS. 3.1.2 ).

*vṛj : tā etad devā asurāṇāṃ avṛñjata*, the gods wrested them from Asuras ( ŚB. 9.2.3.23 ). *te devā asurāṇāṃ diśo 'vṛñjata*, the gods wrested the region away from the Asuras ( ŚB. 9.2.3.8 ).

*hṛ : atha me idam ahārṣīt*, yet has he taken these things from me ( ŚB. 12.7.3.1 ).

*sasc : anyavratasya saścima*, of him of another law let us free ourselves ( ŚB. 14.3.1.19 ).

*śru* (desiderative) : *tasmād udīcyāṃ diśi prajñātatarā vāg udyata udañca u eva yanti vācaṃ śikṣituṃ yo vā tata āgacchati tasya vā śuśrūṣante*, therefore in the northern quarter is speech uttered with more



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discernment, and northwards go men to learn speech; he who comes thence to him men harken ( KB. 7.6 ). Cf. RV : *asmākaṃ ic chṛṇuhi* [ 7.28.1 ) ; *śrudhy asya* (7.38.2). Cf. Gk. κλῦθὶ μεν αργυρότοξε and τοὺ δὲ κλύε φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

Cf. Pali : *idaṃ āyasmato ānandassa sutvā* ( Mahāp 246 ); *assosi kho bhagavā āyasmato ānandassa subhaddena paribbājakena saddhiṃ imaṃ kathālāpaṃ* (Mahāp 247).

Under the ablative genitive come such uses as : *kṛṣyamāṇasya avāṅ* (ŚB. 3.8.2.17). *nagarasya pūrvam*, east of the city. See *infra*, Genitive with Adverbs.

13. Genitive with the Adjective.

There is no special idiom in the use of the genitive with adjectives. Such uses generally follow the analogy of the types of the genitive discussed above.

*sarvasya hyeva mitro mitram.* Mitra is everybody's friend ( AB. 5 3. 2.7 ).

*priya eva annasya*, dear to food ( ŚB 4.6.9.6 ). *te priyaṃ dviṣatāṃ kurvanti*, they do what pleases their enemies ( ŚB. 3.4.2.3 ).

*sarvam vāsyā prītam bhavati*, all is pleased with him ( ŚB. 2.4. 4.18 ). Cf. cl. Skt. *tuṣṭāhaṃ tava mitrasya* ( Vetālapañcaviṃśati p. 10 ).

*yad eva yajñasya sādhu* ( AB. 1.9.1.22 ).

*atyasāriṇī adhvaryor nāśukā syāt*, there would be a violent torrent to destroy the Adhvaryu ( TS. 2.6.5. ).

*anūrdham bhāvukaṃ yajamānasya syāt*, it would not go aloft for the sacrificer ( TS. 2.6.5. ).

*tasmāt striyaḥ pumso 'nuvartmāno bhāvukāḥ*, whence women are apt to follow man ( ŚB. 13.2.2.4 ). *sāmno' nuvartmānaṃ kuryāt* make him a follower of the Sāman ( AB. 8.4.3 ). *bhrātṛvyas tena yajamānsya pratyudyamī bhavati*, thereby the rival of the sacrificer is energetic against him ( KB. 18.1 ),

*anyasya kṛtānukaro 'nyasya upāvasāyī bhavati* ( ŚB. 1.6.3.34).

*anupajīvanīyatarā asya ete*, these are less fit to yield him a livelihood ( ŚB. 6.52.19 ).



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*tatho hāsya etad amṛdhram bhavati*, thus it becomes unfailing for him ( ŚB. 11.1. 6. 31 ).

*udañco ha smaiveṣām palāyya mucyante*, by fleeing northwards they had indeed escaped from them ( ŚB. 1.2.4.10 ).

*īśvara :* ( with genitive infinitive ) : *viśaḥ khalu vai rājñe pradātor īśvarāḥ*, the subjects indeed are able to give ( us ) the king ( TS. 3.1.8 ). *ko'syeśvaro yajñe 'pi kartoḥ*, who is able to produce this also at the sacrifice ? ( TS 2.6.7 ). Cf. Pali : *ahaṃ tumhākaṃ pasanno* ( J. 1.302 ).

14. Genitive with the Adverb.

The examples would explain the uses.

*yo' lam prajāyāḥ san prajāṃ na vindate*, who, though fit for projeny, does not get any ( PB. 18.5.2 ).

*triḥ.....ahnaḥ*, thrice a day ( ŚB 11.5.1.1 ). *sa triḥ saṃvatsarasya pacyate*, thrice in a year it ripens ( AB. 24.5.4 ). *sa yat triḥ saṃvatsarasya vijāyate* ( ŚB. 3.3.3.8 ). *dviḥ saṃvatsarasya annam pacyate*, food ripens twice a year ( ŚB. 6.4.5.9 ).

( These properly belong to the Partitive Genitive. Vide P. *kṛtvo 'rthaprayoge kāle 'dhikaraṇe* 2.3.64 ).

*adhaspadam aśvasya upaplāvayati*, plunges it under the horse's feet ( ŚB. 1.3.1.29 ).

*saptānāṃ girīṇām parastād vittaṃ vedyam asurāṇām bibharti*, keeps the wealth of the Asuras which is to be worked beyond the seven hills ( TS. 6.2.4 ). *saṃvatsarasya parastāt*, at the end of the year ( AB. 10.1.5 ).

*paścād gṛhyasya agneḥ*, behind the domestic fire ( AB. 37.6.9 ).

*udīcaḥ kṛṣyamāṇasya avāñ* ( SB. 3.8.2.17 ). Cf. the use of *parō, pasca, pascaēta, paśne, mat* etc. in Avesta.

*yathā bahūnām madhyāt sādhave karmaṇe juṣeta*, out of many as one should wish to perform a good deed ( ŚB. 3.6.4.7 ).

*tam madhye somagrahāṇāṃ sādayati*, deposits it in the middle of the Soma receptacles ( ŚB. 5.1.2.19 ).

*yo 'sya abhitaḥ pāpmā āsīt* ( SB. 8.5.1.15 ). *prāṇasya ubhayataḥ* ( ŚB. 8.6.2.16 ). *asya dakṣiṇataḥ* ( ŚB. 2.5.2.10 ). [ Vide P. *ṣaṣṭhya-*



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*tasarthapratyayena* 2.3.30 ]. *antaram mukhasya jihvā*, the tongue is inside the mouth ( AB. 24.3.1 ).

*no hānte gor nagnaḥ syāt*, in the presence of a cow one should not be naked ( ŚB. 3.1.2.17 ).

*eṣā nedīyo yajñasya*, she is nearer the sacrifice ( ŚB. 2.1.4.15 ).

*nediṣṭhaṃ svargasya lokasya agacchat*, went nearest to the world of heaven (AB. 12.8.4). *puruṣo vai prajāpater nediṣṭham* (ŚB. 2.6.1.1), *etad vai apām gambhiṣṭham*, that is the deepest ( place ) of the waters ( ŚB. 7.5.1.8 ).

15. Genitives with the Adverbial Preposition.

The genitives with genuine prepositions is very rare and this idiom was probably absent in the parent Indo-European. I have found only one instance : *tasyā anu visṛjya*, having shot at her ( AB. 13.2.3 ). But then ' tasyā ' can be taken as dative also.

The genitive with adverbial prepositions is not rare :

*adhas* : *ātmano 'dhaḥ*, under himself ( ŚB. 4.2.4.14 ).

*adho 'dhas : havirdhānasyādho 'dhaḥ*, just beneath the cart ( ŚB. 3.5.4.3 ).

*upari : ātmana upari* ( ŚB. 4.2.4.14 ).

INDEPENDENT GENITIVE.

16. Causal Genitive.

When the relation of cause and effect is implied the cause takes the genitive if the word *hetu* is actually used ( P. *ṣaṣṭhī hetuprayoge*, 2.2.26 ; *sarvanāmnas tṛtīyā ca*, 2.3.27 ).

*śvo nodetyabhrasya vā hetoḥ*, tomorrow he will not rise on account of clouds ( ŚB. 11.1.4.1 ).

*asya hetoḥ prajā na parābabhūvuḥ*, on account of this the people were not defeated ( ŚB 2.5.2.8 ).

Cf. RV : *akṣasyāham ekaparasya hetor anuvratām apa jāyām arodham* ( Gambler's Lament ). This idiom occurs frequently in the works of Kālidāsa and other classical poets, e. g., *alpasya hetor bahu hātum icchan* ( Raghu 2 ) ; *gatvā sadyaḥ kalabhatanutām śighrasampātahetoḥ* ( Meghadūta 2.20 ) ; *mām ākāśapraṇihitabhujaṃ nirdayāśleṣahetoḥ* ( ibid, 2.45 ).



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17 Adverbial Genitive.

In RV. there are a few temporal genitives used adverbially : e. g. *aktóḥ, kṣúpaḥ kṣapáḥ*, of a night : *uṣúsaḥ*, of a morning.

But in the Brāhmaṇas treated here no a single instance has been noted. Still in the classical literature one or two such adverbial genitives are met with : e. g. *cirasya* : *samānayaṃs tulya-guṇaṃ vadhūvaraṃ cirasya vācyaṃ na galaḥ prajāpatiḥ* ( Raghu 7 ) *cirasya mitravyasanī sudamo damaghoṣajaḥ* ( Śiśupālavadha 2 ). Cf. Pali : *kālasseva āhārakiccaṃ niṭṭhāpetvā* ( J. 1.107 ; cf. J.1.103 ; Cullav 12.2.4 ). *cirassa* ( J. 1.120, etc. ). Cf. Gk. *νικτός, ἠέρας, δείλης, χειμωνος, ἔαρος, δέρους* etc.

Cf. AV : *thrityāo xvaŋō*, in the third night ( Vend. 19.28 ); *hamahe ayān hamayāo xṣapō*, in the same day and night ( Yt. 8.54).

18. Elliptic Constructions.

( i ) Omission of the substantive with possessive genitives :

*etena vai prajāpatir eṣāṃ lokānāṃ udabhinat*, by this Prajāpati created ( the things ) of this world ( PB. 16.6.2 ). *tāni vā etāni catvāri vācaḥ*, there are four ( forms ) of the call (ŚB. 1.1.4.12 ).

*sa eṣām āpūyat*, he stunk in their nostrils (ŚB. 4.1.3.6 ).

*kathaṃ teṣām aindro bhavanti*, how are their ( verses ) connected with Indra ? ( AB. 28.2.1 ).

*vāco vā annam adyate*, it is through ( the channel ) of speech that food is eaten (ŚB. 9.3.2.4 ).

*paśor aśnīyāt*, should eat ( the flesh ) of the victim ( AB. 6.3.11 ).

*sa dhenvai ca anaḍuhaśca nāśnīyāt*, he should not eat (the flesh) of the cow and the bull ( ŚB. 3.1.2.21 ). *tasmād ajasya nāśyam* ( TS. 3.7.3.2 ). *na dīkṣitasya aśnīyāt*, should not eat ( the food ), of one consecrated ( AB. 6.9.6 ).

*viva hi striyai pumān gṛhṇāti*, a man takes apart, as it were, ( the limbs ) of his wife ( KB. 14. 2 ).

( i ) Genitive of Authority.



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The person whose opinion is quoted or referred to, takes the genitive; the qualified substantive, some such words meaning 'in the opinion of', is uniformly understood. This is a very frequent idiom in the Sūtra literature. There is a similar idiom in the modern Marathi language.

*tad dha ekeṣām*, that is according to some ( ŚB. 1.9.2.2 ). *jaghanena patnīm eti ekeṣām adhvaryuḥ*, according to some the Adhvaryu walks behind the wife ( ŚB. 1.9.2.3 ).

Cf. *lopaḥ śākalyasya*, there should be omission ( of the visarjanīya ) according to ( the opinion of ) Śākalya ( P. 8.3.19 ); *alamkhalvoḥ pratiṣedhayoḥ prācām ktvā* ( P. 3.4.18 ).

( ii ) Sometimes the substantive ( denoting a part with reference to a whole ) of the partitive genitive is not expressed.

*teṣām nveka abruvan*, some of them said ( PB. 4.1.2 ). *eteṣāṃ varṇānāṃ api pavitre kuryāt*, the stainers may be of any of these colours ( PB. 6.6.10 ).

( iii ) The genitive of the subject-matter.

*athāto dīkṣāyā āvedanasyaiva*, then as to the announcement of the consecration ( AB. 34.7.1 ). *athāto 'naśanāśanasyaiva*, then as regards fasting and eating ( ŚB. 1.1.17 ). *athāto 'bhyuditāyāḥ*, next as to the Abhyuditā sacrifice ( KB. 4.2 ).

Perhaps some such verb as " *ākhyāyate* " is understood, or less well, some such substantive as *kathā* or *vivaraṇam* is unexpressed. The former explanation is more satisfactory.

19. Genitive Absolute ( Vide AS. pp. 389-90 ; Hübschmann p. 280 ).

The genitive absolute is totally unknown in RV. but is a very frequent idiom in Cl. Skt. ( Vide de Saussure, L'emploi du génitif absolu en sanscit ). In the Vedic prose it is found but rarely. This use arose from the possessive genitive and this character is obvious in the examples which follow. Partitive genitive also has contributed to this idiom, e. g., *teṣāṃ ha uttiṣṭhatām uvāca* when they were rising up he said = of them rising up he said



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( AB. 35.1.4 ). The substantive (whether expressed or understood) is accompanied by a present, past or perfect participle.

The genitive absolute generally denotes a circumstance, and not a temporal relation. And this fact accounts for the "anādara" theory of Pāṇini ( 2.3.38.).

(a) With the present participle : *teṣāṃ hottiṣṭhatām uvāca*, when they were rising up he said (AB.35.1.4). [Prof. Keith, however, does not find any instance of gen. abs. in AB. ]. *teṣāṇi cetayamānānām prajāpatiḥ...apaśyat*, whilst they were meditating Prajāpati saw (ŚB, 6.2.3.1). *tasya tepānasya saptāmanyo devatā udakrāman* (TB. 3.8.10.1). *sa etā vipruṣo 'janayata yā imāḥ skūyamānasya vipravante* ( MS. 2. 1.11 ). *tasya krītasya manuṣyān abhyupāvartamānasya diśo vīryāṇīndriyāni vyudaṃsīdan*, the strength and powers of him, when bought and going toward men, went away to the quarters ( AB. 3.13 ). *teṣām adyamānāṃ syūmaraśmir ṛṣir aśvam prāviśat* ( KS. 8. 5 ), *prajāpater vai prajāḥ sisṛkṣamāṇasya tasyendrāgnī prajā apāgūhatām* ( KS. 9. 17 ).

(b) With the past participle : *tasyai ālabdhāyai sā vāg apacakrāma*, when she was being sacrificed voice departed (ŚB. 1.1.4.16). *tasmād apāṃ taptānām pheno jāyate* ( ŚB. 6.1.3.2 ).

(c) With the perfect participle : *prajāpater ha vai prajāḥ sasṛjānasya parvāṇi visasraṃsuḥ*, when Prajāpati was creating offspring his joints relaxed ( ŚB. 1.6.3.35 ). *tasyāvanenijānasya matsyaḥ pāṇī āpede*, when he was performing ablutions a fish came to his palms ( ŚB. 1.8.1.1 ). *tasya vṛtraṃ jaghnuṣa ṛtavo 'muhyan*, of him, when he had slain V., the seasons were confused ( TS. 6.5.5 ). *devānāṃ vā astaṃ jagmuṣām indriyaṃ vīryam apakrāmat* ( TS. 7.5.8 ). ( See *infra*, Locative Absolute ).

For Pali cf. *tassa viravantasse'va satthu santikaṃ gantvā* ( Dhammapada 80 ); *bhuṃjamānasa me*, when I was eating ( Girnar VI. 3).

For Avesta cf. *kahmāi azem ughrem xšaθrem-amainīmnahe manaŋho paiti dathani ... kameredhō janō aurvahē vanato avanemnahē* ( Yt 10.109 ); *vīspem ā ahmāt nasunamca aiwivarštanam daxmanamca aiwivarštanam hixranamca aiwivarštanam vayanamca fraŋuharetanam* ( Vend 5.14 ). Cf. Vend. 19. 28.



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## LOCATIVE

The locative case expresses the situation in or at, or in other words, it "signifies the scene of an action".

In origin the locative denoted the spot or space in, and as such, was hardly capable of being used with names of persons or abstract nouns. But when these words were inflected in the locative they could only be used in the sense approaching the locative. Thus originated the sense of *to, near, among* etc. with the locative. Pāṇini gives this definition of the locative: *ādhāro 'dhikaraṇam*, 'the locative expresses the indirect field of operation of an action' ( 1.4.5 ).

In late cl. Skt. the locative often replaced the genitive. Thus, *janmani yūnāṃ tad eva phalam* ( Kathāsaritsāgara 3. 64 ); *viśvastau cāpi papraccha haime vapuṣi kāraṇam* ( ibid. 3.31 ).

The following are the typical uses of the locative :

I. Independent Locative :

( a ) place, ( b ) circumstance, ( c ) person, ( d ) time

II. Locative of Distance.

III. Locative with Verbs, including

( a ) Instrumental Locative

( b ) Dative Locative.

IV. Locative with Nouns and Adjectives.

V. Locative with Prepositions.

VI. Locative Absolute.

1. The Locative is used independently to denote ( P. 2.3.36 ):

( 1 ) The notion of being within a spot or territory :

*sa prajāpatiḥ puṣkaraparṇe vāto bhūte' lelāyat*, Prajāpati, becoming wind, rocked about on a lotus leaf ( TS. 5.6.4 ). *yasminn ardhe bhavati*, in which place he lives (ŚB.1.5.4.6). *mā me 'dya īśāyāṃ vālsīt*, let him not dwell this day in my dominions ( ŚB. 5.311.13 .) *devā ha vai sarvacarau satraṃ niṣeduḥ*, the gods held a sacrificial session at Sarvacaru ( AB. 26.1.1 ). *devā vai bale gāḥ paryapaśyan*, the gods saw the cows in a cave ( AB. 29.8.1 ). *tasya śṛṅge*



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*nāvaḥ pāśam pratimumoca*, he tied the knot of the boat on its peak (ŚB. 1.8.1.5). *tā mahyam asminn āsane 'cchidraṃ śarma yacchata*, in this seat do ye, to me, accord unfailing protection (AB. 40.4.5.b). *āgnīdhre upavasanti*, they spend the fast day at the Āgnīdhra's altar (AB. 10.4.1). *taṃ tu tvā mā girau santam udakamantaś chaitsīt*, let not the water cut thee off whilst thou art on the mountain (ŚB. 1.8.1.6). *yajñavāstāv evāham āse*, on the place of sacrifice I am sitting (ŚB. 12.3.4.1). *tad dha sma purā yajñamuho rakṣāṃsi tīrtheṣvapo gopāyanti*, now aforetimes the Rakṣas, the confounders of the sacrifice, used to watch the waters at the fords (KB. 12.1).

(2) Sometimes the locative expresses not *in* or *within* but *very near* to some place or something (the *sāmīpya* or *antikārtha*' locative): *ṛṣayo vai sarasvatyāṃ satram āsata*, the Ṛṣis held a sacrificial session on the (bank) of the Sarasvatī (AB. 3.1.8). *tarhi videgho mādhava āsa sarasvatyām*, then Mādhava of Videgha was near the Sarasvatī (ŚB. 1.4.1.44). *aṣṭāsaptatim bharato dauḥṣantir yamunām anu gaṅgāyāṃ vṛtraghe 'badhnāt pañcapañcāśataṃ hayān*, seventy-eight steeds did Bharata, son of Duḥṣanta, bind for the Vṛtra-slayer on the Yamunā, and fifty-five near the Gaṅgā (ŚB. 1.3.5.411). Cf. *āsedur gaṅgāyām pāṇḍunandanāḥ*, the sons of Pāṇḍu settled near the Ganges (Mbh. 1.170.3) *mādhyamāḥ sarasvatyāṃ satram āsata* (KB. 12.3).

(3) Abstract type:

*senāyāṃ ca samitau ca ṛtīyante*, they fight in army and battle (ŚB. 8.6.1.16). *tasmād yoge 'nyāsām prajānām manaḥ kṣeme 'nyāsām*, therefore the minds of some creatures are set on energy, those of others on rest (TS. 5.2.1). *devasya saviluḥ save karma kṛṇvanti vedhasaḥ*, on the impulse of the god Savitṛ wise ones perform the rite (TS. 1.1.9). *supārā no asad vaśe*, may it guide us safely according as we will (TS. 1.2.3). *eṣa hi bahūnāṃ samane dīryate yat kalaśaḥ*, a pitcher breaks in an assembly of many (PS. 9.6.4). *putraṃ videya tava saṃdṛśi*, may I obtain a son in thy sight (ŚB. 3.3.1.12). *devānāṃ hāpi satre gṛhapatir āsa* (AB. 39.7.4). *tam agniḥ pṛtanāsu abhitasṭhau*, him Agni overthrew in battles (ŚB 6.8.1.14). *tad dhiṣṇyānām brāhmaṇe vyākhyāyate*, that is explained in the chapter on the Dhiṣṇyas (ŚB 3.2.4.1).



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(4) The locative expresses also the circumstance under which some action takes place.

From this type of the locative the absolute locative has partially originated ( See infra : Loc. Abs. ).

*tasmād agincid varṣati na dhāvet*, hence the piler of fire should not walk while it rains ( TS. 5.4.9 ). Cf. *ekadā prāviśad goṣṭhaṃ śārdūlo niśi varṣati* ( Bhāgavatapurāṇa 9.2.4 ). *nikāme nikāme naḥ parjanyo varṣatu*, may Parjanya rain for us whenever we desire ( TS. 7.5.18 ). Cf. ŚB. 13.1.9.10. *yāsya kāme senā jayet*, he who desires the victory of a host ( AB. 12.11.7). *tasmād varṣaty aprāvṛto vrajet*, hence when it rains, one should go about uncovered ( ŚB. 7.5.2.21 ). *atha yā ātapati varṣanti*, as it rains while the sun shines ( ŚB. 5.2.4.13 ). *tasmād utsedham prajā bhaye 'bhisaṃśrayante*, whence people in danger betake themselves to an elevated place ( ŚB. 13.2.2.9 ). *aśubhe medyati*, grows fat in unrighteousness (ŚB. 2.4.2.6). *sācchāvākasyainaṃ gopanāyaṃ jahāra*, she carried him off while he was under the charge of the Acchāvāka ( ŚB. 3.6.2.12 ). *avīra iva me 'jana iva putraṃ haranti*, alas, they are taking away my darling, as if I were where there is no hero, no man ( ŚB. 11.5.1.3 ). *anne bhāty apaśrito janānāṃ saṃkṣare 'mṛtaḥ*, concealed in food, he, the immortal, shineth at the flowing together of vital saps ( ŚB. 10.5.2.18 ).

Cf. Pali : *dhaṃmamhi sīlamhi tiṣṭaṃto* ( Girnar IV. 9 ); *imamhi athamhi (va)dhī ca ahīni ca* ( Girnar IV 10/11 ).

Cf. Cl. Skt : *avagrāhe yathā vṛṣṭim prārthayante kṛṣībalāḥ*, as in drought the cultivators pray for rain ( Bhaṭṭikāvya 6.48 ).

(5) The locative sometimes denotes "in the matter of": *tasmād dhāpy etarhi vittyāṃ vyāhuḥ*, even now in a question of property they say ( AB. 13.4.1 ). *atha hiraṇye vācayati*, he makes him say in the matter of gold ( ŚB. 3.3.2.6 ); *eteṣv akṣeṣv āha*, on these dice he says ( ŚB. 5.4.4.23 ). *yajūṃṣy anaso 'gnau*, the formulas relate to the cart in the ( matter of ) building of the fire-altar ( ŚB. 6.8. 1.1 ). *taṃ hi dharme upayanti*, to him they come in ( matters of ) law ( ŚB. 5.3.3.9 ). *yadveva prajāsu ca prajāpatau ca gāyati*, he sings about offspring and Prajāpati ( ŚB. 9.1.2.42 ).

(6) The person in whom something rests ( this often closely approaches the possessive genitive ) :



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*asti vā idam mayi vīryam*, there is this vigour in me ( PB. 20.15 6 ). *tasmin na tāvac cana eno bhavati yāvat kumāre*, there is in him not even that much of sin as in a child ( ŚB. 4.4.5.23 ). *nāsmiṃs tāvac canaino bhavati ya evaṃ veda* ( PB. 11 1.24 ). *etāvad vai paśau śuklam*, what is bright in the animal ( ŚB. 6.2.2.14 ). Cf. *yo vai ṛci mado yaḥ sāman*, what ecstasy there is in the Ṛc and in the Sāman ( ŚB. 4.3 2.5 ). *tasmād yoṣāyām payaḥ*, whence there is milk in the female ( ŚB. 6.5.4.15 ). *payo vatseṣu*, the milk in the calves ( AB. 25.2.8 ). *yo'yam manuṣyeṣu prāṇaḥ* ( AB. 9.2.1.8 ). *ajināni mṛgeṣu bhavanti*, there are (these) skins on deer (ŚB. 11.8.4.3). *satyam ... ... yad asureṣu āsa* ( ŚB. 9.5.1.15 ). *saiṣā vāg vanaspatiṣu vadati yā dundubhau*, it is the voice of trees, the voice that is heard in the drum ( TS. 6.1.4 ). *sa eṣa gavi sāmno hiṃkāraḥ*, this same sound 'Hiṅ' of the Sāman was in the cow ( ŚB. 2.2.3.12 ). *ātmany asya hi tā bhavanti*, on his self they are ( AB. 32.11.3 ). ( Aufrecht here reads *hitāḥ* for *hi tāḥ* ).

( 7 ) Locative plural of persons ( proper names ) is a very old idiom. It is Indo-European, as it is distinctly preserved in Homeric Greek.

*yad idaṃ sṛñjayeṣu rāṣṭram tat tvayi dhāsyāmi*, I will confer upon thee that dominion over the Sṛñjayas ( ŚB. 12.9.3.2 ).

( 8 ) The locative of person sometimes indicates the many in which an individual is spoken of. ( It may be called 'partitive locative' ). See *infra*, locative with adjectives.

*brāhmaṇakalpas te prajāyām ājaniṣyate*, a Brahman-like ( son ) shall be born in your offspring ( AB. 35.3.2 ). *ṛbhavo vai deveṣu tapasā somapītham abhyajayan*, the Ṛbhus by the fervour among the gods won the drinking of Soma ( AB. 13.6.2 ). *yuṅkte yuñjāneṣu*, yokes him ( best ) among those who are yoking ( TS. 5.5.3 ). *prajāyām enaṃ vijñātāsma yadi .....*, in his offspring will we know him if he offer with knowledge or without knowledge ( AB. 25.5. 15 ). *rādhnavān me sa prajāyām*, he shall be successful among my progeny ( ŚB. 3.1.3.5 ). *ye janeṣu malimlayaḥ*, who are waylayers among men ( ŚB. 6.6.3.10 ).

( 9 ) The locative of time denotes the time within which the action of the verb occurs. This is also the function of the



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temporal accusative (or instrumental). The former denotes the limit of time, the action taking place any time within that period, while the latter signifies the whole time occupied throughout by the action. Thus : *devā vai prathamenāhnā indrāya vajraṃ samabharaṃs, taṃ dvitīyenāhnāsiñcaṃs, taṃ tṛtīyenāhnā prāyacchaṃs, taṃ caturthe' haṃ prāharat* (AB. 16.1.1).

*caturthe' han prāharat*, struck (him) on the fourth day (AB. 16. 1.1). *saṃvatsare vai retaḥ siktaṃ jāyate*, in a year the seed poured is born (AB. 17.8.1). *saṃvatsare vā annaṃ sarvam pacyate*, in a year all corn ripens (PB. 4.10.4). *tasmā etad saṃvatsare'nnaṃ samaskurvan*, in the course of a year they prepared for him this food (ŚB. 10.4.1.1). *etaṃ saṃvatsara eva cinuyāt*, one ought to build him up (in space of) a year (ŚB. 6.1.3.20). *daśame māsi jāyate*, is born in the tenth month (AB. 33.1 9). *tasmād dheman mlāyanty oṣadhayaḥ*, hence in winter the plants wither (ŚB. 1.5.4.5). *vasantā*, in the spring (TS. 2.1.2). *kaṃ svid evāparīṣu mahānāg ım ivābhisaṃsāraṃ didṛkṣitāraḥ* (ŚB. 11.2.7.12). *varṣāsu āgate śyāmākasasye śyāmākān uddhartavā āha*, in the rains when the millet harvest has come, he gives orders to pluck millet (KB. 4.12).

Cf. Pali : *yasmiṃ samaye viharati tasmiṃ samaye* (Mahap. 73); *tāyaṃ velāyaṃ* (ibid 78). *save kale* (Girnar VI. 3); *tīsu catummāsisu* (Delhi V. 11).

Cf. Av. : *ayan vā varetōfshō varetōvīrē* (Vend. 8. 4); *ithra vā asni ithra vā khshafne*, in day or in night (Vend. 4. 1).

Sometimes the locative appears even in the place of the accusative or the instrumental of time : *saṃvatsare va anubrūyāt*, should recite for a year (ŚB. 6.1.3.20). *darśa-pūrṇamāsayor upavasati*, he fasts on the full-moon and new-moon (AB. 32.10.1).

(10) The temporal locative sometimes indicates that something happened at the end of the period.

*tataś catursu māseṣu ... ... trirātraḥ*, then at the end of four months the Trirātra (ceremony) should be held (PB. 17.13.12). *tataḥ saṃvatsare yoṣit sambabhūva*, then at the end of a year a woman was born (ŚB. 1.8.1.7). *te hādityāḥ pūrve svargaṃ lokaṃ jagmuḥ paścevāṅgirasaḥ ṣaṣṭhyāṃ vā v r.eṣu*, the Ādityas first went



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to the world of heaven, behind the Aṅgirasas at the end of sixty years ( AB. 18.3.5 ). *sa ha saṃvatsare jāyamāna īkṣāṃcakre* (ŚB. 3. 2.1.2 ). *sa saṃvatsare vyājihīrṣat*, at the end of a year he tried to speak ( ŚB. 11.1.6.3 ). *cire eva kuryāt*, let him make it a long time after ( ŚB. 13.8.1. . ). *yadyenaṃ saṃvatsare nopanamet saṃdahaḥ punar ādadhyāt* ( TB. 1.1.71 ). *tapas taptvā garbham adadhata tata eṣa ādityo' jāyata ṣaṣṭhe māsi* ( KB. 25.1 ). *nārdhamāseṣu na māseṣu ārtim ārcchati* ( TB. 3.10.10.3 ). [ Note : *vaṣaṭkāre juhuyāt*, let him offer when that Vaṣaṭ is uttered ( ŚB. 2.5.3:18 ). Here a non-temporal word has been used in a temporal sense ].

Vide the Vārtt. *yataścādhakālanirmāṇam* ( 4 ), *tadyuktāt kāle saptamī* ( 5 ), under P. 2.3.28.

2. Locative of Distance.

The locative sometimes signifies the distance at which one object is from another (this, latter, may sometimes be understood).

( Vide the Vārtt. *yataścādhvakālanirmāṇam* ( 4 ), *tadyuktāt kāle saptamī* ( 5 ), *adhvanaḥ prathamā ca* ( 6 ) under P. 2.3.28 ).

*sahasrāśvīne vā itaḥ svargo lokaḥ*, the world of heaven is at a distance of a thousand journeys of a horse hence ( AB. 7.7.8 ). *vyadhve hyeṣa itaḥ*, that ( sun ) is half way from this ( earth ) (ŚB. 9.2.3.15). *eṣāṃ sahasrayojane dhanūṃṣy avatanoti*, he unstrings their bow at a thousand leagues ( ŚB. 9.1.1.29 ).

*badhāna devaḥ savitaḥ paramasyām parāvati śatena pāśaiḥ*, O god Savitṛ, bind hou in the furthest distance with a hundred fetters ( TS. 1 1.9 .

*abhitaḥ pare rauhiṇa-havanyau srucau hastau evāsminn etad dadhāti*, and on the two sides yet further away the two Rauhiṇa offering-laddles, whereby he gives two hands to it ( ŚB. 14.3.1.29 ).

*yadi dūre syāt*, if he be far away ( TS. 7.4.5 ). *yadyapi dūre iva paśūn labhate*, even if a man gets cattle at a distance ( AB. 12.13. 13 ). *atyantike no dūre sthāpayet* ( ŚB. 3,5.3.19 ). *āre śatrūn kṛṇuhi*, drive afar the foes ( TS. 1.2.3 ).

*athainaṃ jānumatre dhārayati*, they then lift him up knee deep ( ŚB. 12.8,3.20 ). *aratnimātre*, at a cubit's distance ( ŚB. 6.0.1.30 ).



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3. Locative with Verbs.

The following classes of verbs govern the locative.

Rejoice in :

*ram : etasmin paśavo na ramante*, in it the animals do not rejoice ( PB. 16.7.2 ). *etasmin paśavo na ramante ye 'paśuḥ* ( PB. 17. 7.2 ). *īśvaro hāsya vitte devā arantoḥ*, gods are liable to be ill-pleased in his gains ( AB. 15.4.8 ). *asme ramasva yajamāne ramasva*, rejoice in us, rejoice in the sacrificer ( ŚB. 3.3.1.6 ). *gīte ramate*, delights in song ( ŚB. 6.1.1.15 ). *agnau paśavo ramante*, animals delight ( being ) near the fire ( ŚB. 6.2.1.12 ). *na vai brahmaṇi kṣatraṃ ramate* ( ŚB. 13.1.5.2 ). *tāsāṃ jaratkakṣe paśavo na ramante* ( TB. 3.3.2.4 ). *upanivartam iva vai paśavaḥ sauyavase ramante*, cattle unending as it were rejoice in the good grass ( KB. 11.5 ).

*tṛp* ( *sam* ) *: pavamāne ha vā u prātaḥ sarvā devatāḥ saṃtṛpyante*, all the gods rejoice together in the morning in the Pavamāna ( Soma ) ( KB. 12.5 ).

*ṛdh : asyām ṛdhyet hotrāyām*, may he prosper in this sacrifice ( ŚB. 1.9.1.12 ). *ṛdhyate 'smai kṛṣau*, ( he ) prospers in agriculture ( PB. 11. 5. 8 ).

*ji* ( *vi* ) : *vyasmin loke jayate* ( AB. 12.6.2 ).

*rādh* : *eteṣu kāmaṃ rādhnuyāt* ( AB. 30.10.16 ). *sarvāsu dikṣu rādhnuyāt*, he would prosper in all quarters ( AB. 2.2.9 ).

*rudh* (*ava*) : *tasmin sarve kāmā avarudhyante*, in it all desires are won ( AB. 7.7.9 ).

Injure at :

*hiṃs : na vai lomasu viṣaṃ kiṃ ca hinasti*, neither poison nor anything else injures one at the hair ( ŚB. 9.1.1.10 ).

*vidh* : *ye anneṣu vividhyanti pātreṣu pibato janān*, they who assault men in their food, and in their cups as they drink ( TS. 4.5.11 ).



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This idiom, though rare in the Brāhmaṇas, is very frequent in classical Sanskrit ; e. g. *hṛdi kṣato gotravid apyamarṣaṇaḥ* ( Raghu. 3.53 ); *raghur bhṛśaṃ vakṣasi tena tāḍitaḥ* ( bid ).

Hope for, trust in :

*śaṃs* ( *ā* ) : *yo rājye āśaṃsamāno rājyaṃ na prāpnuyāt*, who hoping for kingdom does not get it ( PB. 19.1.1 ). *yo rājye āśaṃseta yajeta* ( PB. 21.5.1 ).

*yo vai paramatāṃ gacchati tasminnāśaṃsante*, in him who attains high rank people indeed put their trust ( ŚB. 1.6.4.17 ). *tasminn āśaṃsante*, people have hope for him ( ŚB. 8.5.2.1 ).

Cf. *āśaṃsante samitiṣu surā baddhavairā hi daityair asyādhijye dhanuṣi vijayam pauruhūte ca vajre* (Śakuntalā). A similar construction obtains with *vi-śvas* in the classical literature : e. g. *puṃsi viśvasiti kutra kumārī. na viśvased aviśvaste viśvaste nātiviśvaset* ( Pañcatantra ).

Let share in :

*bhaj* ( *ā* ) : *imān asminn uktha ābhajai* ( AB. 12.9.1 ). *lokeṣu ābhajanti*, give a share in these worlds ( AB. 13.5.1 ). *ā mā sucarite bhaja*, let me share in the right ways ( TS. 1.1.12 ; ŚB. 3.3.3.13 ). *tā yajña ābhajati* ( ŚB. 1.5.2.4 ). *rayyāṃ ca poṣe ca yajñapatim ābhajanti*, they grant to the lord of the sacrifice a share in wealth and affluence ( ŚB. 9.2.3.8 ). *yā vai prajā yajñe 'nvābhaktāḥ* ( ŚB. 1.5.2.4 ).

*arj* ( *ati* ) : *imaṃ turīye 'tyārjata*, he admitted him to a fourth share ( AB. 9.1.2 ).

*klp* ( causative ) : *sve vai sa tat some 'kalpayat* ( AB. 12.2.4 ).

Request, ask :

*iṣ* : *te deveṣu somapītham aicchan*, they besought the gods for the Soma drink ( TS. 6.3.1 ). *asyām eva icchāmahai*, from her let us seek ( our desire ) ( AB. 12.11.1 ). *asminn anuśāsanam īṣe*, he



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sought instructions from him ( AB. 30.4.13 ). *deveṣu praśāsanam icchate* ( ŚB. 1.5.1.26 ). *ṛtavo ha deveṣu yajñe bhāgam īṣire*, the seasons were desirous to have a share of sacrifice among the gods ( ŚB. 1.6.1.1 ). *sā heyaṃ deveṣu sutyām apitvaṃ īṣe* ( ŚB. 4.1.2.6 ). *yat pitā putreṣu icchate*, if a father wishes to obtain anything from the sons ( ŚB. 8.4.1.4 ). *yaṃ deveṣu āśiṣam icchet*, if one desires to invoke any blessing from the gods (ŚB. 10.3.5.14). *tasyām aicchanta* ( AB. 1.11.1 ). *tasmād u stry anurātram patyāv icchate*, every night the wife seeks approval from her husband ( KB. 6.13 ).

*pracch : deveṣu aprcchetām*, asked the gods ( PB. 25.13.3 ).

*yāc : sa yat tatra yācitaḥ*, being asked in this matter (AB. 35.2.4)

Call in question :

*mīmāṃs : yam pātre vā talpe vā mīmāṃseran*, regarding whom they have doubts as to ( admitting him to ) common meals or to marriage ( TS. 6.2.6 ). *brāhmaṇam pātre na mīmāṃseta* ( PB. 6.5.9 ). *yāṃs talpe vā udake vā vivāhe vā mīmāṃseran ta etā udeyuḥ* ( PB. 23.5.2 ).

Struggle for :

*spṛdh : purodhāyāṃ spardhamānaḥ*, who has a dispute for Purohitaship ( TS. 2.1.2 ).

*yam* ( *vi -ā* ) *: devatāsu vā ete prāṇāpānayor vyāyacchanta*, they contend as to the deities and to expiration ( TS. 3.1.7 ). *kadrūśca vai suparṇī cātmarūpayor vyāyacchetam*, Kadrū and Suparṇī had dispute ( for the sake of ) each other's form ( TS. 6.1.6 ). *devāś ca vā asurāś ca āditye vyāyacchanta* (PB. 5.5.15). *rāṣṭre ete vyāyacchante*, it is after royal sway that these strive ( ŚB. 13.1.6.3 ).

*ji* ( *vi* ) *: vāci eva brahman vijigīṣāmahai*, let us try to overcome one another, by speech, by sacred writ ( ŚB. 1.5.4.6 ).

*hiṃs* ( *ā* ) *: jahnuvṛcīvanto rāṣṭre ahiṃsanta* ( PB. 2.12.2 ).

*yat : devānām eva āyatane yatate*, striving for the abode of the



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gods ( TS. 2.2.6 ). *bṛhatyā vai devāḥ svarge loke 'yatanta*, by means of the Bṛhatī the gods strove to reach heaven ( ŚB. 12.2.3.1 ).

(causative): *enam etasyāṃ diśi yātayet*, should make him contend in that quarter ( AB. 37.6.7 ). ( *sam* ): *devāsurā eṣu lokeṣu samayatanta*, the gods and the Asuras fought over these worlds ( AB. 10. 4.1 ). *devāsurā vā eṣu lokeṣu saṃyetire*, the gods and the Asuras strove for these worlds ( AB. 37.6.1 ).

*vad : devā vai brahman avadanta*, the gods discussed regarding holy power ( TS. 3.5.7 ). *mā etasyām vadadhvam*, do not claim it ( TS. ).

( *sam* ): ***dakṣiṇāsu tveva na saṃvaditavyam***, let there be no bargaining as to the sacrificial fees ( ŚB. 9.5.2.16 ). ( *vi* ): *tasmin vyavadanta*, they disputed about it ( ŚB. 8.6.3.3 ). Cf. *kṣetre vivadante* ( Kāśikā on P. 2.3.36 ).

Desire :

*gardh* : *pumbhīṣveva gandharvā gardhiṣyati*, the Gandharvas will hanker after women ( ŚB. 3.9.3.20 ).

Claim :

*vad* : *turīye haiva saṃgrahītāro vadante 'munā evānūkāśena*. the charioteers claim a fourth of the booty, for force of the example ( AB. 9.1.6 ).

Satisfy :

*pā* ( *caus* ) : *tasmin brāhmaṇān pāyayitavai brūyāt*, let the priests be asked to drink it ( ŚB. 2.3.3.8 ).

*ruc* ( causative ) : *tasmād u śreṣṭhī pātre rocayaty eva yaṃ kāmayate tam*, therefore does one of high rank honour at his table him whom he desires ( AB. 13.6.3 ).

**Eat or drink from ( vessel ) ; ( See Instrumental ).**



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*aś : pātreṣu aśanaṃ aśyate* ( ŚB. 2.52.23 ). *sa yathā vijayasya kāmāya viśā samāne pātre 'śnīyāt*, as one might, for the sake of victory, eat from the same vessel with the people ( ŚB. 4.3.3.15 ).

*pā : ye anneṣu vividhyanti pātreṣu pibato janān*, they that assault men in their food, and in their cups as they drink ( TS. 4.5.11 ). If *pibataḥ* be not construed with *pātreṣu*, this example would not come under this class.

Instruct in :

*śās* ( *anu* ) : *yad vai tvāham etayor anuśiṣyām*, if I were to instruct thee in ( the use of ) them ( ŚB. 11.4.2.19 ). Cf. *vidyāsu śikṣate ; dhanuṣi śikṣate*. Cf. Pali : *bodhisatto taṃ rājānaṃ atthe ca dhamme ca anusāsati*, B. instructed him in polity and in religion ( J. 1.184 ).

Obtain protection under :

*nāth : devā agnāv anāthan*, the gods found a protector in Agni ( TS. 2.4.1 ). *so'gnau caiva some cānāthata*, he found protection in A. and S. ( Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā 10.2 ; also cf. 13.6 ; 11. 1, 3, 4 ; 13. 2 4 ; 27. 4 ). Cf. *eṣo 'nukampyo mayi nāthavān iti* ( Bhp. 10.14.10 ).

Agree in :

[ It is to be noted that all the verbs under this class are used with the upasarga *sam* ( See instrumental ) ].

*jñā : tasmin devā na samajānata*, the gods did not agree as to this ( AB. 17.1.4 ). *sam asmin svāḥ śreṣṭhatāyāṃ jānate*, his pre-eminence his own people accord ( AB. 19.3.9 ).

*rādh* : *tasyāṃ na samarādhayan*, they could not agree about it ( TS. 2.19 ). *tasmin na samarādhayan* ( PB. 9.1.25 )

*pad* ( causative ) : *devā vai somasya rājñaḥ ... agrapeye na samapādayan*, the gods could not agree in the drinking first of Soma, the king (AB. 9.1.1). *tau ha madhyame sampādayāṃ cakratuḥ*, they made an agreement ragarding the middle one ( AB. 33.3.7 )

*vad : gṛhapater evāraṇyoḥ saṃvadante*, they commune with each other over the Gṛhapati's churning-sticks (ŚB. 4.6.8.13 ).



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*vac* (causative) : *atha yad vede patnīṃ vācayati*, in that he causes the wife to speak on the grass-bundle ( KB. 3. 9 ).

Abide by :

*sthā* : *tasmiṃs tiṣṭhāmahe vayam*, that we accept ( AB. 33.6.3 ). *indre sarve devās tasthānāḥ*, all the gods ( were ) abiding in Indra ( ŚB. 1.6.32.2 ). *triṃśattame vyūhe paṅktiṣu atiṣṭhanta*, at the thirtieth arrangement they came to an end in the Paṅktis ( ŚB. 10.4.2.25 ).

This idiom had good currency in the classical language : e. g., *tathāpi śastravyavahāraniṣṭhure vipakṣabhāve ciram asya tasthuṣaḥ । stutoṣa vīryātiśayena vṛtrahā* (Raghu. 3.62 abc). *atiṣṭhad ekonaśatakratutve । śakrābhyasūyā-vinivṛttaye yaḥ* (Raghu 6. 74 cd). *na me śāsane tiṣṭhasi* ( Śak. VI ). *jihreṣyatiṣṭhan yadi tātavākye* ( Bhaṭṭi 3. 53 c ). *tvayi nas tiṣṭhate prītis tubhyaṃ tiṣṭhāmahe । vayam uttiṣṭhamānam mitrārthe kas tvāṃ na bahumanyate ॥* ( Bhaṭṭi 8. 12 ).

Catch by, tough at :

*bandh* : *taṃ śatena vārdhrībhir āṇḍayor abadhnāt*, with a hundred leather straps he bound him ... ( PB. 9. 2. 22 ). *mitras tvā padi badhnītām*, may Mitra bind thee by foot ( ŚB. 3.2.4.18 ).

Cf. *tasminn abhidyotitabandhupadme pratāpasaṃśoṣitaśatrupaṅke । babandha taṃ nottamasaukumāryā kumudvatī bhānumatīva bhāvaṃ ॥* ( Raghu 6. 36 ). Cf. Pali : *goṇe cakkesu bandhiṃsu* ( J. 1. 101 ).

*grah (sam)* : *tān u prāṇeṣu samagṛhṇāt*, he seized them by ( the organs of ) the vital airs ( ŚB. 7.5.2.4 ).

Cf. *gṛhīta iva keśeṣu mṛtyunā dharmam ācaret* ( Pañcatantra ).

Cf. Pali : *atha naṃ sūkaraṃ pādesu gahetvā* ( J. 1. 197 ).

*pad* ( *abhi* ) : *athainaṃ dakṣiṇe bāhāv abhipadya japati*, thereupon, taking hold of him by the right arm, he mutters ( ŚB. 5. 3. 3. 11 ).

*mṛś* ( *abhi* ) : *athāntara aṃse'bhimṛśya japati*, having touche him on the chest, he then mutters ( ŚB. 5.4.4.5 ).

In classical Sanskrit *ā-dā* is similarly construed : e. g. *raśmiṣvivādāya nagendrasaktāṃ nivartayāmāsa nṛpasya dṛṣṭim* ( Raghu 2. 28 cd ). *nākasmād yuvatī vṛdhaṃ keśeṣvākṛṣya cumbati* ( Hitopadeśa ).



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Beget in :

*jan : asyāṃ jāyate punaḥ*, in her he is born again (AB. 33.1.10). *ā hāsmin vīro jāyate*, to him a hero is born ( AB. 5. 6 ). *nāsyāparūpam ātman jāyate*, nothing unshapely is born in him ( TS. 3.5.7). *vasīyān vasīyān haivāsya prajāyām ājāyate*, ever more brilliant is a son born in his offspring ( KB. 6. 9 ).

In classical Sanskrit *jana* and other roots of cognate meaning, are construed with locative of the mother and ablative of the father ; e. g., *sūryāt kuntikanyāyāṃ jajñe karṇaḥ* ( Mbh. 1. 68. 98 ), *samādhimatyām udapādi bhavyā* (Kumārasaṁbhava). *tasyām tasmād dvijavarād eṣa jāto 'smi śāpalaḥ* ( Kathāsaritsāgara 2. 31b ).

Obtain in :

*labh : yaśca some labhate*, who obtains a hold of the Soma ( ŚB. 2.2.3.1 ; 4.2.4.9 ). *na yat śūdreṣu alapsata*, a thing which they have not found even among the Śūdras (AB. 33.5.3). *uta hi vaśe labdhvā*, when it accrues to him ( ŚB. 1.9.2.35 ). *tāsu putraṃ na lebhe*, had no son from them ( AB. 33.1.1 ). *yaśca yajñe lapsamāno bhavati yas ca na* ( AB. 1.13.8 ).

*vid* : *apsu vindati*, finds in water ( ŚB. 2.1.1.5 ).

Look at :

*īkṣ : sa rarāṭyām īkṣamāṇo 'nubrūyāt*, he should recite looking at the fronton ( AB. 5.3.15 ). But *rarāṭyām* can as well be taken as an accusative of the base *rarāṭyā*, iustead of the locative of the *rarāṭī*.

*dṛś : tac chilpam paśyanti yat pitaryapaśyat*, seeing the wonder which he saw in his father ( PB. 16.4.3 ).

Strike in :

*han* (*ā*) : *rāṣṭram eva tad viśi āhanti*, royal power indeed presses hard on the people ( ŚB. 13.2.9.7 ).

*naś* ( *vi*, causative ) : *yaḥ kāmayeta brahman viśaṃ vi nāśayeyam iti*, who desires, 'may I bring the people to ruin with respect to the Brahman' ( TS. 2.3.3 ).



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Wipe in :

*mṛj : māsmin mṛjate*, these two do not wipe ( their sin ) off upon him ( TS. 2.2.6 ). *yasmā etad dadāti tasminn eva mṛjānā yanti*, ( PB. 17.1.16 ).

Blnnder in :

*muh : yo yajñe muhyati*, ( AB. 11.11.16 ).

Rule :

*kṣi : kṣayantaṃ rādhasi mahati*, ruling in great wealth ( ŚB. 7.3.1.33 ). The genitive ( *g. v.* ) is a concurrent idiom here.

Practise in ( rituals ); to praise :

*car : prātaḥsavanasyaivāvṛtā prātaḥsavane careyuḥ* ( AB. 35.8.6 ). *anuyājeṣu carati* ( ŚB. 3.8.4.8 ). *tṛtīyasavane saṃtvaramāṇāś caranti*, they proceed hastening at the the third pressing ( AB. 14.6.3 ). Cf. *akṣiṇy avasthitaḥ puruṣaḥ sarvārtheṣu carati* ( MU. 6.6 ).

Cf. Pali : *mātāpitusu dhaṃmaṃ caranto* ( J. 1. 152 ).

*arc : asyām* ( *ṛci* ) *arcati* ( ŚB. 4.6.7.1 ).

*stu :* ( See infra : Instrumental Locative ).

*hu : yad agnau juhoti tad deveṣu juhoti* ( ŚB. 2.3.1.19 ).

Sing on :

*gā : ṛci sāma gīyate*, on the verse the tune is sung ( ŚB. 8.1.3,3 ). *etāsu vyāhṛtiṣu gāyati*, he sings (the tunes) on these (mystic) words ( ŚB. 8.7.4.5 ). *atichandasi gāyati* ( ŚB. 14. 3. 1. 11 ). *ṛkṣu sāmāni gīyante*, to Ṛcas, Sāmans are sung ( KB. 6. 11 ).

*kṛ : na yajñe viṣamaṃ karoti* ( AB. 9.2.6 ); *devā vai yad yajñe 'kurvan* ( AB. 9.7.1 ).

Verbs signifying motion to, into, upon :

These verbs also govern the accusative. When they govern the accusative they mean '( to go ) in the direction of', but when they govern the locative they mean '( to go to, in, i. e., reaches', e. g., *devān gacchati* and *deveṣu gacchati*. For Av. cf. *zemō* ( Vend. 6 ; 29, 30, 31 ); *ahe nmānahe* (Vend. 8. 37 ), etc.



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*gam : deveṣu gantavai*, to go to the gods ( ŚB. 8.6.3.24 ; 9.5.1.48 ). *yatra jigamiṣati* ( TS. 2.3.4 ). *atha ha śāṇḍilyāyanaḥ prācyāṃ jagāma*, now Ś. was once upon a time sojourning in the eastern region ( ŚB. 9.5.1.64 ).

( *adhi* ) : *śilpaṃ hāsminn adhigamyate*, a work of art is accomplished in him ( AB. 30.1.3 ).

( *abhi* ) : *na manuṣyeṣu hiraṇyam abhigamyate*, no gold would be gained among men ( ŚB. 3.2.4.13 ).

( *sam* ) : *caturthe puruṣe tṛtīye vā saṃgacchāmahe*, in the fourth ( or ) third man ( generation ) we unite ( ŚB. 1.8.3.6 ). *agnau manotāḥ saṃgacchante* ( AB. 6.10.4 ); Instrumental and Accusative are concurrent idioms here.

*i : pracīyāt*, should go to the east ( ŚB. 4.5.8.11 ).

*viś* ( *ā* ) : *ā mā goṣu viśatu ā tanuṣu*, may it accrue to me both in the cows and ( my own ) self ( ŚB. 7.3.1.23 ).

(Causative) : *asmin rāṣṭre śriyam āveśayāmi*, I make prosperity to dwell in this kingdom ( AB. 40.4.6 ). ( *pra*, causative ) : *tam apsu prāveśayan* ( TS. 7.1.6 ). *andhe tasmai praveśayati*, casts into blind darkness ( ŚB. 1. 9. 2. 35 ). ( *pra* ) : *tasmin vāk praviṣṭāsa* ( ŚB ) *tasminn aviśan* ( ŚB. 8.6.2.5 ).

*hu* : ( See above ).

*dhā* : (This verb is more frequently used with the locative than with the dative ). *ūrjam asmāsu dīdharat*, may he support strength in us ( AB. 24.3.15 ). ( *ā*- ) : *athāsmai surākaṃsaṃ hasta ā dadhāti*, then he places in his hand a bowl of Surā ( AB. 37.4.8 ).

Cf. *navāmbudānīkamuhūrtalāñchane dhanuṣy amoghaṃ samadhatta sāyakaṃ* ( Raghu 3 ).

*sic : yoṣāyāṃ retaḥ siñcati* ( ŚB. 4.3.2.3 ). Cf. *sukhair niṣiñcantam ivāmṛtaṃ tvaci* (Raghu 2. 26 ).

*ni* ( *vi* -*ā*- ) : *tā eteṣu pātreṣu vyanayati*, he distributes them in these vessels ( ŚB. 5.3.5.19 ).

*pad* ( *ā*- ) : *atha yadi somakrayaṇyāṃ kiṃcid padyeta*, and if ( his Soma ) were to meet with any mishap in regard to the ( cow ) given in exchange for the Soma ( ŚB. 12.6.1.9 ).



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*pat* ( *parā-* ) : *yad adya hotṛvarye jihmaṃ cakṣuḥ parāpatat*, what at the Hotṛ-choice may escape the crooked eye this day ( ŚB. 1.5. 1.20 ).

Cf. *netravrajāḥ paurajanasya tasmin vihāya sarvān nṛpatīn nipetuḥ* ( Raghu 6. 7 ).

*ūh* ( *adhi-* ) : *bhūteṣu imaṃ yajamānam adhyūha*, raise thou this sacrificer above the beings ( ŚB. 13.4.3.2 ). The locative here may also be taken as governed by the preposition *adhi*.

*sṛj* ( *vi-* ) : *tasminn apahatapāpman vācaṃ visṛjate*, infuses speech into him, thus freed from foulness ( ŚB. 6.6.4.1 ).

( *api-* ) : *taṃ eva vṛṣāṇam patnīṣu apisṛjati*, him he lets loose as a male among wives ( TS. 6.6.6 ).

*ṛj* ( *api-* ) : *śate goṣu ṛṣabham apyṛjanti* ( PB. 25.10.19 ).

*śri* : *trivṛt tvā stomaḥ pṛthivyāṃ śrayatu*, may the T. S. uphold thee on earth ( ŚB. 8.6.1.5 ).

( *adhi-* ) : *agra eva tasyāhavanīye 'dhiśrayati*, puts it from the beginning on the 'Āhavanīya' ( ŚB. 1.3.1.20 ).

*ruh* ( *adhi-*, causative) : *svarge loke yajamānam adhirohayati* (ŚB. 7.2.1.10 ).

( *sam-ā-* ) : *enam yonau samārohayati* ( TS. 2.4.10 ).

*vap* ( *ā-* ) : *athāsmai pañcākṣān pāṇau āvapati* ( ŚB. 5.4.4.6 ).

*hve* : *anne 'nne havāmahe*, in respect of every food we call him ( ŚB. 6.3.2.4 ). ( *upa-* ) *upa māsmin sahasre hūyethām* ( PB. 21.1.1 ). *priya enaṃ dhāman upāhvayanta*, invited him to the favourable resort ( ŚB. 1.7.3.11 ).

*vṛj* ( *pra* ) : *yajamānaṃ ha so 'gnau pravṛṇakti*, he places on fire the sacrificer ( AB. 34.8.6 ). *net paśūn agnau pravṛṇajāma* ( ŚB. 1. 8.1.38 ).

*sev* : *asya salilasyā pāre 'śvaḥ śvetaḥ sthāṇau sevate*, on the other end of this stake a white horse stands at a post ( ŚB. 3.6.2.4 ).

*kṛ* : *nainam manasi kuryāt*, he should not pay heed to it ( AB. 32.11.3 ). *ta u ha strīkāmās te hāsu manāṃsi kurvate*, they like



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women, and they turn their minds towards them ( KB. 12.3 ). *devā asurān nirbādhe 'kuruta*, the gods reduced the Asuras to straits ( TS. 5.1.10 ) *enam vaśe kṛtvā* ( ŚB. 3.1.1.11 ).

( *upa-sam-ā-* ) : *tāsu etam upasamākurvanti*, thereto they add that one ( ŚB. 4.5.8.12 ).

Cf. *pādanyāsam kṣitidharaguror mūrdhni kṛtvā sumeroḥ*, ( an interpolated verse in Śakuntalā). Cf. Pali : *manasi karitvā* (J.1.240).

*as* ( *anu-ava-* ) : *yathā guṇe guṇam anvasyati*, as a man casts thread on thread ( TS. 7.2.4 ).

*ās* ( *adhi-* ) : *tasyām indrāgnī adhyāstām* ( AB. 10.4.4 ).

*hṛ* : *girau bhāraṃ harann iva*, even as one taking a burden up a mountain ( ŚB. 13.2 9.3 ).

Dwell with :

*vas* : *juhvatsu vasati*, lives among the offerers of ( oblation) ( AB. 25. 5. 9 ). *niṣādeṣu tisro vasati*, dwells with the Niṣādas for three ( nights ) ( PB. 16. 6. 7 ). *jane tisro vasati* ( PB. 16. 6. 3 ). *candramā nakṣatre vasati*, the moon resides with the Nakṣatra ( ŚB. 10. 5. 4. 17 ). *sā hāsmin jyog uvāsa*, she ( Urvaśī ) dwelt with him ( Pururavas ) for a long time ( ŚB. 11. 5. 1. 2 ). *jyog vā iyam urvaśī manuṣyeṣu avātsīt*, this Urvaśī has dwelt long among men ( ŚB. 11. 5. 1. 2 ). *protir ha kauśāṃbeyaḥ kausuruvindir uddālake āruṇau brahmacaryam uvāsa*, P. K. K. dwelt with U. A. as a student ( ŚB. 12.2.2.13 ). *brāhmaṇe samānagotre vaset*, ( he ) should dwell with a Brahman of the same family ( KB. 25. 25 ).

Note the following expression : *atha haite aruṇe aupaveśau samājagmuḥ* ( ŚB. 10.6.11 ). Prof. Eggeling translates thus : 'now at the house of Aruṇa Aupaveśi, these came once together'.

Note : In Cl. Skt. a few other verbs are also construed with the locative, e. g.,

*gūh* : *ke hi vittaṃ rahasyaṃ vā strīṣu śaknoti gūhitum* ( Kathāsaritsāgara 1.52).

*gup* : *na gopyaṃ yadi mādṛśe* ( ibid. 2.28 ).



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*bhū (sam-) yan manuṣyeṣu sambhavet* ( ibid., 6. 148 ).

*śvas (vi-) : puṃsi viśvasili kutra kumārī* ( Pañcatantra). Cf. Pali: *tāsu ko jātu vissase* ( J. 1.293 ).

4. Instrumental Locative.

The locative has, in a few places, supplanted the instrumental but that mainly with such verbs as are construed with the locative in some other sense.

Sociative : *brahmaudane suvarṇaṃ hiraṇyaṃ dadāti*, along with the priest's mess of rice he presents gold ( to the priests ) ( ŚB. 13. 1.1.4 ). Instrumental : *atha vākovākye brahmodyaṃ vadanti*, thereupon they utter the Brahmodya in ( the form of a ) dialogue ( ŚB. 4.6.9.20 ). *tārkṣyo svargakāmasya rohet*, with the Tārkṣya (hymn) should he mount for one desiring the heaven (AB. 18.6.20). *maitrāvaruṇīṣu hi tasmai stuvate*, in verse to Mitra and Varuṇa they chant praises for this ( liabation ) ( ŚB. 4.2.3.12 ). *sarparājñyā ṛkṣu stuvate* ( ŚB. 4.6.9.17 ).

The following instances lie on the border of the instrumental and the locative :

*agnim ... mukhe babhāra*, carried Agni in his mouth ( ŚB. 1.4 1.10 ). *etaṃ hasteṣu bibhrati*, this they do hold in their hands ( ŚB. 9.2.3.24 ).

5. Dative Locative.

Of all these cases the dative has contributed the most to the idioms of the locative. In fact, as the following examples will show, most of the typical functions of the dative have concurrent idiom in the locative ; and this tendency of syncretism manifests itself greater and greater with the development of the Indo-Aryan language. It should be noted that the instrumental, the dative and the locative fell together in the dative in Greek.

*dā ( pari- ) : pitṛn eva yame paridadāti*, he thereby commits the Fathers to Yama ( ŚB. 12.3.1.19 ). *varhiṣi dadāti* ( TS. 1.5.1 ).

*dhā : nainaṃ rāṣṭre dhāsyasi nāsmin rāṣṭraṃ dhāsyasi* ( ŚB. 12. 9.3.5 ).



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*kṛ* : *manuṣyeṣu hiraṇyaṃ karoti*, bestows gold on men ( ŚB. 3.2.4.13 ).

*dhṛ* ( causative ) : *dhāraya mayi prajām* ( ŚB. 6.5.2.3 ).

*tan* : *dhīrā deveṣu yajñaṃ tanvānāḥ*, the wise, performing sacrifice to the gods ( ŚB. 6.2.2.4 ).

Dativus Finalis.

*yuj* : *agniṃ gariṣṭhe 'yuñjan*, appointed Agni to the chief ( office ) ( ŚB. 1.4.2.1 ). Cf. *araṇyayāne sukare pitā māṃ prāyuṅkta rājye bata duṣkare tvām* ( Bhaṭṭi 3 ).

*bhū* (*abhi-ā-*) : *yady enaṃ kṣīraṃ kevalam pāne 'bhyābhaved udakastokam āścotayitavai brūyāt*, if it should happen to him to drink pure milk, let him have one drop of water poured into it ( ŚB. 2.3.1.16 ).

*vad* : *deveṣu antato'rthaṃ vadate* ( KB. 2.4 ).

*vṛ* : *yuṣmān indro'vṛṇīta vṛtratūrye*, you Indra chose for the contest with Vṛtra ( TS. 1.8.5 ; ŚB. 1.1.3.8 ).

*( pra- )* : *ārtvijye pravṛtaḥ*, chosen for the office of the Ṛtvij (ŚB. 1.9.1.29).

*jāgṛ* : *prāṇa somapīthe māṃ jāgṛhi*, awake me for the Soma-drink (PB. 1.6.16 ).

The use of the locative for the final dative is of very frequent occurrence in cl. Sanskrit ; e. g., *niyujya taṃ homaturaṅga-rakṣaṇe* ( Raghu. 3.38 ). *mā māṃ prayukthāḥ kulakīrti-lope* (Bhaṭṭi 3.54.c ). *sarvaśvāpadaprabhutve'bhiṣiktaḥ* ( Pañcatantra ).

(1) Nimittasaptamī.

The locative sometimes expresses that on account of which something is done ( Vide the Kāśikā on P. 2.3.36 ). This idiom which was quite productive in the Vedic Prose, became totally unproductive in the classical language.

*devāsurā vā eṣu lokeṣu saṃyetire*, the gods and the Asuras strove for these worlds ( AB. 37.6.1 ).



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*rāṣṭre ete vyāyacchante*, it is after royal sway that these strive ( ŚB. 13.1.6.3 ). *tasya payasi vyāyacchante*, they contend for his milk ( TB. 2.1.6.2 ).

*tasmin vyavadanta*, they disputed about it ( ŚB. 8.6.3.3 ). Cf. *kṣetre vivadante* ( Kāśikā on P, 1.3.47 ).

*devā vā oṣadhīṣv ājim ayuḥ* (TB. 1.3.37 Mysore Edition) ; *devā vā brahmann avadanta* ( TB. 1.124 My Ed. ) ; *tā abruvann ājim ayāmāsmin sahasre*, they said, 'let us run a race for this thousand' ( KB. 18.1 ). *tasmāt sāvitre na saṃvadeta* ( TB. 3.10.9.6 ).

Cf. *carmaṇi dvīpinaṃ hanti dantayor hanti kuñjaram । keśeṣu camarīṃ hanti sīmni puṣyalako hataḥ ॥* The panther is killed on account of its skin, the elephant for its tusk, the yak for its tail and the musk-deer on account of its musk gland (Kāśikā on P.2.3. 36). Patañjali quotes this verse in his Mahābhāṣya. It is quite probable that this idiom was taken up from the then current speeches ; cf. Pali : *ajinamhi haññate dīpī nāgo dantehi haññati । dhanamhi dhanino hanti aniketaṃ asanthavaṃ ।* (J. 6. 61 ; 5. 269). Cf. J. 5. 300.

( 6 ) The locative with Verbal Nouns and Substantives.

[ See §3 ].

The verbal nouns generally partake of the character of their roots, which are themselves construed with the locative.

*tasmin indra upahavam aicchata*, Indra desired an invitation to the rite ( TS. 2. 4. 12 ). *sarveṣu eva tad bhūteṣūpahavam icchate* ( KB. 3. 7. ).

*tad vai nau tavaiva pitari praśnaḥ*, let us then question thy father ( AB. 22.9.6 ). *te deveṣu praśnam aitām*, they disputed before the gods ( AB. 13.4.1 ).

*devāsurā vā eṣu lokeṣu saṃyattā āsuḥ*, the gods and the Asuras were in conflict over these worlds ( KB. 1.2 ) ; ( it is really a Nimittasaptamī ).

*kāmapraśna eva me tvayi yājñavalkya asat*, let mine be ( the privilege of ) asking questions of thee when I list, O Yājñavalkya, ( ŚB. 11.6.2.10 ).



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*yad idam srñjayeṣu rāṣṭraṃ tat tvayi dhāsyāmi*, I shall confer upon thee that dominion over the Sṛñjayas ( ŚB. 12.9.3.2 ).

*asmāsu rāddhir asat*, may there be prosperity in us (ŚB. 8.6.3.2). *sā dikṣāyām ābhaktim aicchata*, she desired a portion in the consecration ( KB. 9. 1 ).

*tatra sa kāma upāpto yo'nupraharaṇe*, thence is obtained the desire which is in the throwing-after (AB. 9.3.8). *yaḥ śatāyutāyāṃ kāmaḥ*, whatever wish there is in a life of a hundred years (ŚB.10.2.6.12). *ye vai ke cānandā anne pāne mithune*, joys that are in food, drink and union ( KB. 2. 7 ). *varṣāsu vai sarve kāmāḥ*, in the rains are all desires ( KB. 1. 3 ).

*yāvantaḥ pṛthivyām bhogāḥ ..... bhūyān putre pitus tataḥ*, whatever are the delights in the earth ..... greater than these is that of a father in his son ( AB. 33. 1. 5 ). *ṛtavo ha vai deveṣu yajñe bhāgam īṣire*, the seasons were desirous to have a share of sacrifice among the gods ( ŚB. 1.6.1.1 ).

*teṣu apitvī bhavati*, obtains a share among them ( ŚB. 1.9.1.3 ). *agniḥ sarveṣu haviḥṣu bhāgī bhavati*, Agni becomes a sharer in all the oblations ( KB. 3. 4 ; 10. 6 ).

*yady adhvaryoḥ śālāyām arthaḥ syāt*, If the Adhvaryu have business in the hall ( ŚB. 3.6.2.20 ).

This idiom is found also in the earlier classical writers : e. g. *tenārthitvaṃ tvayi vidhivaśād dūrabandhur gato 'ham* (Meghadūta 1.6); *yāñcā moghā varam adhiguṇe nādhame labdhakāmā* ( ibid., 1.6 ) ; *sauhārdyād vā vidhura iti vā mayyanukreśabuddhyā* ( ibid., 2. 54 ).

( 1 ) The Locative with the Participles in *-ta*.

*bahu manuṣyeṣu samsṛṣṭam*, ( you have ) wandered and mixed much among men ( ŚB. 4.1.5.14 ). *ukthesu śritāḥ*, are resting in the Ukthas ( AB. 15.5.6 ). *apsu eva yajño mṛṣṭaḥ*, sacrifice wipes ( the guilt ) off upon the waters ( ŚB. 1.2.3.4 ). *tad yuṣmāsu hutam* ( ŚB. 1.3.3.16 ). *etad utsannaṃ strīṣu*, this is extinct in women ( ŚB. 12.7.2.11 ). *vāre vṛtam*, chosen as a boon ( TS. 2.5.1 ). *yathā tā ukthāni maṇir iva sūtre otāni bhaviṣyanti sūtram iva vā maṇau*, that the hymns shall be strung as a pearl on a thread, or a thread through a pearl ( ŚB. 123.4.2 ). *tāsu hi teṣām manāṃsi otāni*



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( AB. 6.10.4 ). Cf. *sarveṣu vedeṣu snāto bhavati sarveṣu deveṣu jñāto bhavati* ( SmB, 1.2.10 ). *śabdabrahmaṇi niṣṇātaḥ* ( MU. 6. 22 ).

Cf. cl. Skt., *tvayy āyattaṃ kṛṣiphalam iti bhrūvilāsānabhijñaiḥ . . . janapadavadhūlocanapiyamānaḥ* (Meghadūta 1.16). *viraktaḥ sveṣu bandhuṣu* ( Kathāsaritsāgara 3.45 ). Cf. *virakto jīvitam prati* ( ibid., 6. 78 ). *babhūva śakaṭāraś ca sahāyaḥ praṇato mayi* ( Kathāsaritsāgara 5. 56 ).

7. The Locative with Adjectives.

(1) Very rarely the locative is used in the partitive sense with superlatives in *-iṣṭha-*. This use is not found in the Mantras. A few occur in the Brāhmaṇas, but in the latter language it is very frequent as a substitute for the genitive ( *yataśca nirdhāraṇam* P. 2.3.41 ).

*indro me prajāyāṃ śreṣṭhaḥ syāt* ( PB. 16. 4. 2 ). *yo javiṣṭho bhuvaneṣu*, who is the swiftest among beings ( ŚB. 11. 3. 1. 6 ). *bhrājiṣṭho'ham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam*, may I be the most splendid among men ( ŚB. 4.5.4.12 ).

(2) The Partitive Locative with the Comparative in *-īyas-*.

Only one instance I have noted : *na hāsmat kaścana śreyān samāneṣu bhavati*, there is no one higher than he among his equals in station ( ŚB. 10. 3. 5. 11 ).

(3) The Partitive Locative with other Adjectives.

*tasmād ekaḥ prajāsu ṛdhukaḥ*, whence one man is apt to thrive amongst creatures ( ŚB. 13. 1. 3. 8 ). *etau ha vai dvau manuṣyeṣu dhṛtavratau* (ŚB. 5.4.4.5). *jyctiḥ sveṣu bhavati śreṣṭhaḥ svānām bhavati* ( AB. 6.1.9 ). *mukhaṃ sveṣu bhavati śreṣṭhaḥ svānām bhavati* ( AB. 8. 4. 9 ). *nainam anyaḥ sveṣu pratyudeti ya evaṃ veda* ( PB. 20.6.5 ). *ya u ha evaṃvidaṃ sveṣu pratipratir bubhūṣati*, and if anyone strives to become a rival among his own people ( ŚB. 10.3.5.9 ).

(4) Other Adjeetives governing the Locative.

*śīrṣaṇi evāgre palito bhavati*, it is on the head that one first becomes grey ( ŚB. 11.4.1.6 ).



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*ya eva nṛtyati yo gāyati tasminn evaiṣā nimiślatamā iva*, to him who dances and who sings, these ( women ) are most devoted ( ŚB. 3.2.4.6 ). *bhava samane pārayiṣṇuḥ*, be thou victorious at the gathering ( ŚB. 5.1.4,10 ).

Cf. cl. Skt. : *jāne sakhyās tava mayi manaḥ sambhṛtasneham* ( Meghadūta 2.33 ) : *mā kaulīnād asitānayane mayy aviśvāsinī bhūḥ. iṣṭe vastuny upacitarasā premarāśī bhavanti* ( ibid., 2.51 ).

8. The Locative with the Adverb.

I have noted only one instance :

*ye'rvāk viṃśeṣu varṣeṣu prayanti*, those who pass away in the years below twenty ( ŚB. 10.2.6.8 ).

9. The Locative with Prepositions.

Only four prepositions *adhi*, *antar*, *api* and *upa*, govern the locative in the Brāhmaṇa literature. In the Saṃhitā a few more, notably *ā*, govern the locative.

*adhi* : *etam māhendram uddhāram udaharata vṛtraṃ hatvānyāsu devatāsv adhi . . .*, being above the other deities ( TS 6.5.5 ). *tad enam eṣu lokeṣu adhi dīkṣayati*, thus he initiates him ( to rule ) over these worlds ( ŚB. 5.4.5.14 ). *sā eṣaiva daśati adhi sampat*, this is the perfection as regards the ten ( ŚB. 11.1.2.9 ). *na sahasre'dhi kiṃ cana dadyāt*, one ought not to give anything above a thousand ( ŚB. 30.5.2.14 ).

*antar* : *yonyām antaḥ* ( AB. 80.5.2 ).

Cf. Av. *antare daŋhupāperetānē* ( Yt. 10.48 ).

*api* : *apīndraḥ somapīthe 'bhavat*, Indra obtained later a share in the Soma-drinking ( AB. 35.2.1 ).

For Avesta cf. Ys. 32.8.

*upa* : *yad eṣu lokeṣūpa*, what is over and above those worlds ( ŚB. 6.2.3.8 ).

Cf. Av. : *upo upahotē harayāo* ( Yt. 5. 21 ).



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10. The Adverbial Locative.

A few stereotyped locatives are used as adverbs : *agre* : *agra imaṃ yajñaṃ nayata*, forward lead this sacrifice ( TS. 1.1.5 ). Cf. ŚB. 3.7.3.1 ; 4.1.4.2.

*ante : tasmāj jāyāyā ante nāśnīyāt*, whence he ( the husband ) should not eat food in the presence of his wife ( ŚB. 10.5.2.9 ).

*kṣipre : kṣipre sahasram prajāyate*, quickly a thousand springs up ( TS. 7.1.7 ). Cf. ŚB. 1.2.5.17. *kṣipre bhogyatām aśnute* ( KB. 1.1 ).

*madhye* : ŚB. 4.3.1.12, etc.

*cire* ( see *supra* ).

*sāye* ( KB. 2.8 ).

Av. *mosu, dūire, pasne.*

11. The Locative Absolute.

The locative absolute is a standing idiom in Indo-Aryan both in the oldest and in the latest. When used absolutely the locative is always accompanied by a participle. This idiom owes its origin to the locative of circumstance. In classical Sanskrit this latter idiom died out and in those cases where it remained they supplied the locative singular of the present participle *sat* and thus changed it to an apparent locative absolute. In the Brāhmaṇas it is sometimes difficult to differentiate the locative absolute from the locative of circumstance ; e. g., *aṣṭāśītiḥ sahasrāṇi . . . hayān . . . . prāyacchat yajamāne purohite* ( AB. 39.8.5). *akṣīṇe eva pūrvasminnanne aparam annam āgacchati*, while the old food is still unfailing, fresh food is accruing ( ŚB. 1.6.4.14 ).

In the following instance the locative can be taken as absolute or as governed by the verb : *prātaranuvākam anubruvati pramodante*, all the deities delight in him beginning the morning litany ( AB. 7.6.2 ).

( Vide P. 2.3.67, and the Genitive Absolute, *supra* ).

With the present participles active :



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*deveṣu ajānatsu asurān upāvartanta*, gods not approving, they approached the Asuras ( ŚB. 1.6.1.2 ). *tad āyatsu vācayati*, while they go there, he makes the sacrificer ( it ) utter ( ŚB. 3.3.2.6 ). *tāsu tapyamānāsu hiraṇmayam āṇḍaṃ sambabhūva* ( ŚB. 11.1.6.1 ).

With the passive present participle :

*vapāyāṃ vā āhriyamāṇāyām agner medho' pakrāmati*, when the omentum is being brought the lustre of Agni departs ( TS. 3.1.6 ). *yasyāśvīne śasyamāne sūryo nāvir bhavati* ( TS. 2. 1. 10 ). *etāsu anūcyamānāsu yaṃ dviṣyāt tam aṅguṣṭhābhyām avabādhate* ( ŚB. 1.3.5.7 ).

With the passive past participle :

*udita āditye prātaranuvākam anubrūyāt* ( AB. 13. 5. 4 ). *kāle āgate vijāyate* ( TS. 5.5.1 ). *saṃsthite visṛjate*, after the completion he divests himself ( of the vow ) ( ŚB. 1.1.1.3 ).

*atha śvo bhūte*, and on the following day ( ŚB. 5.2.3.2 ). ( This phrase is of very frequent occurrence in the epics. Cf. Mbh. 5.162.44 ; 5.163.14 ; 7.85.1 ; 16.7.15, etc. ). Cf. *ladhesu kaliṃgesu* ( Girnar XIII. 1) ; Pali : *acirapakkantesu pāṭaligāmiyesu upāsakesu* ( Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta ).

" Traces of the locative absolute are to be found in Aveta" ( Jackson ) : *yat ahmi nmāne yat māzdayasnoiš apā vā nā vā irithyāt-varaṅti vā snaēzinti vā barénti vā teṃ aṅhą̄m vā aiwigātō ayą̄n varétafšō varétovīre jasénti- kutha tē vérézyą̄n* ( Vend. 8. 4 ) ; *frā hama sacainti*, the summer being past ( Vend. 5.10 ) ; cf. Vend. 19. 28.

12. Elliptic Constructions.

( i ) Sometimes the substantive is omitted :

*tasmāt mānuṣe yāvān na vimuñcate*, accordingly, in human practice, so long as ( a guest ) has not unyoked ( ŚB. 3.4.15 ).

*tasmād u strī pumāṃsaṃ saṃskṛte tiṣṭhantam abhyaiti*, whence a woman approaches a man who stays in a well-trimmed ( house ) ( ŚB. 3.3.1.22 ).

*sahasre grahītavyaḥ*, it should be drawn at a ( sacrifice with a thousand ( cows as the priests' fee ) ( ŚB. 4.6.1.15 ).



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(ii) Sometimes the verb governing the locative is omitted :

*ajakṣīre bhavati*, it is ( cooked in ) goats milk ( TS. 2.2.4 ).

*agnaye ... ajakṣīre caruṃ nirvapet*, should offer an oblation ( cooked in ) goat's milk to Agni ( TS. 2.2.4 ).

*kṣīre bhavati* (cooked) in milk ( TB. 1.3.38 Mysore Edition ).

*lekhāsu hīme prāṇāḥ*, these vital are (move) in lines ( channels ŚB. 7.2.2.13 ).

( *Concluded* )



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# AN OUTLINE SYNTAX OF BUDDHISTIC SANSKRIT

BEING A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORICAL SYNTAX OF INDO-ARYAN

BY

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B = the Buddhacarita [numbers denote the canto and the stanza].



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## BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

D = the Divyāvadāna [the numbers refer to pages].

L = the Lalitavistara [the numbers refer to pages].

Mi = Le Mahāvastu, Tome i
Mii = Do. ,, ii
Miii = Do. ,, iii
} [the numbers refer to pages].

S = the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka [the numbers refer to pages].

G = Gāthā or verse.

Other texts have been given in their full titles.



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# An Outline Syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit.

## INTRODUCTION.

Buddhistic Sanskrit, or Sanskrit as written by Buddhist authors, falls into three distinct divisions. These are—

(*i*) The writings of Aśvaghoṣa, *e.g.*, the Buddhacarita, the Saundarananda, and the fragments of the two dramas edited and published by Professor Dr. Lüders of Berlin ;

(*ii*) The Lalitavistara, the Divyāvadāna, the Avadānaśataka, and the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka,—only the prose portions of these texts ;

(*iii*) The Mahāvastu and the metrical portions of the Lalitavistara, the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, etc.

The above are the more important works in Buddhistic Sanskrit available so far in print.

The first division differs very little from the Pāṇinian Sanskrit. The very slight difference lies in (1) the use of a few peculiar words and technical terms, (2) a few ungrammatical forms, and (3) the greater use of the cognate accusative. [*Cf.* S. Sen, "On the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa," Indian Historical Quarterly, September, 1926.]

The second division differs from the classical Sanskrit (of Pāṇini) in a still greater degree. It contains a number—though not very large—of grammatically incorrect (and dialectal) forms [*e.g.*, *duhitṝn*, *raśmi* (feminine), *mahya* (=*mama*), *vyusthāya* (=*vyutthāya*), *vijahya* (=*vihāya*), *upasaṃkrāmat* (*upasamakrāmat*), *ajānamānaḥ* (=*ajānan*), etc.]. It has also peculiar idioms and phrases.

The third division is the Buddhistic Sanskrit properly called. It is generally known as the 'Gāthā language,' or as



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'Mixed Sanskrit.'[1] Its philological importance is of the utmost. From the syntactical point it is doubly interesting, as it retains much of the remnant of Old Indo-Aryan idioms which were lost in the classical Sanskrit, as well as it contains the germs of many of the peculiarly New Indo-Aryan idioms.

An outline of the syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit is to be found in these pages. No systematic comparisons have been made with the Prakrits or with Pali as these will be treated separately and subsequently.

It must be added that in this present work all the three divisions of Buddhistic Sanskrit referred above, have been treated as a whole, but mention has always been made of peculiarities of each division as well as of each text as far as practicable within this short compass.

## THE NOUN-SYNTAX.

### GENDER.

In the earlier Buddhistic Sanskrit works there occur a few instances where the gender does not correspond with that of classical Sanskrit. Thus: *loka* in neuter, *e.g.*, *lokāni hi trīṇi* 'the three worlds' [B 13.31]; *raśmi* in feminine [L, S]; *añjana* in feminine [B 8.21]; *udaka* as masculine [L 87]; *lokadhātu* in feminine [S 239].

In the Gāthās as well as in the Mahāvastu, however, words generally have arbitrary gender.

*Note I.*—In the Divyāvadāna, we find instances where the change of gender is accompanied by a change of meaning; *e.g.*, *śilpa* (neuter) 'art,' (masculine) 'artisan,' *e.g.*, *tena śilpān āhūyoktāḥ* 'by him artisans were called and told' [43]; *bhaṭavālāgra* (neuter) 'army,' (masculine) 'hero' [281].

*Note II.*—The Vedic type of neuter plural is also found in a few instances in the Divyāvadāna, *e.g.*, *kūlā baddhā* for *kūlāni*

[1] *Cf.* Lefmann, Zum Gāthā-dialect, ZDMG., XXIX, pp. 212-34.



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*baddhāni* [76] ; *jāmbūnadā* (for °*ni*) *nāsya samā* (for °*ni*) *bharanti* « gold is not its equal » [78].

In the Divyāvadāna *mārga* has been used as neuter [52] and *trāṇa* as masculine [114].

## Number.

There is hardly any aberration from the normal in the usage of the number, the Gāthās, however, being excepted.

## Agreement.

In a few instances the agreement between the subject and the verb in person and number, or between the substantive and the adjective in gender and number, is faulty. The subject in the first person is generally construed with verb in the third. Thus : *nṛpo'pi ca prāpur imaṃ girim vrajan* « the king also, walking, reached that hill » [B 11.73] ; *aham avocat* « (Buddha says) I said » [L 296] ; *aham magadheṣu prakrānto'bhūt* « (Buddha says) I went to Magadha » [L 296] ; *aham prāvikṣat* « I entered » [L 297], etc. ; *ahaṃ vāsavagrāmake brāhmaṇy āsīt* « I was (born as) a Brahmin woman in the village Vāsava » [D 13] ; *ahaṃ vāsava-grāmake brāhmaṇa āsīt* « I was (born as) a Brahmin in the village Vāsava » [D 11] ; *te kaṇṭhe pariṣvajya ruditum ārabdhau* « they two (feminine gender) embracing by the neck began (masc.) to cry » [D 17] ; *aham ārāḍaṃ kālāmam etad avocat* « (Buddha says) I said this to Ārāḍa Kālāma » [M ii 118] ; *vīra kiṃ prārthayet* « what should you want, O hero? » [M iii 251 (G)].

*Note I.*—With the passive past participle in the passive voice masculine singular has been used for the neuter singular : *śakreṇa taṃ brāhmaṇavcṣam antarahāyitvā svakena rūpeṇa sthito* « Śakra, having done away the garb of a Brahmaṇa, stood in his own appearance » [M iii 6].

*Note II.*—Neuter singular has been used in apposition to a masculine, a feminine, and a neuter singular : *rājā subāhu sāmātyaparijano devī ca sudhanusya mātā sarvaṃ ca antaḥpuraṃ udyānaṃ nirdhāvitaṃ* « the king Subāhu, with his



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ministers and retinue, and the queen, the mother of Sudhanu, and the entire seraglio, went to the garden • [M ii 113].

## THE CASES.

### [A] The Nominative.

The nominative is the subject case; and there is very little which goes against the normal usage. The following instances, however, are noteworthy :

(*a*) Impersonal verbs.

(*i*) Without any grammatical subject : *yadā te prakramitukāmā bhavanti tadā bādhate sma* • whenever they wished to go out it pained them • [L 77] ; with *bhū* it is a standing idiom in the Mahāvastu, *e.g.*, *tasya rājño bhavati katham me putro bhaveyā* • it occurred to the king, ' how can a son be (born) to me ' • [M i 272] ; *ṛṣisya bhavati nāyaṃ cakravartī bhaviṣyati* • it occurred to the sage ' he would not become an emperor ' • [M ii 32]. *Cf.* also in D., *tasya te katham bhavisyati* • what would you do? • [38] ; *esa me huthā* • this occurred to me • [Delhi-Topra Pillar Edict of Aśoka, vii, 14, 15].

(*ii*) With an active agent as the subject : *kāle ca deśe pravavarṣa devaḥ* • the god rained in the country in time • [B 2.7] ; *kālena devāḥ pravarṣanti sma* • the gods rained in time • [L 82] ; *devo na varṣiṣyati* • the god will not rain • [L 516] ; *kāle devo hi varṣate* • the god rains in time • [L 86 (G)] ; *cf.* Pali, *devo vassati* • the god rains • [Jataka, vol. i, p. 100].

(*iii*) With a cognate nominative : *divyaṃ puṣpavarṣaṃ varṣati divyaṃ cūrṇaṃ varṣati* • divine flowers and (scented) dust rained (*i.e.*, fell in showers) • [M i 214] ; *mahat puṣpavarṣam abhiprāvarṣat bhagavantam* • a great shower of flowers fell on the lord • [S 5] ; *cf.* Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa : *yāś ca varṣanti vṛṣṭayaḥ* • what rains do rain • [3.12.8].

(*b*) The following instances call for attention :

(*i*) *amukto manyase mukto* • (though) fettered you think yourself as unfettered • [M iii 416 (G)]. This is a Vedic survival ; *cf. indro'surān hatvā 'kāryaṃ cakrvān amanyata*



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'having killed the Asuras, Indra thought himself to have done a wrong deed' [Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, 22.4.2].

(ii) *na kahiṃ cit mama edṛśo mano nipatati yathāyaṃ śramaṇo* 'nowhere has my mind thus fallen as in this Śramaṇa' [M iii 258]. *Śramaṇa* here ought to have been construed in the locative.

(c) Nominative Absolute. In a few instances the nominative has been construed with the absolutive. Thus: *so kāṇḍo tasya rājño pādamūle sthitvā pādaphalakam khaṇḍīkṛtaṃ* 'the arrow having fallen at the feet of the king the footstool was broken into pieces' [M ii 82]; *sa buddha iti aśrutapūrvaṃ śabdaṃ srutvā sarvaromakūpāni āhṛṣṭāni* 'he having heard the hitherto unheard of word '*buddha*' (the awakened), all his hairs stood on end (in joy)' [D 35]. This use is also sporadically found in classical Sanskrit, *e.g.*, *viṣayā vinivartante nirāhārasya dehinaḥ, rasavarjaṃ raso'pyasya paraṃ dṛṣṭvā nivartate* 'enjoyment ceases for a being who has given it up, (but) not the *rasa* (sub-conscious attraction); the *rasa* ceases for him, (after) having seen the Supreme' [Bhagavadgītā]; see, *infra* under the Conjunctive. *Note.*—In the Aśoka Inscriptions the nominative absolute occurs several times but only with the present participle in *-ant*.

## [B] The Accusative.

The Accusative is the case of objective constructions with verbs, propositions, etc., and also is used adverbially.

Its broad usages in Buddhistic Sanskrit tally with that of classical Sanskrit, but the following are its especial idioms:—

(a) Buddhistic Sanskrit, unlike the classical, favours cognate accusatives, both etymological as well as non-etymological. In this respect it is closely allied to the language of the Vedic prose.

(i) The etymological cognate accusative. In the Buddhacarita: *nanāda siṃhanādaṃ* 'roared the lion's roar' [5.84]; *puṣpadrumāḥ svaṃ kusumaṃ puphulluḥ* 'the flower plants put on their own blossoms' [1.44]; *tapāṃsyatapta* 'practised



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penances ▸ [2.49]; *gambhīradhīrāṇi vacāṃsyuvāca* ◂ uttered words solemn and sober ▸ [1.59]; *vacanaṃ cedam uvāca* ◂ spoke that word ▸ [5.29]. In the Lalitavistara,—*pravarṣa jambudhvaje varṣam* ◂ rain a shower in the Jambudhvaja ▸ [13]; *caryāṃ caran* ◂ practising (religious) practice ▸ [297]; *nada buddhasiṃhanādam* ◂ roar the roar of a lion Buddha ▸ [13(G)]; *dharmaśravaṇaṃ śroṣyatha* ◂ shall hear the hearing of dharma ▸ [32]; *kālavilokitaṃ dvīpavilokitaṃ vilokayati sma* ◂ looked the looking of the time, of the island, of the place, *i.e.*, chose the suitable time, etc. ▸ [21]; *evāṃ codānam udānayanti sma* [34]; *śikṣaṃ ca śikṣa* ◂ to learn the lesson ▸ [51 (G)]; *dharmācaraṇaṃ carethāḥ* ◂ should practise the practice of dharma ▸ [41 (G)]; *maṇiratnam pravarṣa jambudhvaje varṣam* ◂ shower a shower of jewels in the Jambudhvaja ▸ [14 (G)]; *na ca kāmavitarkāṃ vā vyāpādavitarkāṃ vā hiṃsāvitarkāṃ vā vitarkayati sma* ◂ he did not think the thought of desire, or of killing, or of mischief ▸ [80]; *samyaksambodhim abhisambhotsyase* ◂ you shall realise the perfect realisation ▸ [43]; *dīrghacaṅkramaṃ caṅkramate sma* ◂ was treading long steps, or taking long walks ▸ [488]. In the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka: *bodhisattvacaryāṃ caranti* ◂ practise the practice of a Bodhisattva ▸ [7]; *bhikṣavo mahāprapātam prapatiṣyanti* ◂ the Bhikṣus shall fall a great fall ▸ [37]; *siṃhanādaṃ nadante sma* ◂ were roaring the lion's roar ▸ [271]; *paripūrṇam aśītiṃ varṣāṇi dānaṃ dadyāt* ◂ should make charity for full eighty years ▸ [347]; *dāruṇāṃ vedanāṃ vedayāmāsuḥ* ◂ suffered acute pain ▸ [382]. In the Divyāvadāna: *tad eva pravāraṇaṃ pravārayitvā* ◂ having accepted that gift ▸ [93]; *cārikāṃ caran* ◂ making a tour or journey ▸ [80]; *samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhaḥ* ◂ realised the perfect realisation ▸ [35]; *cara brahmacaryam* ◂ practise Brahmacarya (the life of a celebate religious student) ▸ [36]; *udānam udānayati* [2]; *araṇyacārikaṃ caranti* ◂ walk in the forest ▸ [93]; *kārāṃ kṛtvā* ◂ having done an act of worship ▸ [23], etc.

In the Mahāvastu: *caranto narakacārikām* ◂ making a journey in the hell ▸ [i 5]; *mahārāvaṃ ravantānāṃ* ◂ of them



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making a loud roar » [i 6]; *vedanāṃ vedentā* « perceiving perception » [i 6]; *anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddho* « realised the supreme, perfect realisation » [i 44]; *dīrghacaṅkramaṃ caṅkrame* « took long steps, or took a long walk » [i 317] ; *catvāri mahāvilokitāni vilokayati* « takes the four great looks or views » [i 197] ; *upoṣadhaṃ upoṣati* « fasts a fast » [ii 177] ; *sarvabhūtehi mahāyajñaṃ yajiṣyāmi* « I shall hold a great sacrifice with all creatures » [ii 98] ; *dakakrīḍāṃ krīḍiṣyāmaḥ* « we shall sport in water » [ii 171] ; instrumental is also found, *e.g.*, *te dāni udakakrīḍāye krīḍanti* « they are now sporting in the water » [ii. 171] ; *māraḥ.....daśavidhaṃ mahāūhasitaṃ ūhase* « the Tempter laughed the ten great laughs » [ii. 268] ; *māraḥ .....mahāparidevitaṃ parideve* « the Tempter mourned a great mourning » [ii. 276] ; *bodhisattvo mahāsiṃhavijṛmbhitaṃ vijṛmbheti* « Bodhisattva exerted the great lion's exertion » [ii. 281] ; *bhikṣācāram carāmi* « I make the beggar's round » [iii. 168] ; *dhyānaṃ dhyāyasi* « you meditate the meditation » [iii. 149] ; *adrākṣīd bodhisattvam abhītavikrāntaṃ vikrāmantam* « he saw Bodhisattva showing fearless prowess » [ii. 264].

(*ii*) Non-etymological cognate accusative. In the Buddhacarita : *vākyam abravīt* « uttered the speech » [4.3] ; *abravīd vacaḥ* « gave out the speech » [9.62] ; *vaco babhāṣe* « spoke the word » [13.3] ; *bruvan vākyam idaṃ tasthau* « he stood speaking this speech » [6.13] ; *giram ity uvāca* « delivered this speech » [7.37]. In the Lalitavistara: *añjaliṃ praṇamya* « bowing with folded palms » [7] ; *āgārād anāgārikaṃ pravrajiṣyati* « he shall walk out as a (homeless) mendicant from home » [20] ; *kālam akarot* « made time, *i.e.*, finished the days, *i.e.*, died » [112] ; *siṃhavat hlādanātmikāṃ vācaṃ bhāṣate sma* « he was uttering pleasing words like a lion » [97] ; *magadheṣu cārikāṃ prākrāmat* « he made journeys in (the country of) Magadha » [309]. In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka : *añjaliṃ pragṛhya* « having folded the palms » [161] ; *daśanakham añjaliṃ pragṛhya* « having folded the palms with the ten nails » [458] ; *kālaṃ ca kṛtvā* « having died » [123] ; *añjaliṃ praṇāmya* « having made a bow with



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folded palms ▸ [409] ; *mahādharmāsane paryaṅkam ābhujya* ◂ sitting cross-legged on the great judgment seat ▸ [19]; *paryaṅkaṃ baddhvā niṣaṇṇo' bhūt* ◂ he crossed his legs and seated himself ▸ [245]. In the Divyāvadāna : *magadheṣu janapadeṣu cārikāṃ prakrāntaḥ* ◂ he set out on journey in the settlements in Magadha [93] ; *mahākāśyapasya piṇḍapātaṃ caratah* ◂ of Mahākāśyapa wandering for food ▸ [84]; *kālaṃ karoti* ◂ dies ▸ [103] ; *kālaṃ gataḥ* ◂ dead ▸ [83]; *paryaṇkam baddhvā* ◂ having crossed his legs ▸ [42] ; *paryaṅkam ābhujya* ◂ having crossed his legs ▸ [20] ; *tayā.....bhikṣām aṭantyā* ◂ by her, going for begging alms ▸ [89] ; *bhikṣām aṭati* ◂ goes abegging alms ▸ [82] ; *idānīṃ bhikṣām aṭate* ◂ now he goes on begging alms ▸ [67] ; cf. *bhikṣām aṭannaripure śvapākām api vandate* ◂ (he) goes to the enemies' place for begging alms and (he) humbles himself before a Śvapāka (literally, one who cooks a dog), *i.e.*, a low-caste ▸ [Bhāgavatapurāṇa] ; *añjaliṃ praṇamya* ◂ having bowed with folded alms [47], [92] ; *veśyaṃ vāhayati* ◂ lives the life of a hetaera ▸ [14] ; cf. *tasmin pradeśe brāhmaṇaḥ lāṅgalaṃ vāhayati* ◂ in that province a Brahmin works at the plough ▸ [76]. In the Mahāvastu : *abhīkṣṇaṃ nirayacārikāṃ gacchati* ◂ frequently he journeys to hell ▸ [i. 4] ; *bhagavān...janapadeṣu cārikāṃ prakramet* ◂ the lord would journey in the settlements ▸ [i. 231] ; *kālaṃ karoti* ◂ dies ▸ [i. 5] ; *paryaṅkam ābhuñjitvā* ◂ having seated himself cross-legged ▸ [i 144]; *yena bhagavān tenā 'ñjaliṃ praṇāmetvā* ◂ having made a bow with folded palms in the direction the Lord (was) ▸ [i 255]; *brahmadatto rājā abhīkṣṇaṃ mṛgavyāṃ nirdhāvati* ◂ the king Brahmadatta frequently went out a-hunting ▸ [i 359]; *yaṃ velaṃ mahārājā mṛgavyāṃ niṣkāsati* ◂ the time when the great king goes out a-hunting ▸ [361]; *sā cāsya bharyā ghaṭam ādāya udakahāriṃ gatā* ◂ his wife, she took a pitcher and went out to fetch water ▸ [ii 65]; *caturdiśam añjaliṃ praṇāmetvā* ◂ having bowed with folded palms towards the four quarters ▸ [ii 95]; *prahāṇaṃ prahareyam* ◂ I should make an effort ▸ [ii 124]; *tahiṃ ca anuhimavante śatadrukūle duve lubdhakaputrā mṛgavyāṃ aṇpanti* ◂ near the Himālaya, on the bank of the Śatadru, there



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wander two sons of a hunter a-hunting » [ii 101]; *mṛgavyam aṭavantaḥ* « while roaming on hunting » [iii 156].

(*iii*) Adverbial cognate accusative: *mṛṣāvādaṃ saṃbhāṣase* « you talk false (or falsehood) » [D 70]; *pratināvam āruhiṣyati* « should change boats » [Mii 90]; *jīvagrāhaṃ gṛhṇitvā paścād-bāhu-gāḍha-bandhanaṃ bandhitvā śvasurasya mahendrasya madrakarājño upanāmitā* « taking (her) by (her) life, binding (her) with (her) arms tied behind, (she) was taken before (her) father-in-law Mahendra, the king of Madraka » [Mii 490]; *urastāḍaṃ krandati* « cries beating on the chest » [Miii 205].

(*b*) Accusativus Temporis. The temporal accusative expresses the time occupied by an action without any reference to its completion. This was the Indo-European usage, and is strictly preserved in classical Sanskrit. But in Buddhistic Sanskrit its use is varied and interesting.

(*i*) Normal usage as in Old Indo-Aryan: *sa tatra bahūni varṣāṇi vipravaset* « there he should sojourn for many years » [S 101]; *so taṃ bhagavantaṃ daśa varṣasahasrāṇi satkāreṣi* « he entertained the lord for ten year-thousands » [Mi 59]; *tāṃ khalu rātriṃ...adhivāsitavān* « entertained...that night » [D 20]; *trīṇi saptakāni ekaviṃśatidināni vistareṇa jātasya jātimahaṃ kṛtvā* « having held the rejoicing for the birth of the child for thrice seven, (or) one and twenty days » [D 3]; *ṣaṇmāsān svapiti* « he slept for six months » [D 106]; *evam yāvat ṣaḍ divasān* « thus for six days » [D 86]; *atha ratnaśikhī...nadyā gaṅgāyās tīre rātriṃ vāsaṃ upagataḥ* « now Ratnasikhī passed the night on the bank of the river Ganges » [D 63]. The phrase *bhūtapūrvaṃ bhikṣavo atītam adhvānam* « in the past, O Bhikṣus, in remote days », introduces every narrative in the Mahāvastu; in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, however, we find *atīte' dhvani* instead of *atītam adhvānam*. The Avadānaśataka begins with simply *bhūtapūrvam*.

(*ii*) The temporal accusative sometimes denotes only a part of the time, which is generally denoted by the locative in classical Sanskrit. In fact, the locative is also often used side by side:



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*yām eva ca rātrim bodhisattvo mātuḥ kukṣim avakrāntaḥ* ◂ the night when the Bodhisattva entered (his) mother's womb ▸ [L 73]; *yāṃ ca rātriṃ bodhisattvo jātaḥ tasyām eva rātryāṃ kanyāsahasrāṇi* ◂ the night when Bodhisattva was born, that very night a thousand girls were born ▸ [L 134]. *Cf. yāṃ ca rātrim ajāyethāḥ* ◂ the night I (?) was born ▸ [Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 39.1.2].

In the following instances, too, the temporal accusative has replaced the temporal locative: *yo asmākam ito saptamaṃ divasaṃ sarvaprathamaṃ himavantam parvatarājaṃ gamiṣyati* ◂ whoever among us would go on the seventh day from hence to the king of mountains, the Himālayas ▸ [Mii 69]; *bhaviṣyasi tvam anāgatam adhvānaṃ tathāgato* ◂ you would become a Tathāgata in the time to come ▸ [Mi 57].

(*c*) Accusativus Spatii. The spatial accusative denotes the space occupied. Thus: *sā pūrvasyāṃ diśi aṣṭādaśa buddhakṣetrasahasrāṇi prasṛtā* ◂ she stretched for eighteen thousand Buddha-spaces in the eastern quarter ▸ [S 20].

To this is allied the accusative of measure. Thus: *saptatālam uccaiḥ* ◂ seven *tālas* in height ▸ [L 15]; *sphuṭībhavati sāmantena yojanam* ◂ it would appear in a *yojana* all round ▸ [L 18]; *stūpān kariṣyati yojanasahasraṃ samucchrayeṇa* ◂ would raise *stūpas* a thousand *yojanas* in height ▸ [S 150]; *yūpaṃ ca ucchrāpaya ūrdhvaṃ vyāmasahasraṃ tiryak ṣoḍaśapravedham* ◂ raise a *yūpa* a thousand *vyāmas* in height and sixteen *pravedhas* in breadth ▸ [D 59]; *rājñā...caityam kāritaṃ samantāt yojanam uccatvena* ◂ a *caitya* was raised by the king —(it was) a *yojana* high all round ▸ [D 22]; *so narako... anekāni yojanaśatāni āyato* ◂ that hell...is many *yojanas* in area ▸ [Mi 21].

(*i*) The correlative adverbial pair *yāvat ca...yāvat ca* ◂ from ...to ▸, ◂ between...and ▸, governs the accusative. Thus: *adhivāsayatu asmākam bhagavān yāvacca śrāvastīṃ yāvacca rājagṛham atrāntarāt* ◂ may your Lordship accept us (*i.e.*, our company) between Śrāvastī and Rājgṛha ▸ [D 93]; *yāva ca*



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*rājagṛhaṃ yāva ca gaṅgāyā tīrtham mārgam pratijāgṛtha* «watch the road from Rājagṛha to the ford of the Ganges» [Mi 258] *yāvad rājakulaṃ yāvacca udyānabhūmim atrāntare pratijāgratha* «watch (*i.e.*, attend) (on the road) between the royal palace and the garden» [Mii 150].

(*ii*) In the Divyāvadāna the adverbial pair *antarā ca... antarā ca* «between...and ..» governs the accusative: *antarā ca śrāvastīṃ antarā ca rājagṛham atrāntarān mahāṭavyāṃ caura-sahasraṃ prativasati* «between Śrāvastī and Rājagṛha, in this space a thousand thieves dwell» [94].

(*d*) The accusative with transitive verbs. No instances need be given, but the following instances are noteworthy:

*dharmanadīm pāsyati jīvalokaḥ* «the world of beings would drink of the river of *dharma*» [B 176]. The accusative here carries with it the idea of the partitive genitive.

*kintu ātmānam ahaṃ rodimi* «but I mourn for myself» [L 119]. Intransitive *rud* «to cry, to weep», has here been used as transitive. *Cf. yatheyaṃ stri pautram aghaṃ na rodāt* «so that this woman does not mourn the loss of her son» [Mantra Brāhmaṇa I. 1. 10].

*śaṭhaṃ hasantī* «(she) laughing at the villain» [Saunda. 7.18].

*muktakusumāni ca mahīṃ vikirantaḥ* (sic=*vikiryamānāni*) «flowers (that were) being showered on earth» [L 401]. Here the root *kir* «to scatter» governs double accusatives; *mahīm* denotes the idea of the locative. In classical Sanskrit it would have been either, *muktakusumair mahīm.....*, or, *muktakusumāni mahyām.....*

*taṃ grāmaṃ...piṇḍāya caritvā* «having wandered in the village for alms» [Mi 301]. The accusative denotes the goal of an action, not the place of action; the accusative here ought to have been the locative.

*ahaṃ vāpīm padmāni gṛhṇiṣyāmi* «I shall pluck the lotuses in (or, from) the pond» [Mii 450]. The root *grah* governs double accusatives; the accusative in *vāpīm* denotes the idea either of the locative, or of the ablative.



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*yena takṣaśilāyāṃ sthitena vārāṇasīṃ kāṇḍaṃ kṣiptaṃ* 'by whom, staying in Takṣaśilā, an arrow was darted in Benares' [Mii 83]. The accusative in *kṣiptam* has been used for the locative ; see *supra*.

*tena kṣetrāraṇyam aṇvantena amarā karmāradārikā dṛṣṭā bhaktam ādāya gacchantī* 'by him while roaming in fields and woods, Amarā, the daughter of the blacksmith was seen carrying food' [Mii 83]. See *supra*, under *taṃ grāmam... piṇḍāya caritvā*.

*te sarve...sthalaṃ kṣiptā* 'they all were thrown ashore' [Miii 354]. See *supra*, under *yena takṣaśilāyām*, etc.

*sā sarvāṃ kāśibhūmiṃ kṣamati tasmāt sā kāśikā ti vuccati* 'she, (the hetaera) fascinated the entire surroundings of Kāśī ; hence she was called Kāśikā' [Miii 375].

*atha khalu...sāgaranāgarājaduhitur eko maṇir asti yaḥ kṛtsnām...lokadhātum mūlyaṃ kṣamate* 'now the daughter of the king of the Nāgas of the sea had a jewel which equals in value the entire world' [S 264].

(*e*) Accusative with primary derivatives—substantives and adjectives :

*sukhaṃ vibhīr mām apahāya* 'afraid of pleasure, (and) leaving me [B 8.64].

In the Buddhacarita desiderative adjectives govern the accusative. The substantive *didṛkṣā* 'desire of seeing', however, governs the genitive, *e.g.*, *didṛkṣayā śākyakuladhvajasya* 'with a longing for seeing the pillar of the Śākyas' [1.63], except in the compound *vanabhūmididṛkṣayā* 'with the desire for seeing the woodland' [5.2] where the compound would not be possible if *vanabhūmi* is to be taken to be in the genitive.

In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka the following occur : *ratnadvīpaṃ gamanāya* 'for going to the Ratnadvīpa (treasure island)' [187] ; *taṃ śravaṇāya gamiṣyāmaḥ* 'we (two) shall go to hear that (*dharma*)' [459] ; *gamiṣyāmy aham...tam bhagavantaṃ śākyamuniṃ...darśanāya vandanāya paryupāsanāya* 'I shall go to see, to pay homage to, and to attend to



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the lord, the sage of the Śākyas » [425]; *abhyāgata imaṃ... dharmaparyāyaṃ śravaṇāya mañjuśriyaṃ ca kumārabhūtaṃ darśanāya* « come to hear this lecture on *dharma* and to see Mañjuśrī in the state of a child » [431]. The genitive has once been used: *mama darśanāya...dharmaparyāyasya śravaṇāya* « to see me...to hear the lecture on *dharma* » [427].

*na cāsyopāyam paśyati tam parvatam adhirohaṇāya* « he does not find any way for mounting the hill » [D 113].

In the Mahāvastu: *devasaṁghāḥ sukharātriṃ...prcchakā āgacchanti* « the host of gods came to ask (whether he passed) a happy night » [Mi 214]; *bhagavantaṃ darśanāya upasankramaṇāya paryupāsanāya* « to see, to approach, and to attend to the lord » [Mi 255]; *bhagavantam anujānaye rājagṛhāto vaiśālīṃ gamanāya* « permitted the lord to go from Rājagṛha to Vaiśālī » [Mi 257]; *anujñātā kinnaranagaraṃ gamanāya* « were permitted to go to the city of the Kinnaras » [Mii 101]; *alindāya mahādevīye pādāṃ vandanāya upasaṃkrāntā* « came to pay homage to the feet of the chief queen Alindā » [Mii 445]; *padminīm paśyanāya gatā* « went to see the lotus-pond » [Mii 450]. Genitive has once been used: *kolitagrāmakaṃ gacchati kolitasya darśanāye* « goes to the village of Kolita to see him » [Mii 57]. *devī ca āmravanam prekṣikā gatā* « the queen went out a looker (*i.e.*, to see) of the mango grove » [Miii 12].

Instances of the accusative governed by the primary derivatives in *-ana* do not obtain in classical Sanskrit. In the Vedic, however, a few such instances are found. These are: *vanaṃ-karaṇa, ayakṣaṃ-karaṇa* [Atharvaveda Saṃhitā 19.2.5]; *yady enaṃ kṣīraṃ kevalam pāne' bhyābharet* « if it should happen to him to have to drink pure milk » [Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 2.3.1.16].

This copious use of the primary derivatives ending in *-ana* governing the accusative, shows that these derivatives have really been used as infinitives.

(*f*) The Accusative governed by the adjectives. These adjectives are all past participles in *-ta* and compounded with



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*upasargas*. Thus: *aparamātaram prasaktaḥ* «attached to another's mother» [Mi 244]; *taṃ vyāghriṃ ṛṣabho allīno* «a bull approached the tigress» [Mii 70]; *striyam anurakto* «attached to the woman» [Miii 296].

(*g*) The Accusative with adverbs: *aṣṭamām bhūmim prabhṛti* «from the eighth ground» [Mi 105]. In classical Sanskrit *prabhṛti* is construed with the ablative.

(*h*) The Accusative governed by prepositions. In Buddhistic Sanskrit the only case-governing preposition is *prati*. It is used in various senses and to denote various case relations. It occurs fourteen times in the Buddhacarita, *e.g.*, 1.73 (twice); 1.81; 2.47; 4.24; 6.43; 7.12,45; 8.54; 9.14,67; 11.50,62; 13.16. In other texts: *iyatāni evāhaṃ daśa nimittāni jāne gamanam prati* «I know these ten portents for (an auspicious) journey» [D 112]; etc.

## [C] The Instrumental.

The Instrumental was originally a local case. It indicates the relation of concomitance or adjacency, passing over into that of means or instrument: it is the *with-* or *by-* case in the various senses of these prepositions.

(*a*) The Sociative Instrumental.—In Buddhistic Sanskrit sociative instrumental is generally construed periphrastically with *sārdham*, and *samanvāgata* «accompanied», and rarely with *saha*, *e.g.*, *so dāni nāgarājā ugrasenena kāśirājñā sārdham ekaparyaṅkena niṣaṇṇo* «then the king of the Nāgas sat on the same seat with Ugrasena the king of Kāsī» [Mii 179]; *saha darśanamātreṇa gaṇikāye tasmiṃ sārthavāhe premnaṃ nipatitam* «(simultaneously) with the look the love of the hetaera fell on that merchant» [Mii 168].

(*i*) Special uses of the instrumental of concomitance without the use of *sārdham*, etc.,: *pravrajiṣyāmi samyageva śraddhayā agārād anāgārikam* «with perfect reverence I shall get out as homeless (mendicant) from home» [D 17]; *aham maṅgalaiḥ samprasthitaḥ* «I set out auspiciously» [D 4,5]; *sarvajavena pradhāvitāḥ* «set out with all speed» [D 94]: the



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instrumental here is virtually an adverb; *vāsavasya rājñaḥ putro jāto ratnapratyuptayā śikhayā* « the king Vāsava had a son born with the crest imbedded with a jewel » [D 62]; *purohitaṃ dautyena preṣayati* « sends the priest on errand » [L 163]; *tāni buddhakṣetrāṇi ratnavṛkṣaiś ca citrāṇi saṃdṛśyante sma* « those fields of Buddha looks splendid with jewel-trees » [S 243]; *samudradevatā ca brāhmaṇaveṣeṇa upasaṃkramitvā āhaṃsuḥ* « the deity of the sea approached in the garb of a Brahmin, and said » [Mii 90]; *atha sūryo kumāro candaṃ kumāram mithilāyāṃ rājyenābhiṣiñcitvā* « now the Prince Sūrya having anointed the Prince Candra in kingship in Mithilā [Miii 172]; *ka eṣa bhoḥ.....keśaiḥ sitaiḥ* « who is he with grey hair? » [B 3.28].

(*b*) The Cognate Instrumental.—The Cognate Instrumental is unknown in classical Sanskrit though a few instances are found in the Vedic and the Avesta. In Buddhistic Sanskrit it is quite frequent: *divyenāvabhāsenāvabhāsya* « illuminating with divine radiance » [L 4]; *śīrṣavyavalokena vyavalokayati sma* « was looking with a look at the head [L 17]; *na ca rāgaparidāhena vā dveṣaparidāhena vā mohaparidāhena vā paridahyate sma* « was not smarting with the affliction of attachment, nor of hatred, nor of ignorance » [L 80]; *mahāparinirvāṇena parinirvāpayati* « is extinguished (*i.e.*, emancipated) with the great extinction » [S 82]; *ovādena ovādanti* « (they) call with a call » [Mi 104]; *paripūrṇāye arcanāye arcayitvā* « having honoured with full honour » [Mi 212]; *arcanāye arcayitvā* « having honoured with honour » [Mii 16]; *so ārāḍo kālāmo paramayā pūjayā pūjaye paramayā ca praśaṃsayā praśaṃse* « he, Ārāḍa Kālāma, worshipped (the lord) with supreme worship and praised (him) with the highest praise » [Mii 119]; *te dāni udakakrīḍayā krīḍanti* « they are now sporting the water sport » [Mii 171]; *nāgavilokitena vilokayanto* « looking with the look of a Nāga » [Miii 281]; *cf. upasadbhir upāsīdan* « besieged them with the sieges » [Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 3.4.4.4]; *kramair atyakramad vājī* « with strides the courser hath strode



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out » [Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.7.24]; *taē-ca naro sraēšta gaya jvainti* « these men live a happy life » [Vendidad 2.71].

(*c*) Instrumental with Verbs.—The verbs which are generally construed with the instrumental in Old Indo-Aryan are mostly construed periphrastically with *sārdham*, etc., no doubt for the instrumental becoming a purely sociative case. A very few instances, however, are found where the Old Indo-Aryan practice has been preserved intact. Thus: *devaparṣadaṃ gāthābhir abhyābhāsanta* « addressed the assembly of the gods with (these) verses » [L,S,M]; *cf. tasyāṃ velāyām iṃāṃ gāthām abhāṣata* « at that time he uttered this verse » [L 49]; *yasyepsitaṃ divyaiḥ sukhair hi ramituṃ satatam* « whose desire (is) to enjoy divine bliss always » [L 49]; *asau devatā bodhisattvaṃ divyaiḥ puṣpair abhyavakīrya tatraivāntardadhe* « then the god after having scattered divine flowers on Bodhisattva disappeared then and there » [L 141]; *gandhodakaiḥ snapayamānaḥ* « being sprinkled with fragrant water » [L 54(g)]; *kāścit prasravantyo lālābhiḥ* « some (women) were watering in their mouths; literally, were oozing with water of mouth » [L 251];* *ābhir bālāḥ krīḍanti* « with them (only) childs play » [L 253]; *ekaikaś ca bodhisattvo devaputraiś caivaṃ saṃjānīte sma* « each Bodhisattva was thus concoursing with the sons of gods » [L 361]; *āsanenopanimantrayate sma* « invited with a seat » [L 117]; *niṣparuṣeṇa tūryeṇa krīḍati ramate paricārayati* « plays, delights in, and sports with the sweet-sounding trumpets » [D 3]; *sarvo'yaṃ lokaḥ suvarṇasya śraddadhāti, na tu kaścin mama*

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* The instrumental here really represents an accusative: it is perhaps due to analogy with the roots *kir* 'to scatter,' *sic* 'to sprinkle,' *snā* 'to bathe,' etc., which generally govern the instrumental. It should also be remarked here that in Avesta and Old Persian the instrumental was sometimes used for the accusative [*vide* Hübschmann, Zur Casuslehre, pp. 263-66; Spiegel, Vergleichende Grammatik, pp. 428-29]; *e.g.*, *vīspao gaēthosca tanvaś-ca azdebīś.ca ustānaś-ca kehrpaś-ca tevīšīś-ca baodaś-ca urvānem-ca fravasīm-ca pairi-ca dademahī ā-ca vaēdayamahī* 'all creatures and bodies and bones and frames and forms and power and intellects and soul and Fravashi we both exalt and proclaim' [Yašt 55.1]. This idiom obtains in Old Slavic, Germanic, Gothic, Old Norse, Anglo-Saxon, Greek and Sanskrit. [*Vide* Delbrück, Vergleichende Syntax Bd. i., pp. 257-60; Audouin, Déclinaison dans les langues indo-européennes, pp. 19, 85-86].



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*śraddhayā gacchati* « all people believe in (the efficiency of) gold, and believe me not » [D 17]; *puṣpair abhyavakiranti sma* « scattered flowers (on him) » [S 69]; *kumārakāḥ...krīḍanaiḥ...krīḍanti ramanti paricārayanti* « the boys played, enjoyed and sported with toys » [S 72]; *devī nāvāyānchi prakrīḍitā* « the queen sported with boats » [Mi 217]; *devehi saṃgrāmenti* « fought with the gods » [Mi 30]; *jayena vardhāpitvā* « greeting him with (a benediction for) victory » [Mii 31]; *nandati putrehi putrināṃ* « the father delights in (his) sons » [Miii 417 (G)]; *mātare samāgacchatu* « let him be united with his mother » [Miii 131, 132]; *diṣṭyāsi mayā putrehi ca samaṅgībhūtā* « luckily you are joined with myself and two sons » [Miii 167]; *so ca kāśirājā kośalarājño jīvitena nandati* « that king of Kāśi will delight in (for taking) the life of the king of Kośala » [Miii 352]; *kathaṃ nāma upālikalpako hīnajātyo rājñā śuddhodanena bhāṣati* « how is it that the barber Upāli, a low-caste, talks with the king Śuddhodana ? » [Miii 181][1]; *saṃvibhajiṣyāmy ahaṃ rājyena* « I shall participate (my) kingdom (with him) » [Miii 207].

With *sārdhaṃ*: *bodhisattvena sārdhaṃ vispardhamānaḥ* vying with Bodhisattva » [L 174][2]; *mayaiva sārdham bodhisattvo saṃlapati* « Bodhisattva talks with me only » [L 78], see *supra*; *bhagavatā sārdhaṃ sammukhaṃ sammodanaṃ saṃrañjanīṃ vividhāṃ kathāṃ vyatisārya* « having talked face to face the various complimentary talks with the lord » [D 70]; *te taiḥ śatrubhiḥ sārdhaṃ yudhyanti* « they fight with these enemies » [S 289]; *tasya ca nāgarājño putro dharmapālena mānavakena sārdham prīṇayati kathāsamullāpena ramati* « the son of the king of the Nāgas made merry with the man Dharmapāla and delighted in conversation (with him) » [Mii 78]; *ete na samarthā sapta rājānaḥ kuśena sārdhaṃ saṃgrāmaṃ dātum* « these seven kings were not competent to give battle to Kuśa »

[1] *Cf. tam brāhmaṇaṃ jalpati* "talks to, or converses with the Brahman" [Mii 427].

[2] *Cf. viśvāmitra-jamadagnī vasiṣṭhenāspardhetām* "Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni had a quarrel with Vasiṣṭha [Taittirīya Saṃhitā, 3.1.7; 5.4.11].



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[Mii 486]; *agragaṇikāye sārdhaṃ vivadantam* « quarrelling with the prima hetaera » [Miii 37].

(*i*) Instrumental of Exchange: *jambudvīpena mūlyena śakyaṃ śrotuṃ subhāṣitam* « with the Jambudvīpa as the price a good saying can be heard » [Mi 94 (G)]; *krīṇanti putradāreṇa ekagāthāṃ subhāṣitām* « in exchange of the son and the wife they buy a good saying consisting of a single verse » [Mi 91 (G)]; *kiyatā mūlyena dīyate* « at how much price would it be given? » [D 31]; *tac cūrṇakasyārthaṃ kārṣāpaṇasahasreṇa vikrītaṃ vartate* « the right over the powder is sold at a thousand *kārṣāpaṇas* » [D 31].

(*d*) Instrumental with Nouns: the instrumental as construed with nouns can be divided into two classes—(a) the instrumental with nouns, the roots of which generally govern the instrumental, and (b) the instrumental denoting other oblique case relations.

(a) *apsarobhiḥ saṃvāsaḥ* « dwelling with the celestial nymphs » [L 41 (G)]; *kim mayā ṣārdhaṃ samāgamena* « what is (the good of) meeting me » [D 25]; *tena tṣāṃ vaṇijāṃ ratnaiḥ saṃvibhāgaḥ kṛtaḥ* « then by him was made the division of the jewels among the merchants » [D 43]; *rājñas te dravyeṇa prayojanam utpannam* « the king has requirement with your things » [D 33].

(b) *annapānena se chandaḥ notpadyate* « she finds no desire for food and drink » [Mii 459]; *tasyā dāni sarvehi tehi goṣṭhikehi putrasya premnakena putrapremnam* « for all these companions she had the affection for the son owing to her affection for (her) son » [Miii 375][1]; *tasyā kākiye rājabhojanena dohalako* « the hen-crow had a desire for (partaking of) the king's dish » [Miii 125].[2]

(c) In the Mahāvastu the compound noun *vinābhāva* « state of separation » has been often used for the regular postpositive adverb *vinā* « without »: *tato mayā vinābhāvo na te*

[1] The instrumental here denotes the sense of the locative. It might also be locative as in the Mahāvastu the affix *-hi* is often the sign of the locative.

[2] The instrumental has here been used for the locative.



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*jātu bhaviṣyati* « then may you never have separation from me » [Mii 141(G)]; *tena mṛgeṇa muhūrtam api vinābhāvo na bhavati* « there was no separation with the stag even for a moment » [Mii 234]. See *infra*, under *vinākṛta*.

(*c*) Instrumental with Adjectives (see *supra*, remarks on the Instrumental with Nouns): *kṣipram mā mahārāja putreṇa saṅginīṃ kuruṣva* « soon, O great King, make me a companion of (my) son » [L 290]; *sārdhaṃ daśabhiḥ strīsahasraiḥ parivṛtā* « attended by ten thousand ladies » [L 45]; *svadhanena tuṣṭā* « satisfied with her own wealth » [L 46(G)]; *asti tv asau kaścit sattvo yo mayā sadṛśaḥ śīlena ca samādhinā vā* « is there any such being who rivals me in merit and absorption (*samādhi*)? » [L 96]; *deva asti punar iha nagare kaścid yo mayā sārdhaṃ samarthaḥ śilpena śilpam upadarśayitum* « Sire, is there anybody in this city, who is able to compete with me in different arts and crafts? » [L 163]; *viviktaṃ kāmaiḥ* « devoid of desires » [L 439]; *anena sūtreṇa kiñcid anyat sūtraṃ samam asti* « is there any other *sūtra* equal to this *sūtra*? » [S 263]; *nā hi kiñcid samyaksambuddhānāṃ lokena samam* « nothing is equal to the world of the Perfectly Awakened Ones » [Mi 159]; *kuladharmeṇa saṃyuktaḥ* « attached to the family customs » [D 28]; *yo yenārthī bhavati hiraṇyena vā...* « whoever needs anything, whether gold or... » [D 116]; *nāhaṃ kāmair arthī* « I am not desirous of pleasures » [D 35]; *ahaṃ dhanenānarthī* « I am not desirous of wealth » [D 34]; *īdṛśena kṣānti-saurabhyena samanvāgatāḥ* « attended with such richness of toleration » [D 40]; *yady asau arthāt paribhraṣṭaḥ kiṃ prajñayāpi paribhraṣṭaḥ* « if he is bereft of money, is he also bereft of reason? » [D 31][1]; *yathā kṣetre ca vījena pratyakṣas tvaṃ iha dvija | evaṃ karmavipākeṣu pratyakṣā hi tathāgatāḥ ||* « as you, O Brahman, are discerning in field as well in the seed, so also are the *Tathāgatas* discerning in the maturing of *karma* » [D 71][2]; *śramaṇa-*

[1] *prajñayā* is ablative-instrumental; also note the use of *arthāt* in the same sentence.
[2] *vījena* is locative-instrumental; it might be the scribe's error for *vīje ca*.



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*brāhmaṇa-bhojanena vyagrā bhaviṣyati* « would be eager for feeding *Śramaṇas* and Brahmans » [D 88] ; *ahaṃ saṃgrāmehi aparājito* « I am invincible in battles » [Mii 70] ; *ahaṃ pi mahārāja akṣchi kuśalo* « I, too, O great King, am expert in dice » [Miii 169] ; *arthino vayam bhagavaṃs tathāgatajñāna-darśanena* « we are desirous, O Lord, of perceiving the intention of *Tathāgata* » [S 180].

(*i*) In the Buddhacarita the instrumental with *vinākṛta* occurs several times : 8.21; 8.37; 8.78; etc. [*Vide* I. H. Q., Vol. ii, p. 658].

(*ii*) One or two instances of comparative instrumental are found in Buddhistic Sanskrit : *atha ko hi dāni bho reṇu tena bhagavatā mahāgovindena anyo paṇḍitataro* « now, who is there, O Reṇu, wiser than his lordship Mahāgovinda? » [Miii 208]. This idiom obtains frequently in the epics; e.g., *mama prāṇaiḥ priyataraḥ* « dearer than my life » [Rāmāyaṇa]. It occurs also in Pali : *natthi bata bho loke rasataṇhāya pāpakataraṃ nāma* « there is nothing worse in earth than the desire for enjoyment » [Jātaka I ; p. 158].

(*f*) The instrumental denoting other case relations : the instrumental sometimes appears instead of other oblique cases, notably locative and ablative. Thus :—

(*i*) The instrumental denoting cause : this is a regular construction of the instrumental even in Old Indo-Aryan : *kaścid ānanda darśanenāpi priyo bhavati* « some one, O Ānanda, becomes dear even at sight » [L 102]. The ablative is a perfect equivalent of the causal instrumental, e.g., *kaścid ānanda darśanād eva priyo bhavati* « some one, O Ānanda, endears himself at sight » [L 102]. *kena kāraṇena* « with what cause, *i.e.*, why » [S, etc.].[1]

(*ii*) *sāpi devatā kāśikāye veṣeṇa teṣāṃ goṣṭhikānāṃ darśana-pathena dṣṣ atikramati* « she too, the deity, in the appearance of Kāśikā, come in view of the companions » [Miii 376];[2]

[1] The accusative also obtains here, e.g., *kiṃ kāraṇam* [why?] ; also the dative, e.g., *kasyārthāya* [why?] [D].

[2] *darśanapathena* = genitive-instrumental.



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*dvīhi kulehi...bodhisattvā jāyanti kṣatriyakule brāhmaṇakule* «in (either of) two castes are the Bodhisattvas born, in a Kṣatriya or in a Brahman family» [Mi 197].[1]

(*g*) The instrumental with adverbs, etc.:

(*i*) With the postpositive *vinā* «without»: *bodhisattvena vinā* «without the Bodhisattva» [L 150]; *na ca śakyate vinā nimittena puṇyaṃ kartum* «it is not possible to earn merit without a miracle» [D 59].

(*ii*) With the interjection *dhik* «fie!»: *dhik paṇḍitasya puruṣasya ratiprasaṅgaiḥ* «fie to the amorous relations of a wise man» [L 230(9)]. In classical Sanskrit it always governs the accusative; so also *dhiratthu* in Pali.

(*h*) Instrumentalis temporis. In Old Indo-Aryan the instrumental denoted the time occupied by an action up to its completion [Pāṇini 2.3.6; *cf.* Liebich, Bezzenbeeger's Beitraege, band XI, p. 297]. In Buddhistic Sanskrit, however, the instrumental is not restricted to this sense alone, it is freely used for the accusative or the locative of time.

(1) The instrumental of completed action: *tato' lpair ahobhis tad dhanaṃ parikṣayaṃ paryādānaṃ gatam* «then in course of a few days all that wealth was spent and gone» [D 100]; *na praṇaśyanti karmāṇi api kalpaśatair api* «the *karmas* do not perish even in course of hundreds of *kalpas*» [D 54].

(2) The instrumental for the accusative of time: *adhivāsayatu bhagavān āryamahākāśyapaṃ uddiśya bhaktaṃ saptāhena* «may your lordship accept food for a week with the reverend Mahākāśyapa» [D 85]; *sa yan māsena gacchati* «what (distance) he plies in a month» [D 103]; *tena khalu punaḥ samayena bhagavañ chrāvastīm mahānagarīm upaniḥśritya viharati sma*[2] «at that time the lord, resorting to the great city of Śrāvastī was roaming (there)» [L 2]; *athāpareṇa samayena* «now another time» [L 146]; *tena khalu samayena vārāṇasyāṃ dvau jāyāpatikau* «at that time (there lived) a Brahman couple in

[1] *kulehi* = locative-instrumental.

[2] The phrase *tena khalu punaḥ samayena* is a characteristic phrase of Buddhistic Sanskrit. It does not, however, occur in Aśvaghoṣa. It obtains in Pali.



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Benares ▸ [D 22]; *tena kālena tena samayena* ◂ at that time ▸ [D 74; Mi 45; etc.]; *yāvad apareṇa samayena vāsavasya rājñaḥ putro jāto ratnapratyuptayā śikhayā* ◂ then at other time the king Vāsava had a son born with the crest imbedded with a jewel ▸ [D 62]; *tena khalu punaḥ samayena* ◂ now at time ▸ [S 5]; *asaṃkhyeyaiḥ kalpaiḥ tataḥ pareṇa paratareṇa yad āsīt tena kālena tena samayena* ◂ during the innumerable *kalpas*... even at the time much earlier than that ▸ [S 156].

(3) The instrumental denoting the ablative of time: *atha khalu bhagavān tasyām eva rātryām atyayena tenopasaṃkrāmat* ◂ now the lord, after the dawning of that night, went there ▸ [L 6]; *daśānām māsānām atyayena* ◂ at the end of ten months ▸ [L 95]; *dvādaśabhir varṣair bodhisattvo mātuḥ kukṣim avakramiṣyati* ◂ twelve years hence will the Bodhisattva be conceived in his mother's womb ▸ [L 15]; *atha viṃśater varṣāṇām atyayena* ◂ now at the end of twenty years ▸ [S 107]; *ṣaḍbhir māsaiḥ kālaṃ karisyati* ◂ would die after six months ▸ [D 109].

(4) The instrumental denoting the locative of time: *tasminn eva kṣaṇalavamuhūrtena* ◂ in that very moment ▸ [L 18]; *cf. tasminn eva kṣaṇalavamuhūrte* ◂ in that very moment ▸ [L 19]; *paripūrṇehi daśahi māsehi sarve bodhisattvā mātuḥ kukṣau prādurbhavanti* ◂ in full ten months all the Bodhisattvas appear in their mothers' wombs ▸ [Mi 148].

(*i*) Instrumentalis spatii: like the temporal instrumental, the instrumental of space denotes various local case relations. Thus:

(a) *ānandena dvābhyāṃ krośābhyām bhery āhatābhūt* ◂ there Ānanda sounded the trumpet along two *krośas* ▸ [L 176]; *unmārgeṇa saṃprasthitāḥ* ◂ started along the wrong way ▸ [D 7]; *paścimaṃ diśaṃ sthalena gamyate* ◂ the western quarter can be approached by land ▸ [D 112]; *parvatasya dakṣiṇena pārśvenāṭavyāṃ sthalena saṃprasthitaḥ* ◂ by the southern side of the mountain he went by land through the forest ▸ [D 113]; *dvāreṇa nirdhāvitāḥ* ◂ ran through the door ▸ [S 81]; *sa eva mṛgo udakena gacchati* ◂ that stag was going along water ▸ [Mii 217].



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(b) The instrumental denoting the sense of the locative: *rājagṛhasya ardhayojanena kolitagrāmakaṃ nāma grāmam* 'there was a village named Kolitagrāmaka within half a *yojana* from Rajagṛha' [Miii 56]; *yena māgadhakānāṃ gayā tāṃ anusṛtya* 'going towards where there (was the city of) Gayā of the people of Magadha' [L 309]; *yenāsau plakṣo mahādrumaḥ* 'where (was) the great *plakṣa* tree' [L 94]; *sarveṇa javena prasṛtā yena sārthaḥ* 'sped towards where the caravan (was)' [D 94]; *yena daridravithī tatrāsmākam āhāracīvaram alpakṛcchreṇaiva utpatsyate* 'where there (is) the slum, there we can easily find food and clothing' [S 104]; *gaccha tvam bhoḥ puruṣa yenākāṃkṣasi* 'go, O man, wherever you wish' [S 105].

(c) The correlatives *yena...tena* 'where...there' is a remarkable feature of Buddhistic Sanskrit. It, however, does not occur in the writings of Aśvaghoṣa. It arose from the confusion of the instrumental and the locative. Thus: *yena bhagavān tenopasaṃkrāman* 'they went where the lord (was)' [L 4]; *yena bhagavān tenāñjalim praṇamya* 'having bowed with folded palms (in the direction) where the lord (was)' [L 6, 7; S 60; etc.]; *ākarṇād dhanuḥ pūrayitvā yenāyuṣmān pūrṇas tena pradhāvitaḥ* 'having drawn the (bow-string) up to the ear, he ran where the long-lived Pūrṇa (was)' [D 39]; *atha śroṇaḥ koṭikarṇo yenāyuṣmān mahākātyāyanas tenopasaṃkrāntaḥ* 'now Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa went where the long-lived Mahākātyāyana (was)' [D 15]; *yena tam makaramukhaṃ tena pradhāvitā* '(the ship) glided along where there (was) the mouth of the sea-monster' [Mi 245].

(j) Such a phrase as *kālena kālam* 'from time to time', etc., is a chief characteristic of Buddhistic Sanskrit. The instrumental generally denotes the sense of the locative or the ablative, while the accusative is either an object accusative or the accusative of time. The examples are interesting. Some instances have, however, arisen out of analogy.



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Thus ; (1) *kālena kālam* : *naitāḥ samarthā bodhisattvaṃ kālena kālam upasthātum* « they are not capable of entertaining the Bodhisattva from time to time » [L 114-15]; *āryaṃ ca mahākātyāyanaṃ kālena kālam piṇḍakena pratipādaya* « entertain the reverend Kātyāyana the great with food from time to time » [D 10, etc.]; *kālena ca kālaṃ vyavalokayiṣyanti* « they would look up from time to time » [S 225]; *kālena ca kālaṃ dharmam bhāṣate* « he talks *dharma* from time to time » [S 276].

(2) *cetasā cetaḥ* « from mind to mind » : *bhikṣuṇyāś cetasaiva cetaḥ parivitarkam ājñāya* « knowing from mind to mind the doubt of the *bhikṣuṇī* » [S 269, etc.].

(3) *vṛkṣeṇa vṛkṣam* « from tree to tree » : *māyā devī vṛkṣeṇa vṛkṣam paryaṭantī vanād vanaṃ caṅkramyamānā drumād drumaṃ nirīkṣamāṇā anupūrveṇa yenāsau plakṣo mahādrumaḥ..tam plakṣavṛkṣam upajagāma* « the queen Māyā, moving from tree to tree, roaming from bower to bower, looking at from tree to tree, gradually came where the great *plakṣa* tree (was), and approached the tree » [L 94].

(4) *śilpena śilpam* « from art to art » : *deva asti punar iha nagare kaścid yo mayā sārdhaṃ samarthaḥ śilpena śilpam upadarsitum* « sire, is there anybody in this city, who is able to compete with me from art or craft to art or craft (*i.e.*, in different arts or crafts) » [L 163].

(5) *varṇena varṇam* « from colour to colour » : *candrasūryāv evam...varṇenāpi varṇaṃ tejasāpi tejo nānubhavataḥ* « the sun and the moon do not thus excel from colour to colour, from brightness to brightness (*i.e.*, in different colours and degrees of brightness) » [S 163].

(6) *tejasā..tejaḥ* « from brightness to brightness » : see *supra*, (5).

(7) *dūreṇa dūram* « from distance to distance » : *tena bhikṣuṇā gṛhasthapravrajitānām antikād dūreṇa dūraṃ vihartavyam* « the *bhikṣu* should remain from distance to distance away from (both) the householders and the *pravrajitas* » [S 287].



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(8) *vaktreṇa vaktram* « lip to lip »: *kaṇṭhe so gṛhya mama prakāśaṃ vaktreṇa vaktram praṇidhāya śabdaṃ karoti* « taking me by the neck and putting (her) mouth to mine (she) made a sound » [Miii 149].

(*k*) Instrumental Absolute. One or two instances of the instrumental absolute are found in Old Indo-Aryan (in Vedic prose as well as in the classical Sanskrit). It arose out of the sociative instrumental. Some cases of the ablative absolute in Latin represent an original I.-E. instrumental absolute. In Buddhistic Sanskrit (not excluding the poems of Aśvaghoṣa) it is a standing idiom.

Thus: *śarīracittavyasanātapais tair evaṃvidhais taiś ca nipatyamānaiḥ nairāsanāc chākyamuniś cacāla* « notwithstanding those austerities of body and mind, and inspite of such (followers of Māra the tempter) assailing, the sage of the Śākya race did not move from his seat » [B 13.43]; *mahatā ca puṣpavarṣeṇābhipravarṣatā...kanyāśatasahasrāṇi sthitāny abhūvan* « a great shower of flowers having been showering the hundreds of thousands of girls stood (there) » [L 141]; *tayā gṛhītayā nāsya kāye śastraṃ kramiṣyati* « that being put on no missile would strike him » [D 113]; *sa bhagavān...samādhiṃ samāpanno'bhūt aniñjamānena kāyena sthitena* « the lord remained engrossed in ecstasy the body remaining calm » [S 19-20]; *lokadhātum āgacchati sma prakampadbhiḥ kṣetraiḥ pravarṣadbhiḥ padmaiḥ* « he was coming to the world while the ground was shaking and flowers were being showered » [S 428]; *tena āgatena...vyādhiḥ praśāmyati* « when he is come the epidemic will cease » [Mi 257]; *yatra maitreyeṇa bodhisattvena prathamaṃ kuśalamūlāni avaropitāni rājñā vairocanena cakravartibhūtena āyatiṃ sambodhim prārthayamānena* « where Maitreya the Bodhisattva first implanted the roots of happiness, Vairocana, in the state of the emperor, wishing for the coming awakening » [Mi 59]; *yuṣmehi vinītchi mahājanakāyo vinayam āgamiṣyati* « you being educated a great many people will come in for enlightenment » [Mi 198]; *kiṃ nu khalu mayi parinirvṛte imehi ca śrāvakehi parinirvṛtehi*



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*ito kettakasya kālasya buddho bhagavān loke upapadiṣyati* « I and all these *śrāvakas* being extinguished, when from this time is the lord Buddha going to be born in the world? » [Mi 50]; *uparuddhena kumāreṇa gṛhaṃ niḥśreyaṃ saṃvṛttaṃ sarvā lakṣmī antarahitā* « the prince being imprisoned the palace became luckless and the entire fortune disappeared » [Mii 101]; *yāṃ tvaṃ sālchi phullchi śyāmāṃ kauśeyavāsinīm | gāḍham aṅkena pīḍesi sā te kauśalyaṃ pṛcchati ||* « when the Śāla trees blossomed, Śyāmā, wearing silken garment, whom you tightly pressed in your lap, now asks about your welfare » [Mii 175]; *te dāni tena yānapātreṇa vipannena devadevāṃ namasyanti* « the ship having foundered they then prayed to the gods » [Miii 68]; *tena pītena asya smṛtir utpadyate* « it being drunk his memory will revive ». [Miii 173].

## THE DATIVE.

The Dative was a living case in the earlier period of Old Indo-Aryan, but its use was much restricted as it is chiefly a personal case. In course of gradual development of Indo-Aryan the dative began to be merged in the genitive; the culmination of this process is to be found in the Prakrits where the dative, as a distinct case, was unknown. In Buddhistic Sanskrit also this decline is quite apparent. In the works of Aśvaghoṣa we find a few instances where the dative has been replaced by the genitive; and this process goes on till we come to the Mahāvastu where the instances with the dative hardly exceeds a score.

### (*a*) The Dative with Verbs.

(*i*) Verbs meaning « to speak, to call, » etc. In the Buddhacarita this is the normal construction, but two instances occur where the genitive replaces the dative. In the Lalitavistara: *ete bodhisattvā ebhyo devaputrebhyo bhāṣante* « these Bodhisattvas speak to these sons of gods » [38]; *rājā bodhisattvāya tām prakṛtim ārocayati* « the king imparted that information to the Bodhisattva » [163]; in the Divyāvadāna;



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*tayā mātāpitṛbhyām ārocitam* « by her it was imparted to (her) parents » [17]; *maghāya...ārocayati* « he informs Magha » [111]; *tataḥ...supriyāya kathayati* « then he speaks to Supriya » [112]; *punar anyasmā ācakṣīta* « he should speak to another » [S 346].

(*ii*) With verbs meaning "to give": *na tāvac chramaṇa-brāhmaṇebhyo 'nudadāmi* « I will not give (it) to Śramaṇas or Brahmins » [D 88]; *amukayā...bhagavate śaktubhikṣā pradāpitā* « by so-and-so (woman) charity of gruel was made to the lord » [D 70]; *sarvam asmai puruṣāya niryātayāmi* « all I shall make over to this man » [S 108]; *sa ca maṇis tayā...bhagavate dattaḥ* « the jewel was given by her to the lord » [S 264]; *bodhisattvāya sādhukāram adāt* « he gave thanks to the Bodhisattva » [S 397].

(*iii*) With other verbs: *katamām bho upādhyāya lipim me śikṣayiṣyasi* « what alphabet, O teacher, would you teach me? » [L 143]; *tasmai pratiśrutya* « having promised to him » [S 105]; *tathāgatas tasmai dharmaṃ deśayati* « the Tathāgata explained *dharma* to him » [S 137]; *imaṃ sūtrāntam...parebhyaḥ...vistareṇa samprakāśayiṣyanti* « they would reveal this *sūtrānta* in detail to others » [S 375].

(*b*) The Dative with substantives and adjectives: *na cānyasmai gandhāya spṛhām utpādayām-āsuḥ* « did not have any liking for any other smell » [L 479]; *namas tasmāy ācāryāya pūrṇāya* « homage to that master Pūrṇa » [D 42]; cf. *ārogyaṃ jyeṣṭhabhavikāyā bhavatu* « freedom from diseases be to the wife of the elder brother! » [D 28]. *Kaścid eva vaidyapuruṣo bhavet.. sukuśalaḥ sarvavyādhipraśamanāya* « if there be a physician competent for curing all kinds of diseases » [S 320]; *apratikūlo śravaṇāya* « not disagreeable to hear » [Mi 194]; *kuśalam adhiṣṭhānāya bhavatu* « welfare be to the place » [D 76].

(*i*) The Genitive-Dative: *akālaṃ te śroṇa praśnavyākaraṇāya* « untimely it is, O Śroṇa, for discussing your questions » [D 21]; *ko bhadanta hetuḥ kaḥ pratyayo dvayo ratnayor yugapal loke prādurbhāvāya* « what is the cause and the reason, O master, for the simultaneous appearance of the two gems? » [D 62]; *ko bhagavaṃ hetuḥ kaḥ pratyayo smitasya prāduṣ-*



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*karaṇāya* « what is the cause, O Lord, what is the reason for showing the smile » [Miii 139]; *samayo vā me agnihotraṃ juhanāya* « it is the time for my offering the Agnihotra (oblations) » [Miii 161].

(*c*) The Dative with the adverb : in the Divyāvadāna the adverb *yāvat* has been construed with the dative : *na cāsyā amanojñaśabdaśravaṇaṃ yāvad garbhasya paripākāya* « no hearing of unpleasant sounds for her until the maturing of the embryo » [D 2 ; 99].

(*d*) Dativus finalis : *tad bhaviṣyati bahujanahitāya* « it would be for the good of many » [L 7]; *āvilacittaprasādanatāyai saṃvartate* « it serves for pacification of disturbed mind » [L 34]; *upasevata varadharmaśravaṇāya* « approach for hearing the supreme *dharma* (law) » [L 42(*g*)]; *bodhāya kṛtaniścayaḥ* « (one) with resolution made for (attaining) knowledge » [L 25]; *bodhisattvasya darśanāya vandanāya paryupāsanāya ca dharmaśravaṇāya cāgacchanti sma* « they came for visiting, worshipping and sitting round the Bodhisattva and for hearing *dharma* as well » [L 78]; *abhiniṣkramiṣyate pravrajyāyai* « would leave home for mendicancy » [L 115]; *alpāhāratāyai pratipadyeyam* « I shall resort to eating little » [L 320]; *śrāvastīm piṇḍāya prāvikṣat* « entered Śrāvastī for (begging) food » [D 39]; *śrāvastīm piṇḍāya caritvā* « having wandered in Śrāvastī for food » [D 39]; *yadi tāvac chroṇaḥ koṭikarṇaḥ jīvati laghu āgamanāya kṣipram āgamanāya* « if, indeed, Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa lives for coming back soon » [D 6]; *teṣāṃ tad bhaviṣyati dīgharātram arthāya hitāya sukhāya* « for long time it would be for their prosperity, welfare and happiness » [S 37]; *ye ca...mantrā vā agadā vā sattvānām upakārāye kalpenti* « those incantations and herbs which conduce to the welfare of creatures » [Mi 134-35]; *na cāyaṃ tasya rāmasya dharmo niryāti tatkarasya samyakduḥkhakṣayāya* « this *dharma* of Rāma does not suffice for removing totally the pain of one practising it » [Mii 120]; *atha bodhisattvo...piṇḍāya caritvā* « now the Bodhisattva having wandered...for (begging) food » [Mii 207]; *mā ca samudram avatāraṇāya cittaṃ karotha* « do



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not make thy mind for plying the sea » [Miii 73]; *durāsado bhavati puruṣasya upasaṃkramaṇāya* « it becomes unattainable for a man to approach » [Miii 104].

(*e*) Dativus commodi : *sā ca rājñā...bodhisattvāya vṛtābhūt* « she was chosen by the king for the Bodhisattva » [L 179]. This is the only instance I have noted.

(*f*) Dativus causalis : the following is the only instance that has been noted : *sattvā āyuḥkṣayāya ābhāsvarād devanikāyato cyavitvā* « creatures having fallen from the shining body of gods for loss of the span of life » [Mi 52].

## THE ABLATIVE.

The Ablative has been very little used in Buddhistic Sanskrit. This is due to the fact that the sense of the ablative is generally expressed periphrastically, and that very often the instrumental is the substitute for the ablative. Those verbs which were construed with the ablative in Old Indo-Aryan are mostly construed in Buddhistic Sanskrit with the genitive *plus* the ablative adverb *antikāt*.

(*a*) The Ablative with verbs : *bhavantaḥ...paścimabodhisattvasyāntikād dharmaśravaṇaṃ śroṣyatha* « you would hear the lecture on *dharma* from the future Bodhisattva » [L 32]; *iti hi rājā...brāhmaṇebhyaḥ...pratiśrutya* « the king having heard this from the Brahmins » [L 66][see p. 27 *supra*] ; *mamāntikād... abhayam pratiyācante sma* « they were begging protection from me » [L 103]; *jīvitād vyaparopitaḥ* « deprived of life » [L 281] ; *evaṃ bhagavatā sārthaś caurasahasrāt pratimokṣitaḥ* « thus the caravan was saved by the lord from the thousand thieves » [D 94]; *caurasahasrasakāśāt sārtho niṣkrītaḥ* « the caravan was ransomed from the thousand thieves » [D 94]; *pūrṇasyāntikād vikrīya* « having bought it from Pûrṇa » [D 33]; *bhagavato 'ntikād dharmaṃ śṛṇoti sma* « he was listening *dharma* from the lord » [S 21]; *meghasya māṇavasya sakāśāto buddhaśabdaṃ suṇitvā* « having heard the word 'Buddha' from the young man Megha » [Mi 243]; *aṅgaṇo gṛhapati mamato aprcāhitva...bhagavato sakāśam*



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*upasaṅkrānto* ◂ the householder Aṅgaṇa, without asking me, approached the lord ▸ [Mii 272]; *kiṃ nu khalu imā striyo asmākaṃ nagarasya dakṣiṇato mārgāto vārenti* ◂ why do these women forbid us (approaching) the southern section of the town? ▸ [Miii 71]; *yāvajjīvam prāṇātipātāt prativiramiṣyam* ◂ I shall forbear from taking life all through (my life) ▸ [Miii 268]; *parebhyo nāpi vivyathe* ◂ he did not suffer at the hands of others ▸ [Saundarananda 2.2].

(*b*) The Ablative with past-participles in *-ta* (used as adjectives) : *śaraṇyebhyas tapasvibhyo vinayaṃ śikṣitā iva* ◂ they learnt good behaviour, as it were, from the hermits who (always) offer protection ▸ [Saundarananda 1.13]; *caurasakāśāt sārthaḥ paritrātaḥ* ◂ the caravan was saved from the thousand thieves ▸ [D 101]; *yady asau arthāt paribhraṣṭaḥ kim prajñayāpi paribhraṣṭaḥ* ◂ if he is bereft of wealth, is he also bereft of (his) wisdom ▸ [D 31]; *ahituṇḍikāto hastāto yatnāt krītaṃ subhāṣitaṃ* ◂ the maxim brought eagerly from the hand (of) an Ahituṇḍika ▸ [Mi 92(G)]; *ahaṃ strīratnāto bhraṣṭo* ◂ I am bereft of that jewel of a woman ▸ [Miii 167].

(*c*) The Ablative with nouns and adjectives : *pramocakaḥ sarvaduḥkhebhyaḥ* ◂ he who frees (one) from all pains ▸ [L 448]; *vahirmukhaḥ saṃsārāt* ◂ disinclined to the world ▸ [D 1-2]; *sarvabhayebhyo vimocakaḥ* ◂ the reliever from all fears ▸ [S 417]; *asādhāraṇāni pratyekabuddhebhyaḥ* ◂ peculiar to the Pratyekabuddhas ▸ [Mi 158].

(*d*) The Ablative with adverbs : *na ca kaścit tam padmam paśyati sma anyatra sārathinarottamād daśaśatasahasrikācca mahābrahmaṇaḥ* ◂ no one saw that lotus except that best charioteer of men and the great Brahman of ten-hundred-thousands (words) ▸ [L 73]; *anyatra vṛkṣāgrāt* ◂ except in the tree-top ▸ [D 107]; *na...so asti sattvo...yo caramāṃ jātiṃ...bodhisattvaṃ vyākartum anyatra śuddhāvāsebhyaḥ devebhyaḥ* ◂ there is no creature, other than the gods of pure habitation, to explain the last birth to the Bodhisattva ▸ [Mi 150]. The ablative with *prabhṛti* occurs several times in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka and in the Mahāvastu, *e.g.*, *yataḥ prabhṛti* ◂ whenceforth ▸ [S 317; Mi 153].



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(*i*) The Ablative with *saha* « with » is found in a causal sense in the Lalitavistara as well as in the Divyāvadāna (in the latter it being often written as a compound). This is due to the fact that in Buddhistic Sanskrit the ablative has very often been confused with the instrumental. Thus : *ye ca kecit...gandharvāsuragaruḍabhūtāviṣṭāḥ...te sarve bodhisattvamātuḥ saha darśanād eva svasthā...bhavanti* « those who were ridden by a *gandharva* or an *asura* or a *garuḍa* or a demon would at once come to themselves simultaneously with the sight of the mother of the Bodhisattva » [L 81]; *māyā devī tṛṇagulmakam api... glānebhyaḥ sattvebhyo 'nuprayacchati sma te saha pratilambhād aroganirvikārā bhavanti sma* « the queen Māyā gave even a straw or a bit of grass to the suffering creatures, (and) simultaneously with getting it they became cured » [L 71]; *saha darśanād asyā etad abhavat* « simultaneous with (her) seeing, it occurred to her » [D 67]; *sahadarśanāc cānena bhagavato 'ntike cittam abhiprasāditam* « with the sight their heart inclined towards the lord » [D 49]; *sahaśravaṇād eva dhanasammatasya rājño 'marṣa utpannaḥ* « on hearing it the king Dhanasammata became angry » [D 62].

(*e*) The Ablative of comparison : *paśyāmi kim mamāntikād abhirūpatara āhosvin na iti* « I (shall) see whether (he is) more beautiful than I or not » [D 75].

(*i*) The following instances are interesting inasmuch as the regular comparative adjectives are either absent or totally suppressed : *dharmasya tasyāśravaṇād ahaṃ hi manye vipattiṃ tridive 'pi vāsaḥ* « I think that living in heaven is worse than hearing that *dharma* » [B 1.82]; *paramahilā dahanato'py amanyata* « he thought of other's women as (fiercer) than fire itself » [Saundarananda 3.32].

(*ii*) The ablative sometimes appears for the genitive in superlative constructions : *śraddhādhanaṃ śreṣṭhatamaṃ dhanebhyaḥ prajñārasas tṛptikaro rasebhyaḥ | pradhānam adhyātmasukhaṃ sukhebhyo 'vidyāratir duḥkhatamā ratibhyaḥ ||* « the wealth of reverence is the best of wealths; the *rasa* of intellect



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is the (most) palatable of the *rasas*; of all (kinds of) happiness that of spirituality is the chiefest; (and) of all attachments that of wrong outlook (*avidyā*) is the most painful » [Saundarananda 5.24]; *tebhyo ye udāratamā devaputrāḥ* « of them the most exalted sons of gods » [L 52].

(*f*) The Causal Ablative : the causal ablative is of rare occurrence in Buddhistic Sanskrit : *kasmād hetoḥ* « from what cause, *i.e.*, why? » [D, S, etc.]; *teṣām alābhāt saṃtapyatha* « you pine for not attaining them » [S 74]; *atha...so vaidehako brāhmaṇarājā āyuḥkṣayāc ca karmakṣayāc ca kālam akārṣī* « now that Brahmin king of Videha died on account of the loss of his span of life as well as the loss of *karma* » [Miii 172].

(*g*) The Temporal Ablative : the ablative of time generally denotes that some action has taken place after some other event or after the loss of some time : *caturṇām māsānām atyayāt* « at the end of four months » [L 114]; *ṣaṣṭhānāṃ vā navānāṃ vā māsānām atyayāt prasūtā* « she was delivered (of the child) at the expiry of eight or nine or ten months » [D 2]; *māsānām atyayāt prasūtā* [D 99]; *ṣaṣṭhyantarakalpānām atyayāt* « at the end of six *kalpas* » [S 21].

(*i*) In the following instances the ablative carries the sense of the temporal instrumental : *tūryāṇi...pravādayāmāsur yāvat tasya bhagavato mahāparinirvāṇasamayāt* « they sounded the trumpets till the time of the lord's great extinction » [S 160]; *tena aṣṭacatvāriṃśadvarṣāt kumāram brahmacaryaṃ cīrṇaṃ vedā ca adhītā* « by him was practised the celibate studentship up to (his) forty-eighth year and the Vedas were learnt » [Mii 209].

## THE GENITIVE.

In Buddhistic Sanskrit the genitive is the most living of the oblique cases. All the oblique cases, in fact, are often replaced by the genitive. The dative is, as a rule, replaced by the genitive. But it should be noted that the partitive genitive and the genitive with particular verbs, which is found in earliest Indo-Aryan is almost totally absent in Buddhistic Sanskrit.



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(a) The genitive with verbs which governed other oblique cases in Old Indo-Aryan.

(i) The Accusative-Genitive. In the Saundarananda—— *anucakrur vanasthasya dauṣmanter devakarmaṇaḥ* « emulated the son of Duṣmanta, of godly deeds and living in forest » [36]. In the Lalitavistara : *na kasya cit sattvasya rogo bādhate sma* « the disease does not attack any one » [59]; *kṣudhā pipāsā... naiva tasya bāḍhate* « hunger and thirst do not oppress him » [85 (G)]; *kasya ca karmaṇo vipākena sa ojovindur bodhisattvasyopatiṣṭhate sma* « for the fulfilment of what deed did that drop of vitality accrue to the Bodhisattva » [74]; *jātasya tasya guṇasāgarasya jñātvā* « knowing Guṇasāgara to be born » [129 (G)]. In the Divyāvadāna : *tvam apy asmākam utprāsayasi* « you too mock us » [17]; *uttare ca paripṛcchanti sūtrasya vinayasya mātṛkāyāḥ* « the others ask about the Sūtra, the Vinaya or the alphabet » [18]; *bhagavāṃs ta ārogyayati* « the lord greets you » [129]. In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka : *yathā mama pratibhāti* « as it appears to me » [17][1]; *sthāpayitvā tathāgatasya* « leaving the Tathāgata aside » [43]; *sa cet...sattvā nadībhir uhyamānā avalokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasya...ākrandaṃ kuryuḥ* « if the creatures being carried away by the river (current) cry the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (for help) » [139]; *śeṣāḥ punaḥ stūpā mamoddiśya kartavyāḥ* « the rest of the *stūpas* should be built for me » [241]; *cf.* D. 99; *yad vayam api tathāgatasyānuśikṣemahi* « as we too would learn after the Tathāgata » [180]; *dharmarājā teṣām aryāṇāṃ yodhānāṃ yudhyatāṃ dṛṣṭvā* « the pious king seeing the noble combatants fighting » [290]; *puṣpavarṣaṃ tasya bhagavato bodhimaṇḍe niṣaṇṇasyāvyucchinnam pravarṣayanti* « (they) showered a shower of flowers to the lord sitting on the *bodhi* seat » [159]; *nāham āyuṣmanto yuṣmākam paribhavāmi* « I, O long-lived ones, cannot vanquish you » [378]; *asmākam bhagavān adhyeṣati* « the lord seeks us » [270]. In the Mahāvastu : *tatra teṣāṃ nairayikānāṃ nirayapālā āyudhahastā ud-*

[1] *Bubhukṣitaṃ na pratibhāti kiñcit* " nothing appeals to the hungry " [Mahābhāṣya].



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*deśenti* « there the guards of the hell hunt those condemned to the hell » [i 21]; *kasya dāni...yūyam pratyudgacchatha* « whom do you welcome now » [i 23]; *bhikṣūṇām āmantreti* « invites the Bhikṣus » [i 262]; *rājño śreṇiyasya...dharmayā kathayā saṃdarśayitvā* « having educated the king Śreṇiya with religious talks » [i 261]; *aham āryasya nimantremi* « I invite your reverence » [i 302]; *te dāni śākyā ṛṣikumārāṇām pṛcchati* « the Śākyas now ask the sons of the sages » [i 355]; *mātāpitṝṇām abhivādetvā* « having greeted the parents » [i 354]; *tasya dhārmiko'ti kṛtvā* « taking him to be a pious man » [iii 349]; *mama uddiśya āgato* « come with reference to me » [iii 361]; *mama jīvitād vyaparopayitvā* « having divorced me from life » [ii 64]; *tasyāpi na icchati* « desires him not » [ii 69]; *eṣā mama evābhikāṃkṣati* « she wants me » [ii 69][1]; *śuddhodanasya pratihāretha* « inform Śuddhodana » [ii 31]; *teṣāṃ sarveṣām pṛṣṭhato kṛtvā* « leaving them all behind » [ii 69]; *vyāghrī..catuṣpadānām pratipāleti* « the tigress waited for the beasts » [ii 69]; *bhadre mama patiṃ varehi* « madam, choose me as the husband » [ii 70]; *mama gṛhṇāhi* « accept me » [ii 70]; *brahmāyuṣya upasaṃkramitvā* « having approached Brahmāyu » [ii 78]; *nidhyāyati rājakanyānām* « thinks of the princesses » [ii 147]; *yaśodharā...kumārasya allīnā* « Yaśodharā approached the prince » [ii 48]; *sudhanukumāro rājño sucandrimasya pṛcchati* « the prince Sudhanu asked the king Sucandrima » [ii 98]; *mama mārgamāno* « seeking me » [ii 102]; *so tava...kinnaranagaraṃ neṣyati* « he would take you to the city of the *kinnaras* » [ii 108]; *mātāpitṝṇām praṇipatitvā* « having bowed to the parents » [ii 110]; *kācit parasparasyaupagṛhya* « some having embraced each other » [ii 159]; *brāhmaṇasya vā putrasya vā ko viveṣyati* « who shall take care of the Brahman or the son » [ii 209]; *paramagauraveṇa teṣām mātāpitṝṇām upathihati* « served the parents with great care » [ii 211][2]; *sa teṣāṃ śakuntakānām parirakṣati* « he protected those birds » [ii 251];

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[1] *Cf. bodhisattvam evābhikāṃkṣati* "desired only the Bodhisattva" [ii 69].

[2] *Cf. mātāpitaram upathihati* "serves the parents" [ii 212].



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*eṣā...mama pralobheti* « she tempts me » [iii 152]; *mā yūyam... mama abhivādetha* « do not salute me » [iii 173]; *rājño subandhusya jayena vardhāpetvā* « having benedicted the king Subandhu with victory » [iii 421].

(*ii*) The Dative-Genitive. In the Buddhacarita : *babhramur darśayantyo'sya śroṇīs tanvaṃśukāvṛtāḥ* « they wandered showing him their hips clothed with fine linen » [4.34]; *tad bravīmi suhṛdbhūtvā taruṇasya vapuṣmataḥ* « so, being a friend I say to (you), a handsome youth » [1.82]. In the Lalitavistara : *brāhmaṇānām avocat* « spoke to the Brahmans » ; [65 (G)]; *vada mama śīghram* « tell me soon » [90 (G)]; *tāṃ kumārasya varayiṣyāmi* « I shall choose her for the prince » [161][1]; *yā te duhitā sā mama kumārasya pradīyatām* « give her, who is your daughter, to my son » [163]; *ayam...yuṣmākaṃ dharmaṃ deśayiṣyati* « he will explain the *dharma* to you » [43]; *śilpajñasya kanyā dātavyā* « the girl should be given to an expert in the arts and crafts » [163][2]; *bodhisattvasya upanāyati sma* « brought to the Bodhisattva » [73]; *tac cāsya na rocate* « it did not please him » [308]; *bodhisattvo...rājñaḥ śuddhodanasya svapnam upadarśayati sma* « the Bodhisattva caused the king Śuddhodana dream a dream » [224]; *abhipravedya mahārājasya śuddhodanasya* « informing the great king Śuddhodana » [241]; *sā...rājñaḥ śuddhodanasya dūtam preṣayati sma* « she sent a messenger to the king Śuddhodana » [62]; *rājñaḥ śuddhodanasya nivedaya* « impart (it) to the king Śuddhodana » [116]; *asitasya maharṣeḥ pratiśrutya* « having acquiesced to the great sage Asita » [117]; *tāvāt kumārasya katamā...kanyā rocate* « which of the girls appeals to the prince? » [156]; *te...kumārasyaināṃ prakṛtim ārocayanti sma* « they informed this matter to the prince » [156]; *tāṃ kanyām asmākam prativedaya* « let me know (the particulars of) the girl » [159]. In the Divyāvadāna : *sarvo'yaṃ lokaḥ suvarṇasya śraddadhāti* « all people believe in gold » [17]; *anekais teṣām ārocitam* « it was informed

[1] ' Dativus commodi ' replaced by the genitive.

[2] *Cf. karmaśilpajñāya kanyāṃ dāsyāmi* [ibid].



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to them by many ▸ [17]; *tata āyuṣmān pūrṇo bhrātuḥ kathayati* ◂ then the long-lived Pūrṇa said to (his) brother ▸ [42]; *eṣāṃ vaṇijāṃ ratnavibhājāṃ kuru* ◂ divide the jewels among these merchants ▸ [12]; *tena tasyāḥ pratijñātam* ◂ by him it was promised to her ▸ [15]; *tasya bhaiṣajyaṃ vyapadiśa* ◂ prescribe a medicine for him ▸ [25]; *ānando bhagavataḥ pratyaśrauṣīt* ◂ Ānanda agreed with the lord ▸ [76]; *bhikṣūṇām...upadarśayet* ◂ should show to the Bhikṣus ▸ [77]; *pakvam ādāyāgatya dampatyor upanāmitavān* ◂ taking cooked (food) brought (it) before the husband and wife ▸ [31]; *caurāṇāṃ nivedayati* ◂ addressed the thieves ▸ [101]; *taiḥ pūrṇasya dūtaḥ preṣitaḥ* ◂ by them a messenger was sent to Pūrṇa ▸ [33]; *iasya tāv abhisāraṃ dattvā* ◂ having given to him the two as the present ▸ [6]; *tau na kasyacit punar api śraddadhātum ārabdhau* ◂ they (two) began not to trust anybody ▸ [6]; *kim asya praharāmi* ◂ what shall I dart against him ▸ [40][1]; *gacchānanda tathāgatasya śroṇyasya ca...mañjam prajñapaya* ◂ go, Ānanda, and show the seat to the Tathāgata and Śroṇya ▸ [20]; *kas te śraddhāsyati* ◂ who would believe you? [70]; *atha maghaḥ...supriyasya...kathayati* ◂ then Magha spoke to Supriya ▸ [111]; *bubhukṣitā vayam asmākam anuprayaccha* ◂ we are hungry: give us (food) ▸ [12]; *ekasya kṣiptam* ◂ hurled at one ▸ [12][1]; *tvam asmākaṃ tṛṣārtānām pānīyam anuprayaccha* ◂ do thou give drink to us smitten with thirst ▸ [7]; *tāny ahaṃ snuṣāyāḥ samarpayāmi* ◂ those I hand over to the daughter-in-law ▸ [13]; *ahaṃ teṣāṃ jñātīnāṃ samādiśāmi* ◂ I shall direct to those kinsmen ▸ [13]; *evam āryeti dauvārikaḥ puruṣaḥ anāthapiṇḍadasya gṛhapateḥ pratyaśrauṣīt* ◂ the man at the gate agreed to the householder Anāthapiṇḍada, (saying), 'yes sir' ▸ [81]; *maitreyo 'pi...teṣām māṇavakānām anupradāsyati* ◂ Maitreya also shall give to those men ▸ [61].[2] In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka: *sādhu bhagavann ity āyuṣmāñ śāriputro bhagavataḥ prātyaśrauṣīt* ◂ 'Right, O Lord'!—thus

[1] In the Vedic *pra-hṛ* was construed with the dativus incommodi, but in classical Sanskrit it was construed with the locative; so also *kṣip*.

[2] *Cf. maitreyāya...anupradāsyati* [ibid].



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did the long-lived Śāriputra agree to the lord » [39]; *sattvānāṃ dharmaṃ deśayāmi* « I would teach *dharma* to the creatures » [40]; *gorathakān eva dārakasya dadyāt* « he should give only bullock carts to the boy » [73]; *evaṃ caiṣāṃ vadati* « thus speaks to them » [79]; *te tathāgatasya lokapitur abhiśraddadhati* « they believe in the Tathāgata the father of the world » [80]; *na kasyacit sattvasya...parinirvāṇaṃ vadati* « does not speak of the extinction to any creature » [81]; *tathāgataś cāsmākam evaṃ vadati* « the Tathāgata thus speaks to us » [108]; *na kasyacid ācakṣet* « should not divulge to any one » [102; 105]; *sarvasattvānāṃ dharmam upadarśayitum* « to teach *dharma* to all beings » [82]; *nāhaṃ yuṣmākaṃ kiñcid aparādhyam* « I have committed no offence against you » [104]; *taṃ daridrapuruṣam ānāyya mahato jñātisaṅghasyopanāmayitvā* « having brought that poor man, produced him before the great (assembly of) kinsmen » [108]; *atha khalu ta ṛṣayas tasya puruṣasyaivaṃ kathayeyuḥ* « now the sages would thus talk to that man » [1: 5]; *sa ca jātyandhas teṣām puruṣāṇāṃ na śraddadhyāt* « he, the born-blind, would not believe those men » [133]; *nadyas teṣāṃ gādhaṃ dadyuḥ* « the rivers would offer fordability to them » [439]; *sarve'sya...krudhyanti* « all are angry with him » [378]; *na ca krudhyanti* « do not take offence » [379]; *ye cāsyaivaṃ...loṣṭraṃ vā daṇḍaṃ vā kṣipanti* « those who hurl a stone or a stick at him » [379]; *buddhānām bhagavatāṃ namaskāraṃ kuryāt* « should pay homage to the lord Buddha » [442]; *tāni brāhmāṇi vimānāni tasya bhagavato niryātayāmāsuḥ* « they offered those Brāhma dirigibles to the lord » [165]; *teṣām evaṃ kathayati* « thus speaks to them » [189]; *imaṃ dharmaparyāyam pareṣāṃ saṃśrāvayamānaḥ* « lecturing that series of *dharma* to others » [355]; *teṣām...ārocayet* « should let them know » [322]; *taṃ dharmam...kasyacid ācakṣīta* « that *dharma* should be imparted to any one » [345]. In the Mahāvastu : *megho... tāni pañcotpalāni bhagavato dīpaṃkarasya kṣipi* « Megha threw those five lotuses at the lord Dīpaṃkara » [i 238]; *tena aparāṇi pañca purāṇaśatāni preṣitāni ācāryasya* « he sent another five hundred *purāṇas* (gold coins) to the master » [i 243]; *namo*



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*buddhasya* « homage be to the Buddha » [i 245]; *adāsi uttiyo śreṣṭhī abhiyasya bhikṣusya prabhūtaṃ hiraṇyam* « Uttiya, the merchant, gave much gold to the *bhikṣu* Abhiya » [i 57]; *pareṣāṃ ca deśayanti* « lecture to others » [i 46]; *prāsādaṃ kārayitvā...samyaksambuddhasya niryātesi* « having built a palace dedicated (it) to the Perfectly Awakened One » [i 49]; *sa rājā kuśasya dutām apreṣaye* « the king sent a messenger to Kuśa » [i 128]; *mantrāṃś ca vedaṃś ca brāhmaṇānāṃ vācenti* « taught the *mantras* and the *vedas* to Brahmans » [i 197]; *atha tomaro lecchavigaṇasya pratiśrutvā* « now Tomara having promised to the Licchavis » [i 255]; *evam...rājā śreṇiyo bimbisāro tomarasya lecchavisya jalpati* « thus the king Śreṇiya Bimbisāra spoke to Tomara the Licchavi » [i 257]; *pātraṃ grāmikasya darśayati* « shows the pot to the villager » [i 301]; *aham pitari brāhmaṇānām parityaktā* « I have been given over to the Brahmans by the father » [i 311]; *tehi tesām brāhmaṇānāṃ sandiṣṭam* « they told those Brahmans » [i 313]; *esā na asmākam mālinī aparādhyati* « she, Mālinī, does not offend us » [i 313]; *dūtehi rājño śuddhodanasya niveditam* « the messengers informed the king Śuddhodana » [i 356]; *tasya yuthapatisya praṇipatitā* « she bowed low to the leader of the herd » [i 362]; *na kasyaci aparādhyanti* » they commit no offence against anybody » [i 364]; *sarvamṛgāṇāṃ ca abhayaṃ dehi* « offer protection to all the deer » [i 365]; *bhagavatā kumārabhūtena kanyānām alaṃkarām pi viśrāṇantena yaśodharāye śatasahasramūlyaṃ hāraṃ dinnam* « when the lord, being a youth, (was) presenting trinkets to girls, he gave Yaśodharā a necklace worth a hundred thousands » [ii 64]; *nāsyāḥ kiñcit saṃvibhajiṣyam* « I shall give nothing to her » [ii 65]; *mahānāmo saṃdiśati rājño śuddhodanasya na śakyāmi yaśodharāṃ kumārasya dātum* « Mahānāman told the king Śuddhodana, ' I cannot give away Yaśodharā to the prince' » [ii 73]; *tasya vānarasya jalpāhi* « speak to that monkey » [ii 248]; *pratihārarakṣeṇa .. ṛṣisya niveditam* « the gateman submitted to the sage » [ii 31]; *upanāmetha kumāram ṛṣisya* « bring the prince before the sage » [ii 32]; *tato rājño śuddhodanasya pravṛtti āgatā* « then news came to



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the king Śuddhodana ▸ [ii 207]; *paramabodhisamprāpto śrāvastyām bhikṣūṇāṃ vyākaroti* ◂ having attained the perfect knowledge, (the lord) announced (it) before the *bhikṣus* in Śrāvastī ▸ [ii 136]; *nūnāhaṃ yattikā kapilavastunagare kanyā tāṃ sarvāṃ kumārasya upadarśayāmi* ◂ indeed I shall show to the prince as many girls as there are in the city of Kapilavastu ▸ [ii 149]; *rājñā amātyānām āṇattam* ◂ the king ordered the ministers ▸ [ii 156]; *nāpi tasya ahituṇḍikasya kupyati* ◂ did not flare up at that juggler ▸ [ii 178]; *kiṁ mayā tava aparāddhaṃ chandakasya ca* ◂ what have I injured of you or of Chandaka ▸ [ii 189]; *sā dāni sudarśanā devī tasyā kubjāye ruṣitā āha* ◂ now the queen Sudarśanā, angry with that hunch-back (woman), said ▸ [ii 459]; *sā...tāsām antaḥpurikānāṃ ruṣyati* ◂ she is cross with those women of the seraglio ▸ [ii 480]; *kasya vā garahāmy aham* ◂ whom shall I take to task? ▸ [ii 480 (G)]; *yasya sarve rājāno praṇamanti* ◂ to whom all the kings bow low ▸ [ii 491]; *kāśirājño upasaṃkrāntā* ◂ approached the king of Kāśi ▸ [iii 152]; *yadi me mahārāja mama na śraddadhāsi* ◂ if you, O my king, do not believe me ▸ [iii 42]; *bhagavān mama etad uvāca* ◂ the lord told me this ▸ [iii 51]; *bhagavāṃ veṇuvane bhikṣūṇām āmantrayati* ◂ the lord spoke to the *bhikṣus* in the bamboo bower ▸ [iii 63]; *so dāni aśvarājā teṣāṃ vāṇijakānāṃ samanuśāsati* ◂ now the king of horses spoke to the merchants [iii 76]; *so'haṃ tasya upakasya...spṛhayanto abhīkṣṇam etāṃ gāthām bhāṣāmi* ◂ now I, longing after that Upaka, always utter this verse ▸ [iii 193]; *namas tasya āryasya mahāgovindasya* ◂ homage to the reverend Mahāgovinda ▸ [iii 223]; *teṣām bhagavām..bhāṣati* ◂ the lord addressed them ▸ [iii 434].

(*iii*) The Instrumental-Genitive : *mama ca tvaṃ śāriputra dīrgharātram anuśikṣito 'bhūt* ◂ you, O Śāriputra, were for a long time instructed by me ▸ [S 64]; *so pi rājño devīhi sārdhaṃ krīḍanasya krīḍate* ◂ he sported with the king, (who was) sporting with his queens ▸ [Miii 169]; ◂ *parasparasya vivāhitā* ◂ married to one another ▸ [Mi 351].

(*iv*) The Ablative-Genitive : *athaikasya pratigrahīṣyāmi* ◂ I shall accept from one ▸ [L 497]; *dharmasyāparihīyante* ◂ do



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not swerve from *dharma* » [L 525]; *yācāmi te* « I beg of you » [L 46 (G)]; *ye sattvās tathāgatasya dharmam bhāṣamāṇasya śṛṇvanti* « the creatures who listen to the Tathāgata, talking *dharma* » [S 124]; *asya dharmaparyāyasya uttraset* « would be afraid of this series of *dharma* » [S 234]; *ime kumārā asmākaṃ sujātā pi* « these boys are born well of us » [Mi 355]; *mama sarve mṛgā trasanti* « all deer recoil from me » [Mii 70]; *teṣām mṛgapakṣiṇaḥ na saṃtrasanti* « birds and beasts do not recoil from them [Mii 210]; *amātyaputro...sarveṣāṃ vīṇāvādyena viśiṣyati* « the minister's son was distinguished from all in playing the lyre » [Miii 35]; *manuṣyeṣu cyavitvā narakeṣūpapadyati* « falling from mankind he is born in the hell » [Miii 42].

(*v*) The Locative-Genitive : *kinnarīye pi sudhanusya premnaṃ nipatitam* « the Kinnarī's love fell on Sudhanu » [Mii 98]; *iccheyam aham bhagavato ārāḍasya brahmacaryaṃ caritum* « I wish to live as a religious student with his reverence Ārāḍa » [Mii 118]; *na kaścij janatāyāḥ kanyāyāḥ kumārasya cittam abhiramet* « may not the heart of the prince be attached to an ordinary girl » [Mii 149]; *so pi paṇḍito śakuntako tasya śākuntikasya visrambheti* « the wise bird also trusted the fowler » [Mii 242]; *tasyāpi kampillasya rājño brahmadattasya...puṇyavantasya kumārasya putrapremnaṃ nipatitam* « Brahmadatta, the king of Kāmpilya, felt an affection for the boy Puṇyavanta as towards a son » [Miii 40]; *mā bhavanto śramaṇasya gautamasya brahmacaryaṃ caratha* « do not live as a religious student with the Śramaṇa Gautama » [Miii 63]; *mama sarve lagnatha* « hold me fast, all of you » [Miii 354].

(*vi*) The *dativus commodi et incommodi* is very often replaced by the Genitive : *kim mama baddham* « what is attached to me? » [S 211]; *tāṃs tān gandhān pareṣām api vyākaroti* « emits that perfume for others as well » [S 361]; *daṇḍakarmaṃ karotha yathā caurasya kriyati tasya me* « give me punishment as is done to a thief » [Miii 174].

(b) The Genitive with verbs which were so construed in Old Indo-Aryan. It is rather remarkable that in Buddhistic Sanskrit, the genitive appears with some verbs which governed



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the genitive in the Vedic but not so in Classical Sanskrit :—*tad vahanaṃ gośīrṣacandanasya pūrayitvā* « having filled the cart with sandal wood » [D 42]; *catvāro lohasaṃghāṭāḥ suvarṇasya pūrṇās tiṣṭhanti* « the four iron pots stand filled with gold » [D 14]; *suvarṇasya kalaśaḥ pūrayitvā sthāpitaḥ* « the pitcher was kept filled with gold » [D 16]; *tasmād udakasya pātrapūram ānaya* « fetch a cup full of water » [D 51]; *ratnānāṃ tad vahanam pūritam* « the cart was filled with gems » [D 5]; *bhūyiṣṭhena śāriputraivam-rūpāṇām bodhisattvānām paripūrṇaṃ tad buddhakṣetram bhaviṣyati* « that land of Buddha, O Śāriputra, will be filled much with suchlike Bodhisattvas » [S 66]; *śuṇḍam udakasya pūretvā* « having filled the proboscis with water » [Miii 132]*; *kumbho viṣasya pariṣiktaḥ* « the pot filled with poison » [L 180 (G)]; *ahaṃ te smārayiṣyāmi* « I shall remember you » [D 57]; *bhagavāṃś cāsmākaṃ sṁārayati tathāgatajñānadāyādān* « the lord remembers us, the cosharers of the knowledge of the Tathāgata » [S 110]†; *jenti tvaṃ vailāsikāye dhītā, tava putro na kiñcit paitṛkasya rājyasya ca dravyasya ca prabhavati* « Jayantī, you are the daughter of a hetaera : your son would not inherit paternal kingdom or any other thing » [Mi 349]; *rājā subandhu nāma...ṣaṣṭhīnāṃ nagara-sahasrāṇāṃ rājyaṃ kārayati* « the king named Subandhu rules over sixty thousand cities » [Mii 420]‡; *mātuḥ pituḥ na utkaṇṭhitaṃ syā* « he may not be anxious for the parents » [Mii 165].§

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* This is a kind of partitive genitive. It is an Indo-European idiom; the cognate verbs in the different Indo-European dialects—Gk. πλεως, πληρης, Lat. *plenus*, Goth. *fulls*, Lith. *pilnas*—are all construed with the genitive. In Vedic the adjective *pūrṇa* is so construed : *ā madhvo asmā asicann amartam indrāya pūrṇam* [Atharvaveda Samhitā, 9.7.6]; *pūrṇān parisrutaḥ kumbhān* [Śatapatha Brahmaṇa, 11.5.5.13]; in Classical Sanskrit also sometimes : *ghaṭam apām pūrṇam* [Manu Samhitā, 11.183]; also in Pali.

† In classical Sanskrit, *smṛ* (here the causative carries the sense of the simple root) governs the accusative. This idiom is Indo-European often, but in the Vedic there is only one instance (that in the Atharvaveda Saṁhitā) : μιμνησκομαι του φιλου "I remember the friend" =Latin *memini amici*; *yathā mama smarād asau* "as he may remember me" [AV. 6.130.8].

‡ These two idioms are allied to the Vedic idiom of the genitive governed by verbs meaning "to rule."

§ *Cf. utkaṇṭhamāno bharato gurūṇām* "Bharata feeling anxious for his superiors" [Bhaṭṭikāvya].



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(c) Elliptic Genitive: *sa śṛṇoty eva amātyānām* « he listens to the (speech of the) ministers » [Mi 272]*; *tasya grāmikasya śrutvā* « hearing (the words of) the villager » [Mi 302]; *putrakā na yuṣmābhir mamātyayāt strīṇāṃ śrotavyam* « O sons, you should not pay heed to the women after my demise » [D 27]; *na ca vijānāsi pañcayojanānantarasthitasya janasya bhāṣamāṇasya* « you cannot understand (the speech) of one speaking at a distance of five *yojanas* » [S 135].

(d) The Genitive with substantives and adjectives: *mahābrahmaṇo 'nukampām upādāya* « feeling pity for Mahābrahman » [L 73-74; etc.]; *anuttarāyāḥ samyak-sambodher lābhinaḥ* « attainers of the unsurpassed perfect knowledge » [S 41; etc.]; *nandādīnām bhikṣūṇām abhiprasanno* « pleased with the *bhikṣus* beginning with Nanda » [Mi 36]; *sahasrāṇāṃ visarjayitā* « giver of thousands » [S 340]; *niyato me manuṣyāṇāṃ vināśbhāvo* « certain is the bereavement of men » [Mii 103]; *rājā ṛṣisya vismito* « the king was surprised at (the deeds of) the sage » [Mii 32]; *piśācasya ca etasya ca nāsti kiñcit nānā kāraṇam* « there is no differentiation between him and a ghoul » [Mii 459]; *didṛkṣayā...muneḥ* « with a desire of seeing the hermit » [Saundarānanda, 4.40, etc.]; *yathā ca darśī tṛṣāṃ sattvānām* « (one) who looks upon all creatures (as) equal » [S 124].

(e) The Genitive with adverbs: *uttiyasya śreṣṭhisya dhītuḥ sārdhaṃ vipraduṣṭo* « corrupted with the daughter of Uttiya, the merchant » [Mi 36]; *bodhisattvo ca māyāya mātuḥ sārdhaṃ śivikāṃ samārūḍho* « the Bodhisattva, with (his) mother Māyā, boarded the palanquin » [Mii 26]; *gaṅgāyā ca yamunāyā cā antarā kāśyapo ṛṣi yajñaṃ yajati* « the sage Kāśyapa holds a sacrifice (in the place) between the Ganges and the Yamunā » [Miii 363].

(f) The Comparative Genitive: *katamo'sya deva mama viśiṣṭo* « what other man is more distinguished than I, O sire! »

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* *amātyānām* for *amātyānām vākyam*; *cf. asmākam ic chṛṇuhi* "hear (=our words) [Ṛgveda Saṃhitā, 7.28.1]; *śrudhy asya* "hear him" [RV., 7.38.2]; *tasya vā śuśrūṣante* "him men wish to listen to" [Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, 7.6]; also in Pali,



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[L 136 (G)]; *sarveṣāṃ teṣām bhrātṝṇām suśikṣitaḥ* « (he) was better educated than all his brothers » [Mii 434]; *upāli bhikṣu yuṣmākaṃ vṛddhatarako* « the *bhikṣu* Upāli is older than you (all) » [Miii 181].

(g) Appositional Genitive is a remarkable phenomenon in Buddhistic Sanskrit of the Mahāvastu : *pūrṇaṃ cāsya putrāsahasram abhūṣi śūrāṇāṃ vīrāṇām* « he had full thousand sons—(sons) heroic and valiant » [Mi 49]; *rājagṛhe ..parvaṃ vartati pañcānāṃ tapośatānām* « a (sacrificial) session is being held at Rājagṛha,—a session of five hundred austerities » [Miii 57]; *pūrṇaṃ cāsya putrasahasram bhavet śūrāṇām vīrāṇām* « he will have a full thousand sons (all) brave and heroic » [Miii 107]; *tasya rājño brahmadattasya putraśataṃ kumārāṇām* « the king Brahmadatta (had) five hundred sons (all) young » [Miii 361].*

(h) Genitivus Materiæ et Originis : *caturasīti kūṭāgārasahasrāṇi kārayesi.. saptānāṃ ratnānām* « he built eighty-four thousand cottages of the seven gems » [Mi 49]; *śākyo vicitrāṃ kuthām upasthāpayet siṃhacarmaparivārāṇāṃ vyāghracarmaparivārāṇāṃ dvīpicarmaparivārāṇām* « the Śākya brought rugs (made) of skins of lions, tigers and of leopards » [Mii 117].

(i) The Genitive Absolute † : Pāṇini lays down the rule [2.3.38] that the absolute genitive expresses *anādara* « disregard » in classical Sanskrit. Though the absolute genitive does not occur in the Ṛgveda, it appears sporadically in Vedic prose, but there often no sense of *anādara* is apparent. So also with Buddhistic Sanskrit. Even in the chaste Sanskrit of Aśvaghoṣa

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* The existence of the appositional or apexegetic genitive in Sanskrit is denied by Whitney in his Sanskrit Grammar. But there occurs at least one certain example of it in Old Indo-Aryan. It is this :

antar agne rucā tvam
*ukhāyai sadane* sve |
tasyās tvaṃ harasā tapan
jātavedaḥ śivo bhava ||

"O Agni with glow | Within thy own seat of pan | Heating with her blaze | Be thou, O All-knower, auspicious " [Taittirīya Saṃhitā, 4.1.91; Keith's Introduction to the translation of the above].

† *Vide* Huebschmann, Zur Casuslehre, p. 280; de Saussure, L'emploi du genitif absolu en sanscrit.



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there occur instances where the absolute genitive implies no *anādara*; thus : *iti paśyata eva rājasūnor idam uktvā sa nabhaḥ samutpapāta* « the king's son thus looking on, he leaped into the sky » [B 2.20]; *samantarāvatīrṇasya ca bodhisattvasya..pṛthivīm bhitvā mahāpadmam prādurabhūt* « as soon as the Bodhisattva (was) born, a great lotus sprang up cleaving the earth » [L 95]; *tasya khalu punaḥ...padmaprabhasya tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya dvātriṃśad antarakalpān saddharmaḥ sthāsyati* « the Tathāgata Padmaprabha having attained final extinction, the true *dharma* will exist for thirty-two *kalpas* » [S 67].

## THE LOCATIVE.

Like the other local cases (such as the instrumental and the ablative) the locative in Buddhistic Sanskrit—though in a lesser degree—was very often expressed periphrastically with *antika* and other similar adverbial postpositives.

(a) The Locative with verbs : *prayata svātmahite jagaddhite ca* « strive for your own as well as for the world's good » [B 5.78]*; *kāmeṣv ajasram pramamāda nandaḥ* « Nanda committed great excesses in pleasures » [Saundarānanda, 4.32]; *mahāmunau bhaktivaśāt praṇemuḥ* « bowed low to the great sage out of reverence » [*ibid*, 5.1]; *tasminn aham abhirame śāntiparame* « I delight in the supreme peace » [Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen, p. 66]; *mākāmeṣu mithyācariṣyatha* « do not for nothing ply in pleasures » [L 16]; *cāreyam aham bho ārāḍe kālāme brahmacaryam* « I shall live as a religious student with Ārāḍa Kālāma » [L 259]†; *tena khalu punaḥ samayena pañcakā bhadravargīyā rudrake rāmaputre brahmacaryaṃ caranti sma* « at that time five good men were leading the life of religious studentship under Rudraka Rāmaputra » [L 308]; *aham ārāḍe brahmacaryaṃ carcyam* « I shall be a student under Ārāḍa »

* *Cf. devāsurā vā eṣu lokeṣu samyetire* "the gods and the Asuras strove for (the supremacy of) these worlds" [Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 37.6.1].

† This is a Vedic idiom; *cf. protir ha kauśāmbeyaḥ kausuruvindir uddālaka āruṇau brahmacaryam uvāsa* "Proti, the son of Kusuravinda, of Kauśāmbī, dwelt with Uddālaka, the son of Aruṇa, as a student" [Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 12.2.13]. *Cf.* Pali : *brahmacariyaṃ sugate carāmase* "we shall live as religious students with Sugata" [Suttanipāta, 2.15].



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[Mii 118]; *nūnāham udrake rāmaputre brahmacaryaṃ care* « indeed I live as a student with Udraka (=Rudraka) Rāmaputra » [Mii 119]; *dharme caratha śramaṇabrāhmaṇeṣu* « deal religiously with the Śramaṇas and Brahmanas » [Mi 196]; *tad ayuktam etat...mama bhavet...yad aham anuttarāyāṃ samyak sambodhau nābhisambuddheyam* « it would be improper for me if I do not be fully awakened in the unsurpassed perfect awakening » [L 43]; *guṇān ātmani pratijānīte* « admits (to have) virtues in herself » [L 161]; *mātāpitarau ca śaraṇagamanasikṣāpadeṣu prasthāpitau* « the parents were established in taking refuge and in the teachings » [D 17]; *sā bhagavatā...bodhau vyākṛtā* « she was coached in *bodhi* by the lord » [D 70]; *kāśīrajñā supriyo mahāsārthavāhatve 'bhiṣiktaḥ* « Supriya was appointed in the (post of the) merchant-in-chief by the king of Kāśī » [D 100]; *tadā lipyām upanyastaḥ* « then (he was) instructed in the alphabet » [D 3]; *taṃ te putratve samādāpayiṣyāmi* « I shall establish him in your sonship » [D 57]; *na ca kāmeṣu sajjate badhyate vā* « (he) is not attached to, nor bound in pleasures » [D 116]; *utpāṭane 'haṃ na bibhemi...netradvayasya* « I am not afraid of plucking out the eyes » [D 411]; *sa bhagavān...śrīgartaṃ nāma bodhisattvam...anuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau vyākṛtya* « having instructed the Bodhisattva, named Śrīgarta, in the unsurpassed perfect knowledge, the lord... » [S 21]; *atha sa bhagavān nirvāṇadhātau parinirvṛtaḥ* « now the lord was finally pacified in the state of extinction » [S 21]; *te tenaiva paripācitā abhūvann uttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau* « they were instructed by him only in the unrivalled perfect knowledge » [S 22]; *dharmeṣu nīryātāḥ* « instructed thoroughly in *dharma* » [S 60]; *te codārāyām buddhabodhau samādāpitāḥ* « they were established in the comprehensive Buddha-faith » [S 110]; *tathāgataśāsane 'bhiyujyante* « are enjoined to the command of the Tathāgata » [S 30]; *piteva priya ekaputrake karuṇāṃ janayitvā* « having felt pity like the father for the only dear son » [S 136]; *teṣu cāsma prayuktā ghaṭamānā vyāyacchamānāḥ* « we are engaged in, trying, and struggling for them » [S 109]; *tān sarvān sva ātmabhāve paśyati* « looks upon them



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with the feeling for the self » [S 370]; *ghaṭikāraḥ...mūrdhni keśeṣu parāmṛśati* « Ghaṭikāra takes hold of the hair on the head » [Mi 321]; *bhagavato dīpaṅkarasya santike brahmacaryaṃ cariṣyāma* « we shall live as students with the reverend Dīpaṅkara » [Mi 243]; *megha gatvā bhagavato dīpaṅkarasya santike pravrajito* « Megha went and was admitted to religious mendicancy under Dīpaṅkara » [Mi 243]; *sā dāni sudarśanā devī...aparāsu devīṣu jalpati* « now the queen Sudarśanā talked to the other queens » [Mii 449]; *asmābhiḥ...śramaṇabrāhmaṇeṣu...udārāṇi dānāni dinnāni* « by us generous gifts were given to Śramaṇas and Brahmaṇas » [Miii 43].*

(b) The Instrumental Locative : *rājānāṃ sahasreṣu ca parivṛto bhaveya* « I would be surrounded with a thousand kings » [Miii 107]; *dvātriṃśallakṣaṇeṣu upagatam* « endowed with the thirty-two (auspicious) signs » [Mii 38(G)].

(c) The Dative Locative : *sā dāni sudarśanā devī...aparāsu devīṣu jalpati* [see *supra*]; *asmābhiḥ...śramaṇabrāhmaṇeṣu... udārāṇi dānāni dinnāni* [see *supra*].

(d) The Ablative Locative : *yathā kumbhakāraḥ samānāsu mṛttikāsu bhājanāni karoti* « just as the potter makes (different) pots from the same earth » [S 132]; *janapadeṣu api jano āgacchati* « peoples come from the provinces » [Mii 74]; *yāneṣu pratyāruhya* « getting down from the vehicles [Miii 179]; *yathā mātāye puṭrapremeṇa stanesu kṣīram pravaheya evaṃ tasya ṛṣisya tato aṅgulito kṣīram pravahati* « just as milk flows from the mother's breast for love for her child, so also milk flowed from that finger of the sage » [Miii 358].

(e) In the following instance the genitive has been used in apposition to the locative : *vinītāyām bahuśrutāyām...pramāṇottamāyām bodhisattvāḥ mātuḥ kukṣim avakrāmanti* « the Bodhisattvas resort to the womb of the mother who is well-behaved, educated...and is the best of women » [Mi 205].

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* *Cf. daridre dīyate dānaṃ saphalam pāṇḍunandana* " the gift given to the poor, O son of Pāṇḍu, is fruitful " [Hitopadeśa].



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(f) The Locative with substantives and adjectives: *sarva-vidyāsv atipāragataḥ* "perfectly at home in all branches of learning" [L 50 (G)]; *ye ca deva-manuṣyā bodhisattvasya guṇeṣu pratyakṣāḥ* "those gods and men that are eye-witnesses of the virtues of the Bodhisattva" [L 322]; *yathā kṣetre...pratyakṣas tvam...evaṃ karmavipākeṣu pratyakṣā hi tathāgatāḥ* "as you are the witness in the matter of the field, so the Tathāgatas are witnesses in the evolutions of *karma*" [D 71]; *pañcasu sthāneṣu kṛtāvī saṃvṛttaḥ* "became expert in the five *sthānas*" [D 58; etc.]; *so'haṃ tīrthikasādhāraṇyām ṛddhyāṃ viṣaṇṇaḥ* "I am incapable of those powers common to the *tīrthikas*" [D 44]; *atha yā devatā āyusmati pūrṇe 'bhiprasannāḥ* "now the deities that were pleased with the longlived Pūrṇa" [D 42]; *aṣṭāsu paṭikṣāsu udghāṭako vācakaḥ paṇḍitaḥ saṃvṛttaḥ* "he became an expert, an exponent and a master in the eight examinations" [D 3]; *śilpe vā iṣvastre vā hastismiṃ vā dhanutsarusmiṃ vā rājaśāstreṣu vā na kahiṃcit kumāro gatiṃ-gataḥ* "the prince is not educated in art, or in missiles, or in elephants, or in fencing, or in polity" [Mii 73]; *śrāvako'ham asmi sugate* "I am a *śrāvaka* under the Sugata" [Miii 51]; *nāhaṃ mahārāja kāmeṣu arthikā* "I am not, O Great King, desirous of pleasures" [Miii 169]; *ahaṃ vo'tra sthāne pratibhūḥ* "I stand guarantee for you in this matter" [S 79].

(g) The Locative of time generally denotes a period as against the instrumental (which then denotes a point of time in that period): *tasyāṃ velāyām* as against *tena samayena*.

(h) The Locative Absolute is abundant in Buddhistic Sanskrit. Examples need not be multiplied: *tatra rātrau vinirgatāyām āditya udite...bodhisattvo vinirgato'bhūt* "then the night having passed away and the sun having risen the Bodhisattva went out" [L 139].

## PERIPHRASIS.

As in Middle Indo-Aryan the oblique cases in Buddhistic Sanskrit are generally expressed periphrastically with help-words which serve to make the case-meaning clearer.



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The following are the different postpositives with the different cases.

(*a*) The Accusative of space is expressed by the genitive *plus* such adverbs as *samanantataḥ*, *sāmantena*, the accusative of goal with *uddiśya*, etc.

(*b*) Not only the sociative, but all kinds of the instrumentals are invariably construed with *sārdham*, *saha*, *samam*, *samanvāgata*, etc. The sociative instrumental is sometimes construed in the genitive with *sārdham*. The causal instrumental is expressed by the accusative with *āgamya*.

(*c*) The dative is construed in the genitive with *artha*, *kṛta*, *ārabhya*, *uddiśya*, *antika*, etc.

(*d*) The ablative is construed in the genitive with *antika* or *santika*, in the accusative with *ārabhya*, *upādāya*, etc.

(*e*) The locative is construed with *antaḥ*, *antika*, etc.

[See *infra* under the Nominal Phrase.]

## THE CASE-FORMS AS ADVERBS.

The following are the most characteristic of fossilised case-forms used as adverbs :—(1) The instrumental : *pareṇa*, *paratareṇa*, *dakṣiṇena*, etc.; *sāmantena*, *kṣaṇena*, *nacireṇa*, *agreṇa*, *bhūyiṣṭhena*, *svastinā*, *paścā*. (2) The ablative : *cirāt*, *ciracirāt*, *kiyaccirāt*, *antikāt*, etc. (3) The genitive : *sucirasya*, *nacirasya*, *cirasya*, etc.

## THE NOMINAL PHRASE.

Nominal phrases and periphrastic expressions are anything but rare in the Buddhistic Sanskrit. The examples would explain themselves :—

*kiṃ kāraṇam* « why » [L, S, M, etc.].

*tataḥ pareṇa parataram* « earlier, more earlier than that »[S].

*gandhikānāṃ haste vikrīto* « (it) was sold to the perfumers » [Miii 34]; *yadi icchatha rākṣasīnāṃ hastāto mokṣam* « if you wish deliverance from the hands of the demonesses » [Miii 75]; *bodhisattvo chandakasya haste ābharaṇāni ca deti* « the Bodhisattva hands over the ornaments to Chandaka [Mii 165].



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*yadi etāya mama mūle prema bhave* « if she have any love for me » [Mii 65]; *devīye mūle* « regarding the queen » [Mii 66]; *ko vo'tra utsahati samudrapaṭṭanaṃ gantum amukasya sārthavāhasya mūlam* « who of us offers to go to Samudrapaṭṭana to the so and so merchant » [Mii 90]; *tatra ca ṛṣisya mūle aśrutapūrvaṃ ca madhuraṃ gītaśabdaṃ śṛṇoti* « heard an unheard-of sweet sound from the sage » [Mii 96]; *so dāni brāhmaṇo... āśramapadaṃ gatvā gautamasya ṛṣisya mūle pravrajito* « now the Brahman going to the hermitage took to religious mendicancy under the sage Gautama » [Mii 210]; *tataḥ so mama mūlāto gatvā tāye sārdham āsati* « then he going from me sat with her » [Mii 246]; *mālākārasya mūle vasitvā* « dwelling with the garland-maker » [Mii 463]; *mahendrakasya dhītā...kuśasya mūlāto palāyitvā pituḥ sakāśam āgatā* « the daughter of Mahendra, flying from Kuśa, came to her father » [Mii 485].[1]

*ātmanā caturthaḥ* « the fourth with himself = with his three companions » [Mii 108, 110]; *cf.* French *lui quinzieme* « himself the fifteenth, *i.e.*, he with fourteen others ».

*mama kāraṇena* = *mama arthāya* = *mamāntareṇa* = *mama kṛtena* « for me » [L, D, S, etc.].

*yato adhikaraṇam* « whenceforth » [M]; *tato nidānam* « thenceforth » [M].

*mama pṛṣṭheṇa pṛṣṭhimaṃ samanubaddhā* « they followed at my heels » [Miii 296].

*kālena kālam* « from time to time » [see *supra*].

*sarveṇa sarvam* « all in all, *i.e.*, completely » [see *supra*].

*cetasā cetaḥ* « from mind to mind, *i.e.*, thoroughly » = *cittena cittam* [see *supra*, p. 23 ff.].

*vairāṭikāputrasya...sakāśe parivrājakapravrajyāṃ pravrajitā* « they adopted the life of religious itineracy under (the guidance of) Vairāṭikāputra » [Miii 59].

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[1] *tasya amātyaputrasya puṇyavantasya rājaputrasya mūle premnaṃ nipatitaṃ* "the son of the minister fell in love with Puṇyavanta, the king's son" [Miii 39]; *ye'py asmākam mūlāto dārakā jātā* "those sons that are born of us" [Miii 72]; *yathāham tāsāṃ rākṣasīnāṃ mūlāto svastinā muñceya* "so that we may safely get away from the demonesses" [Miii 72].



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*bhagavato santike brahmacaryaṃ cariṣyāmaḥ* « we shall lead the life of a religious student under the Lord » [M]; *tathāgatasyāntike brahmacaryaṃ caritum* « to lead the life of religious studentship under the Tathāgata » [M].

*imaṃ ślokaṃ śreṣṭhiputrasya vajrasenasya santike bhaṇatha* « utter this verse before Vajrasena, the merchant's son » [Mii 175].

*imāṃ gāthāṃ rājño brahmadattasya sakāśāto śṛṇvanti* « they hear this verse from the king Brahmadatta » [Miii 191].

*ahaṃ rākṣasīdvīpasya madhyena āgacchāmi* « I go to the island of the demonesses » [Miii 287].

## THE NUMERAL.

The compound *śatasahasra* « hundred thousand » is of very frequent occurrence.

A very noteworthy point is the predominant use of the syntactical compound with numerals instead of having the numeral as an adjective or in the genitive case, as in Old Indo-Aryan; *e.g.*, *caturaśītyā hayarathasahasraiḥ* « with eighty-four thousands of horse carriages » [L].

The following instance is peculiar: *dvecaturaśīti* (2×84)-*ratha-sahasrāṇi* « one hundred sixty-eight thousand chariots » [Mi 259].

## THE COMPOUND.

Syntactic compounds are very frequent; no examples need be adduced.

The following compound formations are peculiar and noteworthy.

*suhṛdbruva* « one who calls himself a friend » [B 8.35].

*upavāsoṣita* « fasting a fast » [L 15].

*svakasvaka* « own » [L, S, D, M].

*vṛddhavṛddha* « old and old » [L].

*nopama* for *anupama* « unsurpassed » [L 160].

*putradāram* « son and wife » [Mi 3].

*kākolūkā* « crows and owls » [Mi 7].



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*yenakāmam* « according to wish » [M].

*yenakāmaṃgamā* « going at will » [Mi 31]. Also in Pali.

*devadevatā* « gods and gods » [Mi 245].

*nadīgaṅgā* « the river Ganges » : *vayaṃ phaṇasaṅkrameṇa bhagavantaṃ nadīgaṅgām uttārayema* « we would help the Lord to cross the river Ganges through a bridge of our hoods » [D 55].

*ehibhikṣukā* « the call 'Come, O bhikṣu (*ehi bhikṣo*), be a student with the Tathāgata (*cara tathāgate brahmacaryam*)' » [D, M, etc.].

*jāyāpatikam* « husband and wife » [D 259].

*jīvantīśūlā* : *jīvantīśūlāṃ kārayati* « impales a woman alive » [D 417].

*ardhaprahasantī* « (a woman) half smiling » [Mii 72].

*samasama* « equal, rival » [Mii 75].

*aśvavānijya* « a trade in horses » [Mii 167].

*vāhiravāhireṇa* « outside and outside » [Mii 254].

*kulakula* : *kulakuleṣu bhikṣentā* « begging from house to house » [Miii 73].

*sthavirasthavira* « old and old, *i.e.*, very old » [Miii 103].

*diśodiśaṃ* « hither and thither » [Miii 146].

*laṅghitabahubhiḥ* for *bahulaṅghitaiḥ* [Miii 254 (G)].

*śūnyaśūnya* « all empty » [Saundarananda, 1.10].

*ciracirāt* « for a very long time » [D].

*sarātrim* « the whole night » [D 5].

*atikrāntātikrānta* : *vayaṃ devamanuṣyeṣu atikrāntātikrāntāḥ* « we among gods and men, have crossed (the stream of sorrow) » [D 47].

*aṅgamaṅgāni* « limbs and limbs, *i.e.*, all limbs » [Miii 258].

## THE VERB.

### Introductory.

In Buddhistic Sanskrit the finite verb occurs more frequently than in the classical Sanskrit. In the latter the finite verb is very often replaced by the passive construction with the past



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participle in *-ta* or by the active construction with the possessive adjective formed from the past participle in *-ta* with the suffix *-vant*. The passive construction with *-ta* formations, though not unknown, are comparatively rare in Buddhistic Sanskrit, while the other construction, the active construction with *-ta-vant* is almost unknown.

The writers of Buddhistic Sanskrit—Aśvaghoṣa not excepted—were very fond of putting a number of verbs one after another, mostly for the sake of emphasis. Thus : *imaṃ cāgāram ādīptaṃ na jānanti na budhyante na vidanti na cetayante nodvegam āpadyante* « they do not know, nor perceive, nor understand, nor realise, nor feel concerned, that that house (is) on fire » [S 72]; *te kumārakāḥ...tad bhāṣitaṃ nāvabudhyante nodvijanti nottrasanti na saṃtrasanti na saṃtrāsam āpadyante na vicintayanti na nirdhāvanti nāpi jānanti na vijānanti kimetad ādīptaṃ nāma* « the boys cannot understand his words, nor do they feel terrified..., nor do they think, nor do they run, nor do they know... what is to be on fire » [S 73].

Aśvaghoṣa was very fond of verbs. Thus, for instance: *ekaṃ vininye sa jugopa sapta saptaiva tatyāja rarakṣa pañca | prāpa trivargaṃ bubudhe trivargaṃ jajñe dvivargaṃ prajahau dvivargam ||* « he subjugated the one, he cherished the seven; he discarded the seven, he nourished the five; he attained the group of three, he realised the group of three; he cultivated the group of two, he gave up the group of two » [B 2.41]; *ruroda mamlau virurāva jaglau babhrāma tasthau vilalāpa dadhyau | cakāra roṣaṃ vicakāra mālyaṃ cakarta vaktraṃ vicakarṣa vastram ||* « (the wife of Nanda) cried, drooped, wept, pined, ran, stood, mourned, thought, showed anger, threw off the garland, struck at her face, and tore at the clothes » [Saundarananda, 6.34].

The desiderative (verbs as well as nouns and adjectives) are rare in Buddhistic Sanskrit generally. But in the works of Aśvaghoṣa they are too frequent. Thus : (1) verbs : *ajihīrṣīt, acikīrṣīt, avivakṣīt, adidhakṣīt, arurukṣat, yiyāsanti, parīpsanti,*



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*jigīṣanti, jighṛkṣati* [B]; (2) nouns : *didṛkṣā, vivakṣā, niścikramiṣā, vivatsā, jijīviṣā, cikīrṣā, jighāṃsā* [B]; (3) present participles : *ārurukṣant, rirakṣiṣant* [B]; (4) adjectives : *niścikramiṣu, mumukṣu, nirmumukṣu, vijighāṃsu, yiyāsu, vijijñāsu, bubhukṣu, amumukṣu, pipāsu, titīrṣu, didṛkṣu, jihīrṣu, śuśrūṣu, prepsu, jigīṣu, jighāṃsu, didhakṣu* [B].

The middle voice is almost entirely absent in Buddhistic Sanskrit (excepting of course the writings of Aśvaghoṣa). The passive voice also is comparatively rare.

Compound verbs—consisting of the accusative of the verbal noun *plus* the root *kṛ*—do occur in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, the Divyāvadāna, and the Mahāvastu. Thus : *kṣoditaṃ kṛtvā* « having pounded » [S 134]; *teṣāṃ ca stūpānām pūjāṃ kariṣyati* « will worship the *stūpas* » [S 161]; *bodhisattvam...adhiṣṭhānaṃ kṛtvā* « having established the Bodhisattva » [S 405]; *āgamanaṃ kuruṣva* « do you come » [D 43]. This idiom is current in Bengali as well as in very late Sanskrit.

The causative forms are often used instead of the simple forms [*svārthe ṇic* of the Sanskrit grammarians], *e.g.*, *smārayati* for *smarati*.

## THE TENSE.

### The Present.

The present is very often an equivalent of the aorist : *avagāhyottarāt samudrāt pratyuttarati | pratyuttīrya samyag eva ṛddhyā vihāyasā rājadhānīm āgatyopari antaḥpuradvāre 'kṣatam evāsthāt* « having plunged he got out of the northern sea; having got out he came to the capital with his powers through air and sat safe on the door of the seraglio » [L 17].

Sometimes the present is used for not very proximate past : *tahim eva divāvihāraṃ kalpayitvā smṛtiṃ pratilabhate* « spending the day there he regained (his) memory » [Mii 264].

The present with the particle *sma* expresses durative past. Examples are too frequent to be cited. But very often such a present is a perfect equivalent of the perfect and the aorist.



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## The Imperfect.

The past tense is indicated either by the perfect, the imperfect, and the aorist or by the present with *sma*, and sometimes with passive past participles in *-ta*. There is no syntactic difference between the imperfect, the perfect, and the aorist. Of these three the imperfect forms are the least frequent.

## The Perfect.

In the Buddhacarita and in the Saundarananda the perfect forms by far outnumber the aorist. In the Buddhacarita the perfect occurs with about 145 roots and about 645 times,[1] while the aorist occurs with 11 roots and about 25 times. In the Saundarananda the third canto has nothing but perfect forms.

But in Buddhistic Sanskrit proper the perfect occurs very rarely.

In the Lalitavistara the perfect occurs with these roots: *sthā, stu (abhi-), ah.*

In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka it occurs with these roots: *vac, sthā, ah, kṛ.*

In the Mahāvastu it occurs with these roots: *vac* (several times), *bhū, bhāṣ, hṛ(vi-), dṛś.*

[For the periphrastic perfect, see *infra*.]

## The Aorist.

In Buddhistic Sanskrit the aorist is the most living of the tense forms. In the Lalitavistara it occurs with the roots: *sthā, stu (abhi-), dṛś, pracch, bhū, vac, jñā, dhā (antar-), kṛ, śru, hṛ (vi-ā-)*, etc.; in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka with the roots:

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[1] The following roots occur with the perfect in the Buddhacarita: *arc, āp, i, kam, kamp, kāṅkṣ, kāś, kuc, kṛ, kram, krīḍ, kruś, kṣip, kṣubh, gad, gam, gal, gā, gāh, gup, granth, ghūrṇ, cakṣ, car, cal, chid, jan, jap, jalp, ji, jīv, jṛmbh, jval, tap, tam, tuṣ, tṛ, tyaj, tras, dā, dṛś, dru, dviṣ, dhā, dhṛ, dhyā, nad, nand, nam, naś, nind, nī, nṛt, pat, pad, pā, puṣ, pṛch, plu, phull, bandh, barh, budh, bhaj, bhā, bhāṣ, bhās, bhid, bhī, bhuj, bhṛ, bhram, bhrāj, man, mā, muc, mud, muṣ, mṛ, mṛś, yā, rakṣ, rañj, rabh, ram, rāj, ru, ruh, lap, labh, lamb, līḍh, lī, vac, vand, valg, vā, vās, viṣ, viś, vṛdh, vṛṣ, vyath, śak, śam, śaṃs, śās, śī, śuc, śram, śru, śvas, sad, sañj, sah, siñc, sū, sṛ, sṛj, sṛp, sev, skhal, stambh, stu, sthā, snā, spṛś, sphūrj, smi, smṛ, sru, svaj, svan, han, has, hā, hṛ, hṛṣ, heṭ, hrī, hve.*



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*bhū, vac, dṛś, pad (ut-), bhañj (pra-), ji (parā-), sthā, kṛ, kṛ (vi-ā-), sad (ni-), śru, dā, kṣip*, etc.; in the Mahāvastu with the roots: *kṛ (vi-ā-), dṛś, kṛ, vac, śru, sthā, bhū, sad (ni-), jñā, i (adhi-)*, etc.

In the Buddhacarita the ratio between the aorist[1] and the perfect is about 1 : 20. In the Saundarananda, Canto II, all the verbs are aorists.

As in classical Sanskrit there is no syntactical difference between the aorist and the perfect, *e.g., idam avocat bhagavān, idaṃ vaditvā sugato hyathāparam etad uvāca śāstā* "the Lord said this, having said this Sugata the teacher said again" [S 357].

### The Future.

The future is sometimes used for the habitual present: *so dānī tataḥ yānapātrāto pratināvam āruhiṣyati* "he then has to change boats" [Mii 90].

The future is often interchangeable with the optative [see Optative, *infra*].

In the following instance the aorist-optative has been correlated with the future: *kāmaṃ khalu me śākyā tīkṣṇena śastreṇa aṅgamaṅgāni chindensuḥ saṃpradālensuḥ na tveva rāhulaśirisya svakasya putrasya nācikṣiṣyam* "Śākyas may well chop or pound (my) limbs with sharp weapons, yet I never shall not divulge (it) to my son Rāhulaśrī" [Miii 258].

[See Periphrasis, *infra*.]

## THE PERIPHRASIS.

### The Periphrastic Future.

The periphrastic future does not occur in Buddhistic Sanskrit proper, but it appears in the Buddhacarita. In the latter the third personal forms, as usual, are without the auxiliary root *as*. There are only two instances: *kim eṣa doṣo bhavitā mamāpi* "would this defect accrue to me also?" [3.32]; *na punar ahaṃ*

[1] In the Buddhacarita the simple aorist occurs with the roots: *i (adhi-), kṛ, gam, car, lap, bhū, śak, yaj, vac, śī, hā*; the reduplicated aorist with *jval, bhid, han, hṛ, kṛ, rakṣ, vaç* and *dih*.



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*kapilāhvayaṃ praviṣṭā* « I will not again enter (the city of) Kapila(-vāstu) » [5.84].

## The Periphrastic Perfect.

The periphrastic perfect is not more frequent than the simple perfect in Buddhistic Sanskrit. In the Lalitavistara it occurs only with *sthā(pra-)*, *e.g.*, *pratiṣṭhāpayām-āsa* [43]; in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka with 15 roots,[1] all with the auxiliary *as*; in the Mahāvastu it does not occur at all.

In the Buddhacarita the periphrastic perfect occurs with about 22 roots giving about 32 forms—20 with the auxiliary *as*, 7 with *kṛ*, and 5 with *bhū*. Three instances occur where the auxiliary is separated from the principal root by an intervening word[2]: *mātṛṣvasā mātṛsamaprabhāvā saṃvardhayām ātmajavad babhūva* « the aunt (mother's sister), prevailing as the mother, reared (him) up as her own son » [2.19]; *divyair viśeṣair mahayāṃ ca cakruḥ* « they worshipped (him) with celestial preparations » [6.58]; *tataś ca taiḥ pratyarcayāṃ dharmabhṛto babhūva* « then with those he honoured the sages in turn » [7.9].

## With the Present Indicative of *as* and the Imperfect Indicative of *bhū*.

In the Buddhacarita and in the Divyāvadāna the passive past participle with the present indicative of *as* is often used for the finite verb form, *e.g.*, *asti...dṛṣṭaḥ* « is seen » [D 70]; and in the Lalitavistara and in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka with the imperfect of *bhū*, *e.g.*, *aham...magadheṣu prakrānto'bhūt* « I went to Magadha » [L 299]; *samādhiṃ samāpanno'bhūt* « was absorbed in meditation » [S 19].

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[1] *cintayāmāsa, cintayāmāsuḥ, anuvicintayāmāsa, āmantrayāmāsa, abhipravarṣayāmāsuḥ, abhipravādayāmāsuḥ, ārocayāmāsuḥ, niryātayāmāsuḥ, pravartayāmāsa, saṃpreṣayāmāsuḥ, avalokayāmāsa, pravartayāmāsuḥ, dhārayāmāsuḥ, vedayāmāsuḥ, deśayāmāsuḥ, prajvālayāmāsa, pratiṣṭhāpayāmāsa, ādīpayāmāsa.*

[2] In the Raghuvaṃśa two such instances occur: *taṃ pātayāṃ prathamam āsa papāta paścāt* "(the arrow) felled it and then fell itself" [9.61]; *prabhraṃśayāṃ yo nahuṣaṃ sakāra* "who caused Nahuṣa to fall" [13.66].



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Peculiar as well as interesting is the following instance from the Buddhacarita, where the finite verb *asmi* « I am » has been used for the regular pronoun *aham* : *mā bhūn matis te nṛpa kācid anyā niḥsaṃśayaṃ tad yad avocam asmi* « may you have no other thought, O king; certain it is that I have said » [1.72]. This idiom appears sporadically in the epics as well as in classical Sanskrit. Mallinātha, in his commentary on the Kirātārjunīya [3.6], says that *asmi* is an indeclinable used for the first personal pronoun. He quotes the Gaṇavyākhyāna as his authority and cites an example : *dāse kṛtāgasi bhavaty ucitaḥ prabhūṇāṃ pādaprahāra iti sundari nāsmi dūye* « a kick to the offending servant is proper for the masters : so I do not grudge, O beautiful lady ». There are other examples too : *candragrahaṇena vinā nāsmi rame* « unless you take the moon I do not play ». Occasionally *asti* is used for the third person. Boehtlingk and Roth quote the Vāmanapurāṇa (5.2.82) for a corresponding use of *asi* for the second person. This idiom has evident connection with the periphrastic future forms, *dātāsmi* and *dātāham* « I shall give »—the latter form occurring sporadically in the epics.

## THE MODES.

### The Optative.

As in Old Indo-Aryan the optative was often used for the future : *yaś ca me dharmaṃ deśitam ājānīyāt na ca māṃ sa viheṭhayet* « he who shall understand the *dharma* taught by me, shall not hate me » [L 524]. *yadā tvaṃ naradatta śṛṇuyā*[1] *buddho loka utpanna iti tadā tvaṃ gatvā tasya śāsane pravrajeḥ*[1] *tat te bhaviṣyati dīrgharātram arthāya hitāya sukhāya* « when you, Naradatta, shall hear that the Buddha has come into the world, then you shall go and take the holy order under him; it shall for long conduce for your benefit, good and happiness » [L 123].

[1] Hortative Future.



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In the following instance the optative is correlated to the future: *sa ced asāv imaṃ dharmaṃ śroṣyaty ājñāsyati tasyaivāhaṃ prathamaṃ dharmaṃ deśayiṣye na ca māṃ sa viheṭhayet* « if he hears and understands, to him shall I first divulge my *dharma*; (and) he shall not spite me » [L 524].

In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka the optative has regularly been used in narration; *e.g.*, *tad yathāpi nāma śāriputreha syāt kaścid eva grāme vā nagare vā...gṛhapatiḥ...mahac cāsya niveśanaṃ bhavet...ekadvāraṃ ca tan niveśanaṃ bhavet...tasya ca puruṣasya bahavaḥ kumārakāḥ syuḥ*, etc. « as there may be, O Śāriputra, in a village or in a town a householder...his residence may be big...it may have only one door...the man may have many boy children... » [72-76]; *tad yathāpi nāma kulaputrāḥ kaścid eva vaidyapuruṣo bhavet...tasya...bahavaḥ putrā bhaveyuḥ sa ca vaidyaḥ pravāsagato bhavet*, etc. « as it is, O gentlemen, there may be a physician...he may have many sons and that physician may have gone abroad » [320-322].

In the following instance the optative is an equivalent of the imperfect: *sā tena ceṭṭālalitena bhartuḥ śāṭhyena cāntarmanasā jahāsa | bhavec ca ruṣṭā kila nāma tasmai lalāṭajihmām bhrukuṭiṃ cakāra* ||[1].

## The Imperative.

The imperative is very rarely used in a future sense and appears correlated with the future: *mātare samāgacchatu mā iha anāhāro mariṣyati* « let him join the mother, so that he may not die of starvation » [Miii 131-32]. *mādharmeṇa rājyaṃ kāraya mā narakaparāyaṇo bhaviṣyasi* « do not rule unrighteously; (therefore) do not be destined for the hell » [D 59].

The negative practice *mā* is very often construed with the imperative: *mā bhavatu* « be it not » [M]; *mā vilamba* « do not tarry » [M]; *mā...tiṣṭhata* « do not stand » [S 106]; *mā bhavanto'smin ..abhiramadhvam* « do not make merry in this » [S 79].

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[1] "She, at that gracefully expressed disloyalty of her husband, laughed within herself; she was angry at him for show, and (hence) put up a frown with the forehead tucked" [Saundarananda, 4.15]. See the Conditional, *infra*.



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In the Lalitavistara *mā* is very often construed with the aorist.[1]

The passive imperative occurs several times in the Lalitavistara: *iyaṃ bhagini suvarṇapātrī kiṃ kriyatām* « what, O sister, should be done with this cup of gold » [335]. It hardly occurs in other texts.

## The Conditional.

The conditional does not occur in Buddhistic Sanskrit proper. In the Mahāvastu an instance occurs where the future indicative is correlated with the future optative, in the sense of the conditional: *yadi tathāgato'nuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddho na bhaviṣyati saṃsāre saṃsaranto bhagavanto yattakā etāni chattrāṇi tattakāni cakravartirājyāni kārayiṣyet* « had the Tathāgata not attained the perfect supreme knowledge, the lord, dwelling in the world, would rule over so many imperial dominions as there are umbrellas here » [Mi 267].

In the Saundarananda the conditional has once been replaced by the optative: *tāṃ sundarīṃ cen na labheta nandaḥ sā vā niṣeveta na taṃ natabhrūḥ | dvandvaṃ dhruvaṃ tad vikalaṃ na śobhetānyonyahīnāv iva rātricandrau* « had not Nanda won her, or had she, the arch-browed one, not accepted him, surely the couple, thus eclipsed, would have suffered (in beauty) like the night and the moon divorced from each other » [4.7].

In the Buddhacarita the conditional occurs in one instance: *yadi hy aheṣiṣyata bodhayan janaṃ kṣuraiḥ kṣitau vā'py akariṣyata dhvanim | hanusvanaṃ vā'janayiṣyad uttamaṃ na cā'bhaviṣyan mama duḥkham īdṛśam* « if (the horse) had neighed

[1] The negative particle *mā* is used with—

(1) the aorist (as in the classical Sanskrit);

(2) the imperative (as sometimes in the classical Sanskrit, *e.g.*, *mā jalpa sāhasini* "do not talk, O daring lady");

(3) the future: *mā me...bhaviṣyati* "may it not be" [M]; *mā iha anāhāro mariṣyati* "may he not die here of starvation" [Miii 131-32];

(4) the present: *mā me bhūya āgacchasi* "do not come to me again" [Mi 244]; *so'pi taṃ bhikṣuṃ dṛṣṭvā śaṅkī saṃvṛtto mā me bhikṣu imamhi adhiṣṭhānamhi dūṣayatīti* "he too, on seeing the *bhikṣu*, became anxious, (thinking,) 'may he not defile this place'" [Mi 244]. *mā'si tṛṣitaḥ, mā tṛṣito'si* "be not thirsty" [D 9, 11].



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waking people, or had it raised sound by (striking) the hoofs on the ground, or had it made loud sound of the bit in its mouth, such sorrow would not have been mine » [8.41].

### The Precative.

The only occurrence of the precative that I have noted occurs in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka where it has been used along with the future and not differentiated in sense from the future: *yo me jyeṣṭhaṃ dharmaṁ anupradāsyaty arthaṃ cākhyāsyati tasyāhaṃ dāso bhūyāsam* « he who would import to me the best *dharma* and teach (it) and explain the meaning (of it), to him I shall be a slave » [257]. One instance occurs in the Buddhacarita: *bhūyād ayam bhūmipatir yathoktaḥ* « may he be a king as predicted » [1.53].

## THE PARTICIPLE.

### [i] The Passive Past-Participle.

In the passive constructions the past participle occurs in all the texts. As in classical Sanskrit the participle with the verbs meaning to go is used in the active voice, *e.g.*, *manda-mandaṃ saṃprasthitaḥ* « he went away slowly » [D 7].

### [ii] The Possessive Past-Participle.

The use of the possessive past-participle for the finite verb in the active constructions does not seem to occur in the Lalitavistara[1] where it occurs only as adjectives [116, etc.], nor in the Mahāvastu. It does occur in other texts; *e.g.*, *sa...brahmacaryaṃ saṃprakāśitavān* « he manifested the religious studentship » [S 18]; but it is not so frequent as the passive participle.

### [iii] The Perfect Participle.

The following are the perfect participles used in the different Buddhistic Sanskrit texts.

[1] One instance however occurs in L.—*anuṣṭhitavantaḥ* [476].



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In the Buddhacarita: *ūcivān* «said» [3.43]; *upeyivān* «came» [5.8]; *sameyivān* «came» [5.10]; *upajagmivān* «arrived» [12.2]; *tasthuṣī* «sat» [7.36].

In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka the only occurrence is *upeyivān* [257]. All these are used for the finite verb.

It does not occur in the Mahāvastu.

## THE CONJUNCTIVE.

The most striking thing about the conjunctive in Buddhistic Sanskrit is its absolute use, *i.e.*, its not having the same subject as the finite verb. This is incorrect according to Sanskrit grammar no doubt, yet there are many such instances available in Vedic as well as in classical Sanskrit.[1] It is found even in the works of Aśvaghoṣa, which, strictly speaking, do not belong to Buddhistic Sanskrit proper. Thus: *tam prekṣya kasmāt tava dhīra vāṣpaḥ* «seeing him why, O firm one, (does) your tears (flow)?» [B 1.68]; *ato me dhyānāni labdhvāpy akṛtārthataiva* «so though obtaining the *dhyānas*, still (there is) my unsuccess» [B 1.82]; *na cāpy akṛtvā bhavati siddhiḥ* «not having done, the success cannot come» [L 41 (G)]; *tān dṛṣṭvā tasya kāruṇyam utpannam* «seeing them his pity was excited» [D 7]; *śrutvā...kiyantaṃ kuśalam bhavet* «having heard (it) how much good can accrue?» [S 345 (G)]; *sarvasya janasya tāṃ dṛṣṭvā ghṛṇā utpadyati* «on seeing her abhorrence comes over to all men» [Mi 352].

In classical Sanskrit the conjunctive is sometimes used absolutely with the negative particles *mā* and *khalu* [P 3.4.18]. A similar idiom sometimes appears in Buddhistic Sanskrit; *e.g.*, *kiṃ tarhi devāṃś ca manuṣyāṃś ca saṃvācya* «what is the good of having lived among the gods and men?» [D 70].

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[1] *taṃ hainaṃ dṛṣṭvā bhīr viveda* "seeing him fear came upon (them)" [Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 11.6.1.7]; *tān bhūmau patitān dṛṣṭvā...mahāṃs trāso 'bhavan mama* "seeing them fallen on the ground a great fear arose in me" [Rāmāyaṇa, 3.21.10]; *raso'py asya paraṃ dṛṣṭvā nivartate* "seeing the Supreme his desire vanishes" [Gītā]; *dīkṣānantaraṃ rājye taṃ niśamya pratiṣṭhitam | pūrvaṃ pradhūmito rājñāṃ hṛdaye'gnir ivotthitaḥ ||* "hearing of him as established in his dominions...the fire...became aflame" [Raghuvaṃśa, 4.2].



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A chain of conjunctives is very often used instead of separate sentences with finite verbs (as also is the case in the latest stage of Sanskrit). An extreme example is the following : *sa khalu aham bhikṣavaḥ anupūrveṇa kāyabalasthānaṃ janayitvā sujātaye grāmikāye madhupāyasaṃ gṛhītvā nāganandīkālasamaye yena nadī nairañjanā tenupasaṃkramitvā nadyāṃ nairañjanāyāṃ gātrāṇi śītalīkṛtvā yena svastiko yāvasikaḥ tenopasaṃkramitvā svastikaṃ yāvasikaṃ tṛṇamuṣṭiṃ yācitvā yena bodhiyaṣṭi tenopasaṃkramitvā bodhiyaṣṭiye purato anyatarāya tṛṇasaṃstaram prajñapayitvā bodhiyaṣṭiṃ triṣkṛtyo pradakṣiṇīkṛtvā niṣīdi paryaṅkam ābhuñjitvā ṛju prācīnābhimukho purimaṃ kāyam praṇidhāya pratimukhāṃ smṛtim upasthāpayitvā* « then I, O *bhikṣus*, generating physical strength and vigour, (and) accepting sweet porridge from the village maiden Sujātā, (and)...going to the river Nairañjanā, (and) cooling the limbs in the river Nairañjanā, (and) going over where Svastika Yāvasika (was), (and) begging a handful of straw of Svastika Yāvasika, (and) going over where the Bodhi plant (was), having strewn the straw before the Bodhi plant, (and) having thrice circumambulating the Bodhi plant, sat down (after) having squatted, (and) having made the body rigid and straight, looking towards the east, (and) having resorted to favourable memory » [Mii 131].

The conjunctive is sometimes used for the finite verb : *kācit parasparasya upagṛhya kācid vāmadakṣiṇāto vikṣiptagātrā kāsāñcit mukhāto lālā sravati* « some (women) embraced each other : some (had) their bodies reclining towards the right or left; (and) some had their mouths watering » [Mii 159]; *sarve te eva rūpeṣu dvipādeṣu puṇyakṣetreṣu kuśalāni kṛtvā* « they all did good for such...fields of goodness » [Mii 183].

## THE VERBAL PHRASE.

[See Periphrasis : p. 47f., *supra*].

The different case relations are expressed by means of verbal phrases consisting of the conjunctives. Thus—

*āgamya* « having come » : *yā kācid asmākaṃ śrīsaubhāgyasampat sarvāsau buddham bhagavantam āgamya* « whatever



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beauty, fortune or wealth we have, all those are owing to the lord Buddha » [D 95]: *mālatīm āgamya* « due to Mālatī » [Mi 313].

*ārabhya* « beginning », « regarding »; see ***supra.***

*upādāya* « taking »: *tam eva divasam upādāya* « from that very day » [D 25]; *yad upādāya rājā vipravāsito tād upādāya devo na varṣati* « since when the king was banished since then the god does not rain » [Miii 44].

*uddiśya* « having detected »; see ***supra.***

*niśritya* « resorting to »: *dakṣiṇaṃ kukṣiṃ niśritya tiṣṭhati* « remained in the right side of the womb » [D 98].

*saṃdhāya* « having fixed »: *tam...saṃdhāya* « with reference to it » [D 83].

*sthāpayitvā* « having kept aside, excepted »: *sthāpayitvā bāhubalam* « bodily strength excepted » S [79].

Other phrases:

*iti kṛtvā* « thus having done », « therefore », « because » *dāsakaś cirāyatīti kṛtvā pālako'bhihitaḥ* « as the servant was making late, Pālaka was addressed » [D 5]; *na ca vaireṇa vairāṇi śāmyante iti kṛtvā imaṃ ślokaṃ uvāca* « he uttered the verse because (he thought that) enmities are not removed by enmity » [Mi 157].

*ādau kṛtvā* « taking at the lead »: *manasāpi tāsām pramadottamānāṃ rāgo notpadyate sarvapuruṣeṣu bhartāram ādau kṛtvā* « of these best of women (illicit) love does not appear even at heart because of (their king) their husband at the top, *i.e.*, because they have the highest regard for the husband, they give never even a thought to disloyalty » [Mi 272].

*samitim asamitiṃ kṛtvā* « making the meeting no meeting; *i.e.*, dissolving the meeting » [D 41].

*so'haṃ tasya vacanam avacanaṃ kṛtvā mahāsamudram avatīrṇaḥ* « I, disregarding his advice, set sail in the ocean » [D 41].

Compound verbs: *śleṣaṃ dattvā* (for *śliṣṭvā*) « having embraced » [D 64]; *prahāraṃ dattvā* (for *prahṛtya*) « having



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beaten ▸ [D 31]; *śraddhayā gacchanti* (for *śraddadhati*) ◂ believes ▸ [D 17].

## THE SENTENCE.

The Divyāvadāna shows a peculiar idiom of suppressing the finite verb; *e.g.*, *pūrveṇa krośamātraṃ gatvā mahat candanavanam* ◂ there is a great forest of sandalwood on going just a *krośa* to the east ▸ [113]; *tatra tena puruṣeṇa tāmrapaṭṭaiḥ pādau baddhvā tān parvatān vīryabalena laṅghayitvā sapta kṣāranadyaḥ...sapta kṣāranadīḥ samatikramya triśaṅkur nāma parvataḥ* ◂ there the man having mailed his feet with copper sheet, and (then) having crossed these mountains by might, seven rivers of acid (would appear before him);...crossing the seven rivers of acid the mountain called Triśanku (appears) [D 106].

In the Mahāvastu a verb is sometimes repeated in the same sentence probably for emphasis: *syāt khalu punar bhikṣavo yuṣmākam evaṃ syāt* ◂ thus, O *bhikṣus*, it may occur to you ▸ [ii 72, etc.]. *Cf. uttiṣṭha pāpa caura asti nāma tvaṃ rājakulaṃ dharṣayasi* ◂ rise, you villain thief, you indeed (dare to) break into the royal palace ▸ [ii 168].[1]

In the Mahāvastu is found the idiom that obtains in the narrative prose of classical Sanskrit—the idiom of suppressing the finite verb in the opening sentences of a narrative; *e.g.*, *kaliṅgeṣu dantapuraṃ nāma nagaram* ◂ in the province of Kaliṅga there (was) a city called Dantapura ▸ [Miii 361]; *asmakeṣu godāvarī nadī* ◂ in the country of the Asmakas there (is) the river Godāvarī ▸ [Miii 363].

### THE CORRELATIVES.

The following correlatives occur in Buddhistic Sanskrit:—

*yāvat...tāvat* ◂ as long...so long ▸ this is the order of the

[1] It may be that *iti* is understood and *asti* has for its nominative *etat* understood. *Iti* is very often suppressed in Buddhistic Sanskrit, *e.g.*, *aśrauṣīt...uttiyasya śreṣṭhisya dhītā abhiyo bhikṣur bhagavatā...samyaksambodhaye vyākṛto* " the daughter of the merchant Utttiya heard that the *bhikṣu* Uttiya has been instructed by the lord in the perfect realisation " [M 44].



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correlatives in classical Sanskrit but in Buddhistic Sanskrit the order is generally reversed : *sa sārtha tāvads gato yāvat prabhātam* « the caravan set out then when it was dawn » [D 5]. *na tāvad aham punarapi kapilavastu mahānagaram pravekṣyāmi yāvan me nānuttarā samyaksambodhir abhisambodhyā* « so long I shall not enter the great city of Kapilavastu as long as the perfect realisation (still remains) to be realised by me » [S 282]. Sometimes *tāvat* is omitted : *svapiti kumāro maharṣe muhūrtam āgamaya yāvad uṭṭhāsyati* « the prince sleeps, O great sage; wait a moment till the prince wakes » [S 117].

*yena...tena* « where...there » : *yena bhagavāṃs tenāñjalim praṇamya* « having bowed to the direction where the lord (was) » [L 6, 7]. Sometimes *tena* is suppressed : *te'pi sarve yena bodhimaṇḍapraṇatā abhūvan* « all of them bowed to the direction of the Bodhi seat » [L 341]. Sometimes *yena* is correlated to *tatra* : *yena daridravīthī tatrāsmākam āhāracīvaram alpakṛcchreṇaivotpadyate* « where (there is) the slum there our food and raiment can easily be got » [S 103].

*api . api* « both...and » : *api bhikṣavo vītarāgatvād api paryupāsitatvāt* « both for loss of attachment, O bhikṣus, and for reverence » [D 57].

*yac ca...yac ca* « both...and » : *yac ca kāśyapena samyaksambuddhena yac caitarhi bhagavatā* « both by Kāśyapa the perfectly Awakened One and by the lord now » [D 77].

*yenāntareṇa...tenāntareṇa* « while...then » : *yenāntareṇa pañca śākyakumāraśatā mātāpitṝṇām mitrajñātisālohitānāṃ ca pratisammodenti tenāntareṇa upāli prathamataram pravrajito* « while the five hundred Śākya youths were remonstrating with their parents, kinsmen and relatives, in that interval Upāli was the first to take holy orders » [Miii 180].



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# HISTORICAL SYNTAX OF MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

By
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# ABBREVIATIONS

Āyara = *Āyaraṅgasutta.*

Asokan Inscriptions

b = Bairat, bh = Bhabru, br = Bṛahmagiri,
D = Dhauli, G = Girnar, J = Jaugaḍa,
jtr = Jatiṅga-Rameśvar, K = Kalsi, A-K (Ksb) = Allahabad-Kausambi, kq = Queen's edict,
M = Mansehra, Mi (D-M) = Delhi-Mirat,
mk = Maski, Mth = Mathia, ng = Nagarjuni Cave,
nj = Nigliva, PE = Pillar edicts, Rdh = Radhia,
Rp = Rampurva, ru = Rupnath, S = Shahbazgarhi,
s = Sasaram, sep = separate edict, sd = Siddhapur,
T = Delhi-Topra.

CII = *Corpus Inscriptionem Indicarum.*

Dhamma = *Dhammapada.* Divya = *Divyāvadāna.* DN = *Dighanikāya.*

Dohā = *Dohākoṣa* (edited by P. C. Bagchi).

EI = *Epigraphia Indica.*

Gāthā = *Gāthāsaptaśatī.*

Jacobi = Jacobi's *Mahārāṣṭri Erzahlungen.*

Khar = Kharoṣṭhi *Dhammapada* (ed. H. W. Bailey; *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*).

KI = *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions from Chinese Turkestan.*

LV = *Lalitavistara.*

Mahā = *Mahāvastu.* Mbh. = *Mahābhārata* (Calcutta edition).

MN = *Majjhima-nikāya.*

Mṛccha = *Mṛcchakaṭika.*

Nasik = Nasik Cave Inscriptions.

OSBS = *Outline Syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit* by Sukumar Sen (*Calcutta University Journal of Letters,* 1927).

Pratimā = *Pratimānāṭaka.*

Saddharma = *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka.*

SN = *Suttanipāta.*

Thera = *Theragāthā.* Therī = *Therīgāthā.*

UCVP = *Use of the Cases in Vedic Prose* by Sukumar Sen (Bhandarkar Research Institute, 1930).

Uttara = *Uttarādhyāyanasūtra.*

VH = *Vāsudevahiṇḍī,* Vol. I (Bhavnagar. 1930-31).

Vikrama = *Vikramorvaśī.*

Vipāka = *Vipākasūtra.*



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# HISTORICAL SYNTAX OF MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

## Chapter One

## THE NOUN

### A. GENDER

§1. As the masculine and the neuter came closer together the interchange between the endings of the two genders is not rare. In Asokan the Girnar dialect keeps up, to a large extent, the morphological distinction between the two genders: dvo morā 'two peacocks' (I), dve cikīcha 'two kinds of medicinal treatment' (II), dhaṃmacaraṇaṃ idaṃ 'this practice of piety' (IV). In the Shahbazgarhi dialect there is a marked tendency of the masculine replacing the neuter: so vatavo pituna pi 'it should be spoken by the father too' (IX). In Asokan the accusative plural masculine of the *a*- stem regularly takes the neuter ending: agikaṃdhāni 'fireworks', pulisāni 'men'. In the Kalsi, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa versions the neuter plural ending once appears in the nominative also: lukhāni 'trees' (II), but G vrachā, M rucha. The extension of the neuter ending to the masculine is not infrequent in the later language, but its extension to the feminine is sporadic ; e.g. apsarāṇī (metrical lengthening) *'Apsaras'* (LV). In Apabhraṃsa the neuter plural ending is not at all rare in masculine and feminine substantives.

(a) In the following instance the neuter plural stands in apposition to two masculines and one feminine jointly: māyā-pittaṃ kokkāso ya mociyāni 'the parents and Kokkāsa were released' (ZDMG, N. F. Bd. 14, p. 302).

§2. The grammatical feminine is a dying idiom although it is kept up by the influence of Old Indo-Aryan. In popular (and late) Apabhraṃsa the old grammatical feminine is practically lost ; e.g., heṭṭhila diṭṭhi 'downward look' (*Mahāpurāṇa* I), paḍila bhitti 'a fallen wall' (Dohā). A new grammatical feminine however emerges towards the close of the Apabhraṃśa stage ; e.g. visamī randhā 'a difficult channel' (Dohā).

(a) The analogy of *varṣā*- is responsible for the feminine gender in Amg gimhā- 'the hot season' (see Pischel §356).



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## B. NUMBER

§3. Except the numeral 'two' and the pronoun 'both' the dual number is unknown in Middle Indo-Aryan. As Sanskritism it appears only in the two locative forms in Niya: padebhyam (KI 288), padeyo (KI 612) 'at the two feet'.

(a) In *Mahābhārata* the plural or the singular (collective) appears sporadically for the dual: *candrādityaiḥ* 'by the moon and the sun' (1.24.617); *strīdhūrtake* 'in a woman and a cheat' (5.39.74-75); *ajaikapādahirbudhnyaiḥ* 'by Ajaikapād and Ahirbudhnya' (5.11.4).

§4. A collective singular sometimes takes the plural ending; e.g. dantajualehi 'by the pair of teeth' (Pratimā).

§5. As against the Sanskrit usage the honorific plural sometimes appears in proper names too in inscriptional Middle Indo-Aryan: mahārāja-Bappasāmīhi 'by king Bappasāmi' (EI I pl. III 6). An example of the honorific plural in the Prakrits: bhaṇio ya balo kaṇheṇaṃ: bhāuga tumhe suṇhaṃ gahāya vaccaha amhe ete ṇivāremi. rāmeṇa bhaṇio kaṇha tumaṃ bahusahio vacca 'Bala(rāma) was addressed by Kṛṣṇa: Brother, go you away with the ladies, I resist these fellows. Rāma replied: Kṛṣṇa, go thou away with the ladies'. (VH p. 81).

(a) The vocative singular sometimes stands for the plural: te vandiūṇa pucchiyā mayā: bhayavaṃ kattha maṇṇe me nāho gao 'they were saluted and asked by me: Revered sir(s), where may have had my husband gone?' (VH p. 223).

## C. CASE

### 1. NOMINATIVE

§6. The use of the nominative differs little from the Old Indo-Aryan norm. Two peculiarities worth mention.

(a) In some early Pali and Niya texts, as in Vedic prose, the subjective predicate with the following transitive verbs used reflexively is in the nominative.

*vad-*: kuśalā vadānā 'calling themselves experts' (SN 26, 21; 49.15). Cf. *pāṇḍavā lubdhā bruvāṇā matsyasya viṣayaṃ prāviśan* 'the Pāṇḍavas calling themselves hunters entered the land of Matsya' (Mbh 3.5.4); *ya eṣa vallavo brūte sūdas tava narādhipa* 'this your cook who calls himself Vallava, O king' (3.71.3).



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*prati-jñā-*: kassako paṭijānāsi 'you profess to be a tiller' (SN 4.1); ye vo anarahā santo arahaṃ paṭijānati 'whoever among you not being an *arhat* pretends as such' (SN 7.20); sambuddho paṭijānāsi 'you profess to be the Perfectly Awakened Being' (SN 33.8 ; Thera 825).

*man-*: vṛdhasya na śrota maṃñaṃti 'they do not pretend to be listening to old men' (KI 489).

(b) In the dramatic Prakrits the temporal nominative occurs: ko kālo tumaṃ annesāmi 'what a long time (i.e., for a long time) I am seeking you' (Pratijñā; Svapna). Cf. Asokan: atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ bahūni vāsasatāni 'an interval has passed, many hundred years'.

§7. Anacoluthon with the present participle or with the conjunctive is a distinctive though not very regular Middle Indo-Aryan idiom. It is quite frequent in Asokan; e.g. vivādo nijhatī va saṃto parisāyaṃ anaṃtaraṃ paṭivedetavyaṃ me (other versions have 'vivāde saṃtaṃ') 'there being any dispute or adjournment in the council it should at once be reported to me' (G VI); so tathā karu ilokacasa āradho hoti parata ca anaṃtaṃ puṃñaṃ bhavati tena dhammadānena 'he acting thus, propitiation of this world happens and elsewhere infinite merit accrues by that gift of *dharma*' (G XI). Similarly in K, but in the S and M versions the construction is rather normal: so tatha karaṃtaṃ ialokaṃ ca aradheti paratra ca anataṃ puñaṃ prasavati tena dhramadanena 'he acting thus propitiates this world, and infinite merit accumulates by that gift of *dharma*'; avijitaṃ hi vijinamāne e tatā vadhaṃ vā malane vā apavahe vā janaṣā 'while one is conquering an unconquered (territory) (or, while an unconquered territory is being conquered) slaughter, death or carrying off of people (that may happen) there' (K XIII). vipaṭipātayaṃtaṃ no svaga(sa) āladhi no lājāladhi 'one not carrying out (the orders, there is) neither propitiation of heaven nor of the king' (J Sep I). (The corresponding D version is: vipaṭipādayamīnehi etaṃ nathi svagasa āladhi no lājāladhi. Lueders and Hultzsch read vipaṭipādayamīne hi, and if this reading is correct vipaṭipādayamīne would be nominative absolute. If not vipaṭipādayamīnehi would be dative: 'to one not carrying out this'. vipaṭipādayaṃtaṃ in version J can be taken as accusative (for dative) as well ; then the construction would be normal and the meaning would be 'to one not carrying out'. Subsequently D reads saṃpaṭipajamīne cu et(am) svagaṃ ālādhayisatha 'fully carrying out this (you) will propitiate heaven'. This supports Lueders and Hultzsch. khane saṃtaṃ ekena pi sotaviyā 'there being an occasion it should be heard by one (person) even' (J Sep II; D has the locative:



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khanasi khanasi). hevaṃ ve kalaṃtaṃ bhadake se a(the) cilathitike ca 'if you act thus' . . . (mk I; but if kalaṃnaṃ is taken as accusative the construction would be normal: 'to you acting thus'). nāsaṃtaṃ vā nijhapayitā dānaṃ dāhaṃti 'there being none who persuades (the relatives, they) will give away as gift' (T IV, etc.).

A clear example of the absolute use of the present participle middle in Buddhistic Sanskrit: so rodamāno dadi alu aśvarājam 'he weeping I gave him the fine horse' (LV).

In the above instances the nominative singular of the present participle used absolutely without a subject is virtually a substitute of the conjunctive. The use of the present participle for the conjunctive is not an unknown idiom in Middle Indo-Aryan, and in Apabhraṃśa the present participle active is a substitute for the finite verb carrying the sense of the three tenses and of the conditional.

(a) The nominative absolute with the present participle occurs in a very few instances in Vedic prose (cf. UCVP, pp. 7-9). Similar use with a conjunctive is not unknown in classical and Buddhistic Sanskrit and in Pali: kāko'va selaṃ āsajja nivvijāpema gotamaṃ 'like the crow approaching the rock we shall go away from Gotama in disgust' (SN 28.24); sa buddha iti aśrutapūrvaṃ śabdaṃ śrutvā sarvaromakūpāni āhṛṣṭāni 'he having heard the hitherto unheard of word Buddha, all his hair stood on end' (Divya p. 35).

## 2. Accusative

§8. The use of the accusative in Middle Indo-Aryan is the same as in classical Sanskrit. It remains the most important of the oblique cases, finally absorbing most of them.

§9. In the early Prakrits (especially in Pali and Buddhistic Sanskrit) the cognate accusative features largely, as in Vedic prose and to some extent in *Mahābhārata*. In Asokan the Girnar dialect prefers the etymological cognate accusative; e.g. anusaṃyānaṃ niyātu 'let him go out on tour' (III; elsewhere: anusaṃyanaṃ nikramatu etc.); vihārayātāṃ ñayāsu 'they set out on a pleasure tour' (VIII; elsewhere: vihālayātaṃ nāma nikhamisu etc.); dukaraṃ karoti 'he does a difficult deed' (V), so sukaṭaṃ kāsati 'he will do a meritorious deed' (V); dhramasuśruṣa suśruṣatu 'let him obey the obedience to *dharma*' (X); vaḍhi vaḍhisiti 'will grow a growth' (Rp I); dānaṃ dāhaṃti 'will give away gift' (PE IV); dhaṃmasāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhaṃmānusathini anusāsāmi 'I cause to be heard sermons on *dharma*, I order



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instructions in *dharma*' (T VII 20-21). dhaṃmānupaṭīpatī anupaṭīpajaṃtu 'they might conform to that practice of *dharma*' (T VII 24).

Niya: ede jaṃna śavatha śavāvidavva 'these men should be bound upon oath' (KI 358); etc.

Pali: cārikaṃ caramāno 'wandering on journey' (SN 32; DN i, p. 87); etaṃ kasiṃ kasitvāna 'having ploughed this ploughing' (SN 4.5); tam eva bhāsaṃ bhāseyya 'one should speak such words' (SN 29); yaññaṃ yaṭṭhukāmo 'desirous of holding a sacrifice' (SN 30.7); aggihutaṃ jūhato 'of one who feeds the sacrificial fire' (SN 28.4); cārikaṃ pakkami 'went on a journey' (SN 32); jaṃghāvihāraṃ anucaṃkamānānaṃ 'of them who were walking about' (SN 35, cf. DN i, p. 236); narakapapātaṃ papataṃtaṃ 'falling down the precipice of hell' (DN i, p. 234) ; rājabhaṇitaṃ vā bhaṇāti 'utters the speech of the king' (DN i, p. 194); phusanti phassaṃ 'feel the touch' (Thera 783); lābhaṃ labhissanti 'will gain a gain' (Thera 963); kumārakīḷikaṃ kīḷi 'played a boy's game' (Therī 75); añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā 'having saluted with folded palms' (Therī 431); etc.

Ardhamāgadhī: vāsaṃ vāsiṃsu 'rained a rain' (Āyara 2.15.8); vivādaṃ vadanti 'raise the discourse' (ibid. 1.4.2.3), saṃgāmaṃ saṃgāmamāṇe 'fighting a battle' (*Nirayāvaliyāsutta*, ed. Warren, p. 5); kuḍumbajāgariyaṃ jāgaramāṇīe 'of her who was brooding over household affairs' (Vipāka 1.1).

Buddhistic Sanskrit: pravarṣa jambudhvaje varṣam 'rain a shower in the Jambudhvaja' (LV); mahārāvaṃ ravantānaṃ 'of them roaring a loud roar' (Mahā i p. 6); dhvānaṃ dhyāyasi 'you meditate the meditation' (ibid. iii. p. 149).[1]

The Prakrits: tumaṃ ekka-pahāliaṃ kalemi 'I shall strike you a single (and mortal) blow' (Mṛccha viii).

Apabhraṃśa: aggi huṇanta 'offering oblations into fire' (Dohā). It may be shortened form of aggihuttaṃ huṇanta, or aggi may be the accusative standing for the locative.

(a) In *Mahābhārata* the cognate accusative is not a rare idiom ; e.g. *ruvanti rāvaṃ vihagāḥ* 'birds are chirping' (1.64.10); *mā prapata prapātam* 'do not fall a fall (i.e., down a precipice)' (1.141.20); *sukhavāsam uṣitvā* 'having stayed a happy stay' (2.2.1); *paśumāram amārayat* 'killed (him) as an animal' (3.11.63); *vasatiṃ tām uvāsa ha* 'stayed that stay (i.e., remained there)' (3.11.70); *jiveyuḥ paśujīvikām* 'they would live the life of an animal' (3.31.26); *durvasatīr vasan* 'living discomfortably' (3.52.46); etc.

[1] See OSBS pp. 5-9.



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§10. Even at the early stage the locative is much preferred to the accusative in indicating goal or destination. The Old Indo-Aryan idiom of the accusative of goal with the abstract noun, carrying the sense 'to obtain', occurs in Asokan and in Pali: bhūtanaṃ ānaṃṇaṃ gacheyaṃ (S vraceyaṃ ; M, K, D, J yehaṃ) 'I may attain indebtedness to creatures' (G VI); ıama ca ānaniyaṃ eḥatha (J esatha) 'and you shall pay off your debt to me' (D Sep I); paṭibhogaṃ no eti 'comes to no use (i.e., is not used)' (PE V). sabbattha sotthiṃ gacchanti 'they attain welfare everywhere' (SN 16.12); adhigacche somanassaṃ 'would attain happiness' (DN i p. 72); etc.

§11. The temporal accusative is a decaying idiom in early Middle Indo-Aryan, and in the latest phase it is restricted to a few stereotyped forms: savraṃ kalaṃ 'always' (S VI) = savrakalaṃ (M) = save kāle (G) = savaṃ kālaṃ (K, D, J); ciraṃ tiṣṭeya 'it may remain for ever' (G VI ; other versions read cirathitika etc.); bahūni vāsasatāni 'for many hundred years' (IV). bahukāni varisāni 'for many years' (Nasik Cave: EI VII); gato smiṃ varṣāratuṃ mālayehi rudhaṃ uttama-bhādraṃ mocayituṃ '(I) had gone to release the (chief of the) Uttama-bhadra, who had been besieged for the rainy season by the Mālayas' (Nasik Cave: EI VIII). idha vassaṃ vasissāmi 'here (I) shall stay during the rains' (Dhamma); rattiṃ ābhāti candimā 'the moon shines at night' (Dhamma); pañcāhāhaṃ pabbajito '(it is) five days since I have come out' (Thera 222); kālaṃ kālaṃ 'at times ; from time to time' (Therī 199); purimāni bhante purimatarāni sunakkhatto licchaviputto yenāhaṃ ten' upasaṃkami 'some days ago, sir, Sunakkhatta the Licchavi came to where I (was)' (DN i, p. 152; ii, p. 2); ṣaṇmāsān svapiti '(he) slept for six months' (Divya p. 106); etc.

(a) The Asokan phrase atikaṃtaṃ aṃtaraṃ 'a long time (has) elapsed ; long ago' may be taken either as temporal accusative or as nominative-accusative absolute.

In Pali and Buddhistic Sanskrit the phrases atītam addhānaṃ 'in the past', paccuppannam addhānaṃ 'in the present', and anāgatam addhānaṃ 'in the future' are very frequent. So also the compound bhūtapubbaṃ 'in the past'. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* has the locative: 'atīte 'dhvani' instead of 'atitam adhvānam'.[1]

(b) The temporal accusative sometimes denotes only a part or moment of time instead of continuation in time. Such idiom is restricted to words denoting 'night' or 'day'; e.g., yañca cunda rattiṃ tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambujjhati 'the night,

[1] See OSBS, p. 9.



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O Cunda, on which the Tathāgata attained the perfect enlightenment' (DN iii, p. 135); so sattadivasaṃ . . . . . kālaṃ karissati 'he will die on the seventh day' (ibid. p. 7); jaṃ ṇaṃ rātiṃ tisalā khattiyāṇī samaṇaṃ bhagavaṃ mahāvīraṃ arogā arogaṃ pasutā 'on the night when the Kṣatriya lady Tisalā safely gave birth to the lord mendicant Mahāvīra' (Āyara 2.15.7) ; yāṃ ca rātriṃ bodhisattvo jātaḥ 'on the night when the Bodhisattva was born' (LV); yo asmākam ito saptamaṃ divasaṃ sarvaprathamaṃ himavantaṃ parvatarājaṃ gamiṣyati 'whoever among us would go first on the seventh day from hence to the king of mountains, the Himavant' (Mahā). Cf. *yāṃ ca rātrim ajāyethāḥ* 'on the night you were born' (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 39.1.2).

(c) The temporal accusative very rarely indicates completion of an action (*apavarga*) instead of mere continuity in time (*vyāpti*): sāriputto bhikkhave addhamāsaṃ anupadadhammavipassaṃ vipassi 'Sāriputta, O bhikkhus, attained the vision of 'anupadadhamma' in course of six months' (MN iii p. 25).

(d) In Old Indo-Aryan the temporal accusative sometimes, though rarely, denotes the end of a period: *yat saṃvatsaraṃ jātaḥ syāt* 'that (he) may have been born a year (after conception)' (*Śatapatha Brāhmana* 9.5.1.68); *talaḥ sa veda tāṃ kanyāṃ kañcit kālam striyaṃ kila* 'then after some time she knew that girl to be a woman' (Mbh 5.191.13). Cf. *kiñcit kālāntaraṃ dāsye puṃliṅgaṃ svam idaṃ tava* 'after a time (I) shall make you again a male' (Mbh. 5.194.3).

§12. The accusative of space is a rather rare idiom ; e.g. ekam antaṃ aṭṭhāsi '(he) stood on one side' (SN 4); atha bhāsihi dasa disā 'then (he) will shine through the ten regions' (SN 37.41); ahaṃ raṭṭhāni vicaranto nigame rājadhāniyo 'I (was) wandering in kingdoms, towns and capital cities' (Jātaka iv 13.62). gao bārasa joyaṇāiṃ '(he) traversed twelve 'yojanas' ' (Jacobi 48.29).

(a) The spatial accusative sometimes carries the sense of other local cases such as the ablative and the locative ; e.g. yan nu gijjho yojanasataṃ kuṇapāni avekkhati 'just as a vulture sees carcasses from a hundred leagues (away)' (Jātaka ii 2.27); alam etehi ambehi jambūhi panasehi ca | yāni pāraṃ samuddassa varaṃ mayham udumbaro 'No use of these mangoes, berries and jackfruits, which (lie) on the other side of the sea: fig is preferable to me' (Jātaka ii 2.114); katañ ca sukataṃ seyyo 'well-done is better than (merely) done' (Dhamma); tato nissaranto dukkhamaraṇaṃ 'then (he) would have escaped a painful death' (VH p. 6); pavvaya-kandaraṃ viniggayā 'came out of the rocky cave' (VH p. 146).



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§13. As in the language of Vedic Prose the accusative with verbs and verbal derivatives often expresses case-relations other than the objective. Thus:

krandanti naṃ jñāti 'kinsfolk bewail him' (Thera 779); kintu ātmānam aham rodimi 'but I mourn for myself' (LV). Cf. *yathcyaṃ strī pautram aghaṃ na rodāt* 'so that this woman does not bewail a calamity pertaining to her son' (*Mantra-Brāhmaṇa* 1.1.10).

turiye naccati naṭṭakī 'a nautch girl dances to music' (Thera 267).

namassamānā sambuddhaṃ 'worshipping the Sambuddha' (SN 9.29); paaṃ ṇamaha 'bow to the feet' (Gāthā 5.11); cf. name namantassa 'should worship one who is worshipping' (Jātaka ii 2.144).

pibanti vā mahārāja sāpadāni mahānadīṃ 'beasts, O king, drink from big rivers' (Jātaka ii 2.86); pabbatupatthare ramme jātā pokkharaṇi sivā|taṃ sigālo apāpāsi jānaṃ sīhena rakkhitaṃ 'At the foot of the hill there was a nice tank which the jackal drank from, though knowing it to be under the protection of a lion' (Jātaka ii 2.85). Cf. *nadīm pibanti* '(they) drink of the river' (Mbh 6.9.14).

·bhāyasi maṃ samana 'are you, O śramaṇa, afraid of me?' (SN 17).

divāvihāraṃ nisinno 'sat down for siesta' (DN iii, p. 17). The accusative here is really cognate.

seyyathāpi bhante ambaṃ vā puṭṭho labujaṃ vyākareyya 'just, sir, as if (a man) being asked about a mango should describe a 'labuja' ' (DN i p. 53); cf. *tato 'pṛcchad dhṛtarāṣṭraṃ saputram* 'then be asked about Dhṛtarāṣṭra and his sons' (Mbh 2.58.4).

na so atthi yo imaṃ saddhaheyya 'there is nobody who would believe him' (Jātaka ii 3.12); piyaṃ no saddadhimo '(I) do not believe in (my) wife' (Gāthā 1.6). Cf. saddahāsi sigālassa surāpītassa brāhmaṇa 'you believe, O brahman, in a jackal (who has) drunk wine' (Jātaka i 1.109).

na taṃ mayaṃ sīlavantaṃ rarāma 'we do not appreciate you (when you play) the virtuous' (Jātaka ii 3.145); ramei pisiyaṃ mahuṃ ca bhakkhei '(he) relishes flesh and eats honey' (Jacobi 6.5). In OIA the verb *ram* is generally construed with the locative.

etam pi dissā virame kathojjaṃ 'having seen this one should stop disputing' (SN 46.5).

kāko va selaṃ āsajja nivvijjāpema gotamaṃ 'like the crow approaching the rock (we) shall go away from Gotama (in disgust)' (SN 28.24).



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arahasi vā maṃ tvaṃ na vā maṃ tvaṃ arahasi 'you are held as worthy as I, or you are not held as worthy as I' (DN i p. 99).

yodhetha māraṃ paññāyudhena 'you should fight Māra with 'paññā' as weapon' (Dhamma 3.8). Cf. *yodhayāmāsa phālgunam* '(he) fought with Phālguna' (Mbh 2.27.7).

sīsaṃ nahāto 'bathed only in (*i.e.* in respect of) the head' (MN i p. 32).

bhagavato pāde sirasā patitvā 'bending his head at the feet of the Lord' (MN ii p. 120). If pāde is not a locative it must have originated from contamination: pāde vanditvā and pādesu patitvā. aggiṃ juhoti 'is making offerings to the fire' (SN 30).

(a) Many verbs construed with the dative of the indirect object (final dative) in Old Indo-Aryan are construed with the object accusative in Middle Indo-Aryan ; *e.g.* rocetu taṃ ca '(he) may find pleasure in it' (S XIII, K); kiṃ nu jātiṃ na rocesi 'why do you not like birth?' (Therī 190); pihanti devesu upapattiṃ '(they) desire to be reborn among the gods' (Therī 454).

(b) In the following instances the accusative is really a temporal or a spatial accusative: ahaṃ kkhu raaṇasaṭṭhim uvavasidā āsi 'I had fasted on (the occasion of) 'ratanasaṭṭhi' ' (Mṛccha iii). yena takṣaśilāyaṃ sthitena vārāṇasīṃ kāṇḍaṃ kṣiptam 'by whom staying in Takṣaśilā an arrow was darted into Banaras' (Mahā ii p. 83).

(c) In such instances as the following the accusative is adverbial, being of the nature of the cognate accusative: ehi jūdaṃ kilemha 'come let us play dice' (Mṛccha ii). añjaliṃ paṇāmesi 'you bow with folded palms' (Gāthā 4.32).

§14. Verbs when compounded with preverbs very often change their meaning ; and therefore, intransitive verbs very often become transitive (*i.e.*, they are construed with the accusative denoting various case-relations) when compounded to preverbs. Examples: ātpapā-saṃḍaṃ bāḍhataraṃ upahanāti 'greatly injures his own sect' (G XII; S, M ; K has the locative instead of the accusative, as in OIA); pala-pāśaḍa pi vā upakaleti . . . . palapāśaḍa pi vā apakaleti 'also benefits the others' creed . . . . also injures the others' creed' (K XII; S, M, G have the genitive in place of the accusative). lajukā pi laghaṃti paticalitave maṃ 'officials also must obey me' (T IV, Mdh, Rth, Mi).

rājarisisadam akhilam anuvidhīyamānāya 'by one who has fully worked out the type of a royal ṛṣi's wife' (Nasik; EI VIII).



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parassa dāraṃ nātikkameyya 'let him not transgress with another man's wife' (SN 19.11); khanā accenti mānave 'time passes by men' (Thera 231); mā taṃ kālo upaccagā 'may not time pass you by' (Jātaka ii 2.33). Cf. *mā tvāṃ kālo'tyagāt punaḥ* 'may not again time pass you' (Mbh 3.22.25). atirocasi yasasā sabbalakaṃ 'you outshine the whole world by your glory' (Thera 1252); sabbe vā atirocati 'outshines all' (Jātaka ii 2.108); saṃyugaṃ nātivattati 'does not break away from the yoke' (Thera 659); channam ativassati vivaṭaṃ nātivassati 'it rains over (a) roofed (place) but not over an open (place)' (Thera 447).

evaṃ satiṃ adhiṭṭheyya 'let him devote himself to this attitude' (SN 8.9).

kūṭadantassa brāhmaṇassa mahāyaññaṃ anubhavissāma 'we shall take part in (or witness) the great sacrifice (held) by Kūṭadanta the brahman' (DN i, u. 129); atha kho uttaro mānavo satta māsāni bhagavantam anubandhi 'now the youngman Uttara followed the Lord for seven months' (MN ii, p. 135); tassa vattaṃ anusikkhantā 'imitating his practice' (SN 19.11); bhāsitaṃ anubhāsanti vācitaṃ anuvācenti 'repeat the saying, repeat the speech' (DN i, p. 194).

moro kāraṃbiyaṃ abhinandati 'the peacock welcomes the domingo' (Thera 22); sīho ca sīhanādena daddaraṃ abhinādayi 'the lion with his lion-roar resounded (the hill) Daddara' (Jātaka ii 2.4).

gharam āvasantā 'dwelling at home' (SN 3.9); sace agāraṃ ajjhāvasati 'if he abides in a dwelling' (SN 55-27); pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā 'having squatted' (MN etc.).

gorakkham upajīvati 'lives by cow-keeping' (SN 35.19); sippaphalam upajīvanti 'live by art' (DN i p. 52); rāyamagge tuṇṇagasippaṃ upajīvaï 'lives by the art of running errands on the high road' (Jacobi 65.9); bhagavato kāyam upanāmesi 'brushed against the Lord's body' (SN 17); ādiccam upatiṭṭhati 'worships the sun' (Jātaka ii 2.47); upaccagā maṃ 'has conquered me' (SN 46.4); nakkhattaṃ paṭimānentaṃ attho bālaṃ upaccagā 'while watching for the (auspicious) star luck passed away by the fool' (Jātaka i 1.48).

yo buddhaṃ paribhāsati 'who reviles the Buddha' (SN 7.19); mātā nava vā dasa vā māse gabbhaṃ kucchinā pariharati 'a mother carries in her womb the embryo for nine or ten months' (MN i p. 266).

yo kuddhaṃ paṭikujjhati 'who is angry with the wrathful' (Thera 442); na ca naṃ paṭinandati 'him he dotes not welcome' (Jātaka ii 2.89). paṭibhāti maṃ 'it occurs to me' (SN 29).



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samādhiñca virādhenti 'is disgusted of *samādhi*' (Thera 231); idha ce hi naṃ virādhesi saddhammassa niyāmataṃ 'if here you fail to attain the goal taught by 'saddharma' ' (Jātaka i 1.3); etc.

(a) The accusative with the causative verb: athe me janasa paṭivedetha 'inform me of the business of the people' (G VI; K, S, M, D, J); aññāni ca divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janaṃ 'having shown other divine spectacles to the people' (G IV; S, M, K, D, J have the genitive janasa or munisānaṃ for the accusative janam); hedisameva vagaṃ no ca atikāmayisati timn(i) vasāni 'thus (he) will not let people pass (more than) three years' (D Sep. I).

sava-raṭhike bhojike pade vaṃdāpayati 'makes all the Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojikas to bow at (his) feet' (Khāravela); panāḍiṃ nagaraṃ pavesayati 'makes the canal enter the city' (ibid.); dutiye ca vase acitayitā sātakaniṃ pachimadisaṃ haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahulaṃ daṇḍaṃ paṭhāpayati 'in the second year, without caring for Sātakarṇī he sends an army of invasion containing many horses, elephants, men and chariots to the western country' (ibid.).

tiṇi māṇavakasatāni mante vācesi 'taught three hundred youngmen the hymns' (SN 33); taṃ vadessāmi dhammaṃ '(I) will make him proclaim the 'dharma' ' (SN 24.9); bhagavantaṃ thañña pāyesi 'suckled the Lord at her breast' (MN iii p. 253).

dharaṇijado ya māhaṇaputte vedaṃ pāṭhei 'Dharaṇijaḍa taught the brahman boys the Vedas' (VH p. 320).

(b) The double accusative with a single verb (non-causative): devānaṃ priyo priyadasi rājā yaso va kītī va na mahāthāvahā maṃñate 'the king Priyadasi the beloved of the gods does not consider good name or fame much profitable' (G X). anugahānekāni satasahasāni visajati poraṃ jānapadaṃ 'gives many hundred thousands of privileges to the townspeople and villagers' (Khāravela); jātipaṇitiṃ parihāram dadāti 'gives exemptions to the various trade guilds' (ibid.).

tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ 'him I call a brahman' (Dhamma 26.3); sakaṃ hi dhammaṃ paripuṇṇaṃ āhu 'their own 'dhamma' (they call perfect' (SN 51.10); buddhaṃ saraṇam āgamaṃ '(I) have resorted to the Buddha as the protector' (Thera 285).

dantaṃ nayanti samitiṃ '(then) lead him, the self-restrained one, to the meeting' (Dhamma 23.2); āgogyaṃ brāhmaṇiṃ avaca 'asked the brahman lady good health' (Therī 324); ārogyam brāmaniṃ vajja 'wish the brahman lady good health' (Therī 323); tattheva pabbajjam



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ayāci buddhaṃ 'there indeed (he) begged religious initiation ('pabbajjā') of the Buddha' (Thera 869); bhagavantam eva tāṇaṃ gavesi 'he sought protection of the Lord alone' (DN i p. 95).

nehi maṃ tassa suhaassa vasadiṃ 'take me to the abode of that dear-one' (Vikrama iii); kiṃ tumaṃ amhehiṃ yādiṃ vaśadim ca puścide 'are you asked (your) caste or (your) residence by us?' (*Śakuntalā* iv). so taṃ gabbhaṃ pucchaï 'he asked him about the son' (Jacobi 37.32); mahindasīhaṃ senāvaiṃ niuñjiya 'having appointed Mahindasīha as the commander of the army' (Jacobi 26.6); etc.

§15. Participles, like the finite verb, govern the accusative: kacci mohaṃ atikkanto 'has (he) overcome folly?' (SN 9.8); anujāto tathāgataṃ 'born after the Tathāgata' (SN 33.10); ye sasā paṭhaviṃ sitā 'those hares that live on the earth' (Jātaka iv 70.144); etc.

§16. The accusative with nouns and adjectives, whether verbal derivatives or not, is not uncommon in Pali, but is rare in the Prakrits. Examples: atapāśaṃḍe pujā 'honouring their own creeds' (K XII; S, M, G have the compound ataprasaṃḍapuja). Cf. *pituḥ pitāmahā ye ca tathaiva prapitāmahāḥ/prītās te satataṃ putra damenāvāṃ ca pūjayā* 'Father's grandfathers and also the great grandfathers, O son, are ever pleased with thee for (thy) self-restraint and for (thy) honouring us' (Mbh 3.213.11).

ye ye alābhino lābhaṃ 'whoever have not gained the gain' (Thera 964); na hi lakkhim alakhiṃ vā añño aññassa kārako 'one is no maker of another's fortune or misfortune' (Jātaka iii 6.55); satthu pādāni vandikā 'worshippers of the Master's feet' (Therī 337); ārādhako hoti ñāyaṃ dhammaṃ kusalaṃ 'he is a worshipper of truth, piety and welfare' (MN ii pp. 181, 197); sace hi bho gotama imaṃ dhammaṃ bhavaṃ yeva . . . ārādhako abhavissa 'had you, O Gotama, been the worshipper of this very 'dhamma' ' (MN i p. 491); cf. *ājagāma viśuddhātmā pāṇḍavān avalokakaḥ* 'the pure-souled one came to see the Pāṇḍavas' (Mbh 3.183.47).[1] ahaṃ n'esaṃ jīvitaṃ dātā yasassa āhattā 'I am the giver of their life and the maker of their fame' (MN ii p. 123); aham assa mante vācetā 'I myself have taught him verses' (DN i p. 123); anekāni devatāsahassāni bhagavantaṃ anubandhāni honti 'many thousands of gods are following the Lord' (MN iii p. 278); bhagavantaṃ dassanāya 'for seeing the Lord' (MN ii p. 244); DN iii p. 36); ghāsam esanā 'seeking for food' (DN iii p. 94);

[1] In these examples the primary derivatives in *-aka* have the force of the infinitive. See CGMIA §165.



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nāhaṃ gamissāmi pamocanāya kathaṃkathiṃ 'I shall not go to free the doubtful (man)' (SN 60.4).

atha kho āyasmā vaṃgīso bhagavantaṃ sammukho 'now the reverend Vaṃgīsa standing before the Lord'' (SN 29). Cf. aññamaññaṃ sagāravā 'respectful to each other' (Thera 978), etc.

(a) The accusative with primary derivatives is very common in Buddhistic Sanskrit (see OSBS, p. 12 ff).

§17. The only preverb that governs the accusative in the early Prakrits (Pali and Buddhistic Sanskrit) is *prati*: utuveramaṇiṃ pati 'at (the time of) cessation of menstruation' (SN 19.8); nadiṃ nerañjaraṃ pati 'on (or near) the river Nerañjarā' (SN 28.1; Therī 306); esa . . . sambuddho nagaraṃ mithilaṃ pati . . . . dhammaṃ desesi pāṇinam 'the Perfectly Awakened One was preaching *dharma* to the people in the city of Mithilā' (Therī 317); tato ratiyā vivāsane suriyass' uggamanaṃ pati 'when the night wore away, at the (time of) rising of the sun' (Thera 517, 628).

In Buddhistic Sanskrit the use of *prati* is varied (see OSBS p. 14). It features largely in *Mahābhārata* also: *cintayāmāsa duḥkhārtā śarmiṣṭhāṃ prati* 'stricken with grief (she) thought about Śarmiṣṭhā' (1.78.1); *mainākaṃ parvataṃ prati* 'on the mountain Maināka' (2.3.2); *yan māṃ pṛcchasi rājendra hariścandraṃ prati* 'as (you), O king, ask me about (the story of) Hariścandra' (2.12.10); *vyāghraṃ śayānaṃ prati mā prabodha* 'do not awaken (or do not be attentive to) a sleeping tiger' (3.134.3); *kubera-sadanaṃ prati* 'at the house of Kubera' (3.139.12); *ājiśiraḥ prati* 'to the thick of the battle' (3.288.15); etc. Other preverbs governing the accusative, occurring in *Mahābhārata*, are *ati* (very frequent) and *anu*.

§18. The accusative governed by adverbs is illustrated below. It is a very restricted idiom in Middle Indo-Aryan.

viṇā vi lobhaṃ 'without desire' (Āyara 1.22.1).

jaṃ pabhiiṃ 'since when' (Vipāka); jappabhiim . . . . tappabhiiṃ 'since when . . . . since then' (*Kalpasūtra* etc.). aṣṭamām bhūmiṃ prabhṛti 'from the eighth ground' (Mahā i p. 104).

abhito sabhaṃ 'around the assembly' (MN i p. 338).

tassa antarā ca sāvatthiṃ antarā ca sāketaṃ satta ratha-vinītāni upaṭṭhapeyyuṃ '(they) should place seven chariot-trained (horses) (on the way) between Sāvatthi and Sāketa' (MN i p. 149); ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā antarā ca rājagaham antarā ca nāḷandaṃ addhāna-magga-paṭipanno hoti 'once on a time the Lord was on the way between Rājagaha and Nālanda' (DN i p. 1).



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bhavantaṃ antareṇa candravvaṭavvavadeseṇa mukkarosā ajja .... devī 'regarding your honour the queen today is pacified on the occasion of the Candravrata' (Vikrama iii).

(a) In the Jaina Prakrits the adverbs jāva and tāva govern the temporal accusative; *e.g.* annayā namirāino sarīre chammāse jāva dāho jāo 'once on the body of the king Namī there was a burning sensation for six months' (Jacobi 48.4, 5) etc. In Buddhistic Sanskrit *yāvat* sometimes governs the dative (see OSBS p. 28).

§19. In Pali the interjectional adverb dhi and the phrase dhiratthu govern the accusative. Thus: dhi brāhmaṇassa hantāraṃ 'fie to the killer of a brahman!' (Dhamma 2.7); dhī dhī paraṃ 'fie to the other!' (Thera 1134); dhiratthu idha jīvitaṃ 'fie to life in this world!' (SN 28.16), etc. Cf. *dhigastu kṣattāram* 'fie to the Kṣattṛ' (Mbh 2.67.1); *strīkāmañca dhigastu tvām*' 'fie to thee who desireth a woman!' (ibid. 3.271.21).

§20. The adverbial accusative: atapāśaḍā bāḍhaṃ vaḍhiyati 'greatly furthers his own creed' (K XII, M). ātpapāsaṃḍaṃ bāḍhataraṃ upahanāti 'more surely injures his own creed' (G XII, S, M, K). anaṃtaraṃ paṭivedetavyaṃ me 'should be immediately reported to me' (G VI;—accusative in D, J, but instrumental in S, M, K). kāmaṃ ca khanasi khanasi 'in any case (it should be heard) at times' (D Sep. II); kāmaṃ tu kho khudakena pi paka(maiṇeṇa) vipule svage sakye ārādhetave 'in any case a lavish heaven may indeed be attained by a petty creature making effort' (br I, sd)). vipulaṃ pi ca vaḍhisati 'and it will increase largely' (s, sd, b, br, Rp, jtr I).

anudivasaṃ bahūni prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni ārahhisu 'every day hundred thousands of animals were killed' (G I, M, K, D, J; S has anudivaso). iyaṃ ca lipī (a)nutisaṃ sotaviyā 'this edict should be heard on every *tiṣya* day' (J Sep I; D has t(i)sanakhatena). iyaṃ ca lipī a(nu)cātuṃmāsaṃ sotaviyā 'this edict should be heard at (the beginning of every season of) four months' (J Sep II, D). anuposathaṃ mache avadhiye 'on every fast day fish (is) not to be killed' (MRE V).

putā pi (ca) natipana(t)i ca devānaṃ piyasa piyadasine lā(j)ine pavaḍhayisaṃti yeva dhaṃmacalanaṃ imaṃ āk(apa)ṃ 'sons as well as grandsons and great grandsons of the king Piyadasi the beloved of the gods shall indeed increase this practice of 'dhamma' to the end of creation' (D IV 16-17); evamapi pracaṃtesu yathā coḍā pāḍā satiyaputo ketalaputo ā taṃbapaṃni (=ātaṃbapaṃni, as probably in J) 'thus even in frontiers such as the Coḍas, the Pāḍas, the Satiya-



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puta and the Keralaputa as far as Tambapanni' (G II, J). niṣiṭhā ācaṃdaṣūliyaṃ '(the cave is) bestowed as long as the sun and the moon (shall endure)' (Cave Dedications of Daśaratha). pavaḍhayisaṃti cev(a) dhaṃmacaranaṃ i(ma)ṃ āvakapam '(they) shall indeed increase this practice of 'dhamma' up to the end of time (<*yāvatkalpam*)' K IV, S, M; D has ākapam); (y)e me apaca (a)chamti (vrakṣaṃti: Hultzsch) avakapaṃ tathaṃ ye an(u)vatisaṃti 'my offspring who shall remain and who shall thus act to the end of time' (S V; M, K, D).

sukhaṃ tvaṃ vuḍḍhike sehi 'live in peace, O old woman' (Therī 16); na pupphagandho paṭivātam eti 'fragrance of flowers does not pervade against the wind' (Dhamma 4.11); mhitapubbam abhāsatha '(she) said with a smile' (Thera 460); etc.

§21. The absolute use of the accusative was an extremely doubtful idiom in early Indo-Aryan. There are one or two instances in Vedic prose; *e.g., tasmād u putram akṛttanābhiṃ pañca brāhmaṇān anubrūyāt* 'let (one) say to five brahmans before the umbilical cord of the (newly born) son has been cut' (*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* 11.3.3.6); *atha vai paśum ālabhyamānaṃ puroḍāśo nirūpyate* 'now when the victim (is) being killed a cake is offered' (*Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa* 10.5).

There are a few stereotyped instances in Pali: atha kho brāhmaṇo pokkharasādi bhagavantaṃ bhuttāviṃ onītapattapāṇim aññataraṃ nīcam āsanaṃ gahetvā ekam antaṃ nisīdi 'now the brahman Pokkharasādi, when the Lord (had) taken his food and washed his hands and the bowl, took a low seat and sat on a side' (DN i p. 109); atha kho ānanda kikī kāsirājā kassapaṃ bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammāsambuddhaṃ bhuttāviṃ onītapattapāṇiṃ aññataraṃ nīcam āsanam gahetvā ekam antaṃ nisīdi 'now, O Ānanda! Kikī, the king of Kāśī, when the venerable Lord Kassapa, the Perfectly Awakened One, (had) eaten his meal and washed his hands and the bowl, took a low seat and sat on a side' (MN ii p. 50; cf. p. 93).

(a) In the following instance from *Mahābhārata bhūtam* may represent an accusative or a nominative absolute: *saṃśrutyodāhṛtaṃ vākyaṃ bhūtam antarhitaṃ tataḥ/putrasnehābhisantaptā jananī vākyam abravīt* 'Hearnig the uttered speech, when the (supernatural) had disappeared, the mother stricken with grief for the love of her son said (these) words' (2.43.6).

### 3. Instrumental

§22. The instrumental is an important oblique case in MIA. In OIA there were some idioms common between the instrumental and the



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ablative, and these idioms came over to the instrumental in MIA where the plural of the instrumental and the dative-ablative have the same ending. As regards the feminine noun in *-ā* the singular of the instrumental, the dative and the ablative-genitive is identical.

§23. The sociative and concomittant instrumental, whether construed with á verb or not, is regularly accompanied by an adverb or adjective like 'saha' (<**sadha*), 'saddhiṃ' (<*sārdham*), 'saja' (<*sacā*), 'sahia' (<*sahita-*) etc. In the earlier Buddhist and Jaina texts 'saha' is much more frequent than 'saddhiṃ'. So in *Suttanipāta, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā,* in the Jātaka verses and in *Āyaraṅgasutta* 'saddhiṃ' is exceedingly rare. In Buddhistic Sanskrit, however, 'sārdham' as well as the adjective 'samanvāgata' by far preponderates. There are no instances of the instrumental with any such adverb or adjective in the Asokan inscriptions. 'sadha' (=*saha* or <*sārdham*) occurs in early some Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā.

Examples: sadha matra abuhola(e) 'with (her) mother Abuholā' Mathura Lion Capital: CII II i); saha mātāpithi 'with the parents' (New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura XVII: EI 1); saha putena dhammarakhitena 'with (his) son Dhammarakhita' (Nasik: EI VIII). sabhoḍusa sabalabhaḍhapie sardha ca 'together with Bhaḍu, and together with (his father Balabhaḍha' (Shahdaur Inscription of Damijada: CCI II i). saja uva[jha]e[na] rohiṇimitrena 'with the teacher Rohiṇīmitra' (Taxila cop-pl. Inscr. of Patika: CCI II i). sahā kṣatrapena vanaspareṇa 'with Kṣatrapa Vanaspara' (Sarnath Buddhist Image Inscr. of Kaniṣka).

In the Jaina Prakrits the sociative instrumental is invariably accompanied by adjectives and adverbs such as 'sahia-', 'sameya-', 'samaṃ', 'samāṇaṃ', 'saddhiṃ' (less frequently), and 'saha'. Thus: guruhiṃ samaṃ viharanto 'moving with (his) superiors' (Jacobi 1); mānesu mae samāṇaṃ jovvana-sirim 'enjoy with me the youthful fortune' (ibid.); niya-dhūyāe sameo 'accompanied by his own daughter' (ibid.); sahio niya-paṇaiṇīe 'with his own beloved' (ibid.); mahindasīhena saha 'with Mahindasīha' (ibid.); ego egatthie saddhiṃ neva ciṭṭhe na saṃlave 'one should neither remain nor talk with a solitary woman' (Uttara 1.26).

Late Apabhraṃśa: bhajjeṃ sahiau 'with the wife' (Dohā).

In *Mahābhārata sārdham* is quite frequent. This sociative adverb first occurs in *Aitreya-Brāhmaṇa.*

§24. In the early Pali texts there are a few instances where the sociative adverb has not been used. Thus: sālīnam annaṃ pari-



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bhuñjamāno sakuntakehi susaṃkhatehi 'eñjoying food (made) of rice with the well-prepared (flesh of) birds' (SN 14.3); sabbhir eva samāsetha '(one) should keep company of the good' (Thera 4, Jātaka ii 2.78) etc.

§25. The instrumental of identity or reference (*'itthambhūta-lakṣaṇa'*) is an idiom allied to the sociative instrumental. Examples: ayaṃ dhaṃmalipi . . . . asti eva saṃkhitena asti majhamena asti vistatena 'this edict is in brief (form), is in medium (form), is in long (form)' (G XIV); munisānaṃ cu yā iyaṃ dhaṃmavaḍhi vaḍhitā duvehi yeva ākālehi dhaṃmaniyamena ca nijhatiyā ca 'this, men's advance in 'dhamma', has increased in two forms—by moral restrictions and by conversion (?)' (T VII 29). kena attanā gacchati brahmalokaṃ 'in what form can one go to the world of Brahman' (SN 31.22); pādesu sirasā pati '(he) fell at the feet (of the Lord) with his head' (SN 55.52); taṃ nadīhi vijānātha 'understand this by the rivers' (SN 37.42); na hathehi na pādehi . . . liṅgaṃ jātimayaṃ neva 'not as regards (their) hands, feet . . . . are there marks that constitute species' (SN 35.17); na jaḍa'i na gotreṇa na yaca bhodi brahmaṇo (Khar O 2), na jaṭāhi na gottena na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo '(one) does not become a brahman for (his) matted hair, for his clan, for his birth' (Dhamma 26.11). vedhamānehi gattehi sītaṃ vedayase bhusaṃ 'with shivering limbs dost thou indicate bitter cold' (Therī 237); ekapaṇṇo ayaṃ rukkho na bhumiyā caturaṅgulo | phalena visa-kappena mahāyaṃ kiṃ bhavissati 'This, tree, with a single leaf and (only) four fingers high from the ground, but with poisonous fruit (even now); what would it become when fully grown!' (Jātaka i 1.145); ajarūpen' upāgami '(Sakka) approached (him) in the form of a goat' (Jātaka ii 3.149); etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *kuśadvīpaṃ sa rājyena dadau* 'he gave away the kingdom of Kuśadvīpa (or, gave away Kuśadvīpa as a territory)' (13.14.84); *śivena dhyāhi mām* 'think of me as Śiva' (15.3.63).

§26. The instrumental of means (*karaṇa*). Examples: pūjetavyā tu eva parapāsaṃḍā tena tena prakaranena 'other creeds should indeed be honoured by such and such action' G XII 4, S, M); vividhāyā hi sukhāyanāyā pulimehi hi lājīhi mamayā ca sukhayite loke 'people has been blessed with various blessings by ancient kings and by me' (T VII 24); devānaṃ piye piyadasi rājā savapāsaṃḍāni ca pavajitāni ca gharastāni ca pūjayati dānena ca vividhyāya ca pūjāya pūjayati ne 'the beloved of the gods, the king Piyadasi honours all creeds, (both) mendicants and householders; he indeed honours (them) with gifts and with various honours' (G XII 1, S, M, K); jīvena jīve no



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pusitaviye 'a living being should not be fed with a living being' (T V 11, Mi, Ra, Ma, Ram).

masa-masi sahasena yo ya'e'a śadeṇa ca 'whoever may worship with a thousand or with a hundred per month' (Khar Cro 13, 14); akkodhena jine kodhaṃ '(one) should conquer wrath by amiability' (Dhamma 17.3); yo brāhmaṇaṃ samaṇaṃ vā bhattakāle upaṭṭhite roseti vācā 'who at meal time annoys a brahman or a śramaṇa by speech' (SN 7.15); etc.

§27. The cognate instrumental is a feature of the Asokan dialects and of Buddhistic Sanskrit. In this idiom the instrumental of means is a derivative of the same root as appears in the verb governing it. Examples: savapāsaṃḍā pi me pūjitā vividhāya pūjāyā 'all creeds have been honoured by me with various honours' (T VI 7-8; Ksb, Rad, Ma, Ram); see G XII (S, M, K) quoted above. kathaṃ jane dhaṃmavaḍhiyā vaḍheyā 'how people can thrive on increase of piety' (T VII). evaṃ savva-parihārehi pariharitavvo ya 'and (he) must thus be exempted with all immunities' (Vijayadevarman Inscription III ii: EI IX); etehi na parahārehi parihareṭha 'do you exempt it with these exemptions' (Nasik Cave Inscr. of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi). kīliūṇa ya tattha visiṭṭha-kīlāhiṃ 'having sported there with various sports' (Jacobi 20). sīrṣavyavalokena vyavalokayati sma '(he) was looking with a look at the head' (LV); mahāparinirvāṇena parinirvāpayati '(he) is extinguished (i.e., emancipated) with the great extinction (or emancipation)' (Saddharma p. 82); ovādena ovādenti '(they) call with a call' (Mahā i p. 194); so ārāḍo kālāmo paramayā pūjayā pūjaye paramayā ca praśaṃsayā praśaṃse 'he, Ārāḍa Kālāma, honoured (the Lord) with the supreme honour and praised (him) with the highest paise' (Mahā ii p. 119).

The cognate instrumental is not unknown in the language of *Mahābhārata*; e.g., *abhiśāpaiḥ śaśāpa* 'cursed with curses' (1.1.156); *siṃhanādena nādayan* 'roaring (lit. having resounded) with the lion's roar' (6.108.7).

This idiom occurs also in Vedic prose. Thus: *tapasā tapyamānaḥ* 'undergoing penance' (*Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* 4.3.11); *kramair atyakramad vājī* 'with strides the courser has strode out' (ibid. 5.7.25); *yady anyena mṛtyunā mriyeta* 'if he dies of any other death' (*Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa* 21.14.19); *sarvaiḥ savaiḥ sūyemahi* 'may (we) be consecrated by all the (rites of) consecration' (*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* 9.3.4.6).

§28. The agentive or subjective instrumental (in passive construction) is an idiom allied to the instrumental of means. Examples:



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iyaṃ dhaṃmalipī devānaṃ priyena priyadasinā rāñnā lekhāpitā 'this edict has been ordered to be written by the king Priyadasi, the beloved of god' (G I ; S has subjective genitive 'devana priasa raño'); ta vatavyaṃ pitā vā putena vā bhrātrā vā svāmikena vā 'so (it) should be told by a father or by a son or by a brother or by a master' (G IX); etc.

§29. The causal instrumental is quite common in Asokan Inscriptions and in early Pali canonical works, but it is rare in Jaina and later Prakrits where the idiom is expressed periphastically. Examples: asti ca etakaṃ puna puna vutaṃ tasa tasa athasa mādhūratāya 'indeed this has been repeatedly told because of the sweetness of that and that end' (G XIV); lipikarāparādhena vā 'or because of omission by the scribe' (G XIV); anan(e) etakena hakaṃ 'thereby I am out of debt' (D, J, Sep II) ; dev(ānaṃ) piy(a)s(a) v(a)c(a)nena tosaliyaṃ (k)umāle mahāmātā ca vaṭaviy(a) 'by the command of the beloved of gods the Royal Prince and the officials at Tosali should be (thus) addressed' (D Sep II 1 ; etc.) ; kālanena vā mā palibhasayisaṃ 'on account of (this) cause may I not ruin (myself)' (T III 21 ; etc.) ; tenesā dhaṃmayātā 'hence this religious tour' (G VIII); etc. raño gotamiputasa sātakanisa mahādevīya ca jīvasutāya rājamātuya vacanena govadhane (ama)co sāmako aroga-vatavo tato eva ca vatavo 'in the name of the king Sātakani Gotamiputa and of the king's mother, the queen mother whose son is living, Sāmaka, the officer at Govadhana, shall be addressed with the usual civility and then shall be told thus' (Nasik: EI VIII).

edehi trihi vijahi treviju bhodi brammanu 'by these three *vidyās* one becomes a well-versed brahman' (Khar O 7). tassā issā na supati 'for jealousy of her (she) cannot sleep' (SN 6.20) ; atha kho so jarasā 'pi miyyati 'then he may also die of old age' (SN 44.1); etc.

§30. The causal instrumental very often borders on the final dative. Hence the instrumental sometimes denotes purpose. Thus: ta aja devānaṃ priyasa priyadasino rāñno dhaṃmacaraṇena bherīghoso aho dhaṃmaghoso 'now for religions practice of the beloved of gods, the king, (this) sound of drum, sound of 'dhaṃma' (G IV) ; esā hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhaṃmena pālanā dhaṃmena vidhāne dhaṃmena sukhiyanā dhaṃmena gotī iti 'this (is) indeed the rule, namely, protection for the sake of piety, regulation for the sake of piety, bringing happiness (to creatures) for the sake of piety and restraint for the sake of piety' (T I 9-10); etc. (The instrumental dhaṃmena here may as well be taken as adverbial, 'piously'). kacci piṇḍakena na kilāmatha 'you have not much trouble for (finding) alms?' (MN i p. 206); appena



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bahuṃ jiyyāma '(we) lose much for the sake of a little' (Jātaka ii 2.50); yenāsi kisiyā paṇḍu yena bhattaṃ na ruccati | ayaṃ so āgato tāto kasmā dāniṃ palāyasi 'For whose sake you have become thin and pale, for the sake of whom food is distasteful (to you), he is come, O child, why do (you) now flee ?' (Jātaka ii 3.46). Cf. *putreṇa dhṛtarāṣṭreṇa dhyānam anvāgamat param* '(the sage) fell in deep meditation for the sake of (his) son Dhṛtarāṣṭra' (Mbh 6.3.50).

§31. The instrumental of space is an uncommon idiom in MIA, where it is generally restricted to the words *dvāra* and *mārga* or its representative pronoun. In Vedic prose also this idiom is so restricted. Examples: yeṇo yeṇeva vayadi teṇo teṇeva puyidu 'whenever he goes there and there he is worshipped' (Khar Cro 25). taṃ ca maggaṃ na jānanti yena gacchanti subbatā '(they) do not know the way by which the virtuous (men) go' (SN 28.17); tena maggena vajanti bhikkhavo 'by that path the Bhikkhus go' (Thera 21); dvārena anupariyeti 'prowls through doors' (Thera 125); apathena payātuṃ icchasi 'you want to go by the wrong path' (Therī 384); tena muhuttaṃ gaccha 'by that (road) go quick' (MN iii p. 5); etc. gadaṃ uvvasīmaggena '(the leaf) went by the way of Urvaśī' (Vikrama i); edena jjeva maggeṇa pavutto gantuṃ gehaṃ '(he) began walking homeward along this very road' (Mṛccha ii); etc.

(a) In Buddhistic Sanskrit the idiom is much varied. Thus: ānandena dvābhyāṃ krośābhyāṃ bhery āhatābhūt 'there a drum was beaten by Ānanda along (a distance of) two 'krośas' ' (LV); paścimaṃ diśaṃ sthalena gamyate 'the western quarter may be approached by land' (Divya p. 112); see OSBS p. 22f.

§32. Pali, Buddhistic Sanskrit and Jaina Prakrits agree in having a peculiar idiom in which the pronouns yena and tena, used singly or correlatively, occur in the sense of the spatial instrumental mixed up with that of the spatial locative or the locative (or dative) of direction. This idiom is also quite frequent in *Mahābhārata*. Examples: atha kho bhagavā . . . . yena kasibharaddājassa brāhmaṇassa kammanto ten' upsaṃkami 'now the Lord went to where (was) the field of labour of the brahman Kasibharaddāja, i.e. went by that way going along which one can reach the working field' (SN 4); yeneva so tena palehi sūra 'where he is, run away there, O hero', (SN 46.8); yena yena subhikkhāni sivāni abhayāni ca tena puttaka gacchassu 'wherever there are easy alms, welfare and absence of harms, go thou there, O son', (Thera 82); taramānarūpo niyyāsi yena pāṇḍavapabbato 'in haste (he) went out for the Pāṇḍava Hill' (SN 27.13); yaṃ yaṃ disaṃ vajati bhūripañño sa tena tenaiva nato 'ham asmi 'whichever direction that



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very wise (man) goes I bow thereto' (SN 72.20); yena bhagavā ten' añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā 'bowing towards the direction where the Lord was' (MN ii p. 45); etc. For Buddhistic Sanskrit see OSBS p. 23.

jeṇ'eva jaṃbuddive teṇ' eva uvāgacchanti '(they) go to where the Jaṃbuddiva (is)' (Āyara 2.15.18); jeṇ'eva vīyabhae nayare jeṇ'eva miyavaṇe ujjāne teṇ'eva viharai '(he) ambled where the town of Vīyabhaa and the park of Miyavana (were)' (Jacobi 33.9); etc. Cf. eeṇaṃ maggenaṃ atthi kantāraṃ 'there is a wilderness along this road' (ibid. 79.29).

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *prādravad yena vai saraḥ* '(he) ran away to where the lake (was)' (3.136.15); *prādravad yena vai vanam* '(he) fled away to where the forest (was)' (3.270.56); *prasthito yena rāghavaḥ* '(Lakṣmaṇa) went to where Rāghava (was)' (3.277.30); *sa yayau yena pāṇḍavaḥ* 'he went where the son of Pāṇḍu (was)' (5.8.6); *prayayau yena madrarāṭ* '(he) went to where the king of Madra (was)' (6.43.76); *yenārjunas tena rājan kṛtāstrāḥ prayātāras te trigartās ca śūraḥ* 'those well-armed warriors from Trigarta shall charge in that (direction) where Arjuna shall (be)' (6.20.15).

§33. Unlike OIA the temporal instrumental in MIA often denotes continuity in time without any reference to completion of action. It also signifies the sense of the locative of time. Thus: yārise bahūhi vāsasatehi na bhūtapuve 'like which (had) not happened before during many hundred years' (G IV); iyaṃ ca lip(ī) t(i)sanakhatena sotaviy(ā) 'this edict should be read on a 'Tissa' day' (D Sep I 17); iyaṃ ca li(pi anuc)ā(t)uṃmāsaṃ tisena nakhatena sotaviyā 'in every four months on a *tiṣya* day this edict should be read' (D Sep II 10); cf. *puṣyeṇa saṃprayāto'smi śravaṇe punar āgataḥ* 'I had started on a 'puṣya' day and (am) returned on a 'śravaṇa' day' (Mbh 9.34.6); iminā cu kālena 'during this time' (br I 3, sd; s has 'etena ca antalena'; ru has the dative '(i)māya kālāya').

imhehi . . . . asītiyā vassehi katikkhattuṃ methuno dhammo paṭisevito 'during these eighty years how many times has the conjugal right been enjoyed?' (MN iii p. 125); kālena dhammasaranaṃ 'taking refuge in 'dhamma' in (proper) time' (SN 16.8); piṇḍaṃ ca bhikkhu samayena laddhā 'a Bhikkhu having received food in (proper) time' (SN 26.13); kālena gacche gurunaṃ sakāsaṃ 'let him in (due) time go to the presence of (his) teachers' (SN 21.3); sunantu dhammaṃ kālena 'let (them) hear the 'dhamma' in (due) time (or, from time to time)' (Thera 875); cf. *tataḥ kālena taṃ kanyām . . . . pradadau viprarūpāya vahnaye* '(the king) then in (proper) time (or, after some time) gave away that daughter to the Fire (god) disguised as a brahman' (Mbh



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2.31.33). sa yan māsena gacchati 'what (distance) he plies in a month' (Divya p. 103); tena kālena tena sameyena 'at that time' (ibid.) etc.; see OSBS p. 21f. kaïpayadinehiṃ dhario pūiūṇa visajjo gao ujjeṇīṃ pajjoo 'then Pajjoa was detained for some days and was dismissed after being honoured, and went to Ujjenï' (Jacobi 40.13-14); kālena nikkhame bhikkhū kālena ca paḍikkame 'in (due) time a bhikkhu should go out and in (due) time (he) should return' (Uttara 1.31); sātinā bhagavaṃ parinivvue 'the Lord attained 'parinivvāna' on a Sāti (day)' (Āyara 2.15.1); etc.

(a) The narrative phrase 'tena kālena tena samayena' is a characteristic idiom in Pali, in Buddhistic Sanskrit and in the Jaina Prakrits.

§34. Sometimes, though rather rarely, the temporal instrumental carries the sense of completion of action (*apavarga*). Thus: sattarattena bhagavā dantā mha tava sāsane 'in seven days, O Lord, (we) have been trained in thy doctrine' (SN 33.23); māsaddhamāsena ca jñāti hoti 'in course of a month or a half (one) becomes (as intimate as) a kinsman' (Jātaka i, 1.82); tassā vassasahassena ekaṃ nibbattate phalaṃ 'in course of a thousand years only one fruit is produced by that (creeper)' (Jātaka iii, p.26). tato 'lpair ahobhis tad dhanam parikṣayam paryādānaṃ gatam 'then in course of a few days all that wealth was spent and gone' (Divya p. 100); see OSBS p. 21. aïreṇa pāvihisi '(you) shall get (it) in a short time' (Vikrama iii).

§35. The temporal instrumental sometimes denotes the end of a period. Thus: dvīha-tīhassa accayena 'at the end of two or three days' (SN i p. 190); mā heva bhagavato accayena saṃghe vivādo uppajji 'let no dispute arise in the *saṅgha* after the passing away of the Lord' (MN ii p. 245). daśānām māsānām atyayena 'at the end of ten months' (LV); dvādaśabhir varsair bodhisattvo mātuḥ kuksim avakramiṣyati 'after twelve years (hence) will the Boddhisattva be conceived in (his) mother's womb' (LV); see OSBS p. 22.

(a) Connected with this is the use of the instrumental to indicate a point of time, in some early inscriptions. Thus: vasena catudasena 'in the fourteenth year' (Besnagar Pillar inscr.); imena kṣuṇeṇa 'at this time' (Kalakan cop.-pl. inscr.).

§36. The following idiom occurs particularly in Pali and in Buddhistic Sanskrit, though not absolutely unknown in the literary Prakrits and in *Mahābhārata*. The idiom consists of a phrase of which the first word is an instrumental (with the sense of the ablative) of time or space, or an abstract or concrete object, and the second is an accusative (object or goal) of the same word. This idiom, how-



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ever, does not occur in *Suttanipāta*. Examples: devo ca kālena kālaṃ sammā dhāraṃ anupaveccheyya 'the god shall send down rain from time to time' (DN i p. 74, MN ii p. 16); etc. gāmena gāmaṃ vicarimha '(we) went from village to village' (Therī 305); rathiyāya rathiyaṃ siṅghāṭakena siṅghāṭakaṃ upasaṅkamitvā evaṃ āha '(she) roaming from road to road, from cross-roads to cross-roads said thus' (MN ii p. 108 ; DN iii p. 67); ārāmena ārāmaṃ ujjānena ujjānaṃ 'from park to park, from garden to garden' (MN ii p. 121); vihārena vihāraṃ 'from 'vihāra' to 'vihāra' ' (MN iii p. 127); sabbena sabbaṃ 'from all to all, *i.e.*, wholly, completely' (Thera 746; MN iii p. 8; DN iii p. 71); yo mayā vādena vādaṃ samāraddho na saṃkampeyya 'who would not be afraid when engaged in discussions (lit., from discussion to discussion) with me' (MN i p. 227, MN i p. 228), aññena aññaṃ 'from one to another' (DN i p. 94, MN i p. 250, etc.); atthena atthaṃ vyañjanena vyañjanaṃ 'from matter to matter, from expression to expression (*i.e.*, in various matters and expressions)' (DN iii p. 128); lābhena lābhaṃ 'from gain to gain (*i.e.*, various gains)' (DN iii p. 106f); etc.

Besides 'kālena kālaṃ' the following phrases occur in Buddhistic Sanskrit: cetasā cetaḥ 'from mind to mind'; vaktreṇa vaktram 'from lip to lip'; vṛkṣeṇa vṛkṣam 'from tree to tree'; śilpena śilpam 'from art to art'; varṇena varṇam 'from colour to colour'; tejasā tejaḥ 'from brightness to brightness'; dūreṇa dūram 'from distance to distance'; see OSBS p. 23ff.

pareṇa paraṃ jaṃti '(they) rise gradually' (Āyara 1.3.4.2., also 1.3.4.3.); majjhaṃ majjheṇaṃ 'by the middle' (*Nirayāvaliyā-sutta* p. 4); bhamaï gharaṃ ghareṇa 'goes from house to house' (Gāthā 1.47); pāsaasāri vva gharaṃ ghareṇa kaïā vi khajjihii 'like a dice (you) will be 'devoured up' by a throw (when moving) from 'room' to 'room' ' (ibid. 2.38); suhaṃ suheṇaṃ kālaṃ gamei '(he) passed time in pleasure (literally, from pleasure to pleasure)' (VH p. 75).

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *te vanena vanaṃ vīrā ghnanto mṛgagaṇān bahūn* 'those warriors, killing many deer (while moving) from forest to forest' (1.144.1.); *yayur vanenaiva vanam* '(they) wandered from forest to forest' (3.5.2.); *dyūtena te mahāraja punar dyūtam avartata* 'O king, for the gambling happened again from (the previous) gambling' (3.52.31).

§37. In OIA quite a number of verbs (and their derivatives) were construed with the instrumental (mostly sociative or instrumental proper). In MIA (as also in Classical Sanskrit) such verbs are few indeed, and very often a sociative adverb is used. Examples of the



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various verbs (including derivative nouns and adjectives) construed with the instrumental are given here. It may be noticed that in some instances the ablative was the older idiom.

(ath)a pa(ja)ye ichām(i) ki(ṃti) me sav(e)na hita(su)khena y(ū)jevū ti 'in the case of (my) projeny (I) desire that (they), through me, may come in with entire well being and happiness' (D, J Sep I, II); munisā jambudīpasi misā devehi 'in Jambudvīpa men (are) associated with gods' (br I; sd, bb); ime(hi) cu (jātehi) no saṃpaṭipajanti 'with these occurring one does not succeed' (D, J Sep I); mamiyāye asvaseyu ca 'and (they) may trust in me' (J Sep II).

In literary MIA the verbs having the following meanings govern the instrumental: 'to associate with', 'to live with', 'to live on', 'to be added with', 'to meet with', 'to be reconciled with', 'to be smeared or sprinkled or scattered with', 'to talk with', 'to agree with', 'to disagree or quarrel with', 'to play with or at', 'to invite with', 'to compare with', etc.

Examples: pramadeṇa na savasi 'one must not associate oneself with the wrong' (Khar A a 2); dhama-trakehi saḥado 'fitted with piety as wheels' (ibid. A c. 1). māhaṃ kāmehi saṃgacchim 'may I not come together with (*i.e.*, have) desire' (Therī 351); sadbhir eva samāsetha '(one) should keep company with the good' (Jātaka ii 2.78); sandhiyyāsu purāṇiyā 'be reconciled with (your) old (wife)' (Jātaka ii 2.79); yo hi koci manussesu puthu sippena jīvati 'whoever amongst men lives by a different craft' (SN 35.20); so assakassa visaye alakassa samāsane|vasi godāvarīkūle uñchena ca phalena ca 'In Assaka's territory, in the neighbourhood of Alaka, he dwelt on the banks of the Godāvarī, (living on) gleanings and fruits' (SN 55.2): taṇḍulehi yāpema '(we) shall live on rice' (MN i p. 80); laddhāladdhena yāpentā 'living on whatever (they) got' (Jātaka iii 6.134); dassanena saṃpanno 'endowed with vision' (SN 8.10). dukkhaṃ bālehi saṃvāso 'painful (is) the living with fools' (Dhamma 15.11); yā vutti vinipātena adhammacaranena vā 'livelihood by the loss of life or by inequity' (Jātaka ii 3.110; iii 4.36); so'pi tayā mantayitvā ajjhagamā 'having conversed with thee he went away' (SN 26.4); bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodimsu '(they) talked pleasantly with the Lord' (SN 19); tehi pi me saddhim ekaccesu thāṇesu sameti ekaccesu ṭhāṇesu na sameti 'between them and me there is, as to some points agreement, and as to some points no agreement'' (DN i p. 162); nandati puttehi puttimā 'the man who has sons rejoice in them' (SN 2.16); santussamāno itarītarena 'satisfied with this or that' (SN 3.8): lūkhena 'pi ca santusse '(one) should be satisfied with a bad fare' (Thera 580); na sa kāmehi tappati 'he is



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not satisfied with pleasures' (Jātaka iv 12.31); modamānā sugatena tādinā 'delighting in such a welcome (blessing)' (Thera 305); pañcaṅgikena turiyena ehi kheme ramāmase 'come, O Khemā, let us enjoy the fivefold music' (Therī 139); so ca sabbhi na rajjati 'he does not delight in (the company of) the good' (Jātaka iii 8.95); gihī pi dhaññena dhanena vaḍḍhati 'the householder also prospers in grains and riches' (DN iii p. 165); mittehi ca virujjhanti 'he is at variance with his friends' (Thera 292); rājāno pi rājūhi vivadanti 'kings too quarrel with kings' (MN i p. 86; ii p. 120); kathaṃ na viggayha janena kayirā 'let (one) not, after quarrel, get into talk with people' (SN 47.10); aññam aññehi bhaṇḍare '(they) quarrel with each other' (Thera 933); akkhehi divvanti '(they) play at dice' (MN ii p. 106); kiḷanti mañňe bālehi ummattehi va rakkhasā 'methinks (they) juggle with fools as the devil (sport) with the insane' (Thera 931); tam enaṃ bāvari dissā āsanena nimantayi 'Bāvari, on seeing him, invited to a seat' (SN 55.6); āsanena vā nimanteyyāma '(we) should offer (him) a seat' (MN ii p. 89); svātanāya bhattena nimanteti 'invites him to dinner on the next day' (MN i p. 369); pamuñca maṃ . . . . kathaṃkathāhi 'release me from doubts' (SN 60.3); attadattham parathhena bahunā pi na hāpaye '(one) should not lose one's (little) gain for a great gain of another' (Dhamma 12.10); puṇṇe purassu dhammehi 'O Puṇṇa, be filled with dhamma' (Therī 3); gomiko gohi tatheva socati 'an owner of cattle similarly comes to grief for the cattle' (SN 2.17); ukkaṇṭhāmi sarīrena '(I) am concerned for the body (*i.e.*, the body irketh me)' (Thera 718); māse māse sahassena yo yajetha sataṃ samaṃ 'who for a hundred years performs a sacrifice with a thousand (animals); or performs a thousand sacrifices' (Dhamma 8.7); iti kho amhaṭṭha itthiyā vā itthiṃ karitvā purisena vā purisaṃ karitvā khattiyā va seṭṭhā hīnā brāhmaṇā 'then, Ambaṭṭha, whether one compares women with women, men with men, the khattiyas are superior and the brahmanas are inferior' (DN i p. 98); iminā pūtikāyena āturena pabhaṅgunā addiyāmi harāyāmi 'I feel loathing and shame with this impure and brittle body' (Therī 140); seyyathā pi bhikkhave itthī vā puriso vā daharo yuvā maṅgalajātiko ahikuṇapena vā kukkurakuṇapena vā manussakuṇapena vā kaṇṭhe āsattena aṭṭiyeyya harāyeyya jiguccheyya 'as if, O bhikkhus, a woman or a man, young and youthful, decorated, would feel loathing and repulsion from the carcass of a snake or of a dog or from the corpse of a man, attached to the neck' (MN i p. 120); annena pānena upṭṭhahassu 'serve (him) with food and drink' (SN 4.7), etc.

mayaiva sārddhaṃ bodhisattvo saṃlapati 'the Bodhisattva talks with me only' (LV p. 78); ekaikaśca bodhisattvo devaputraiś caivam



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saṃjānīte sma 'each Bodhisattva was thus concoursing with the sons of gods' (LV p. 361); devehi saṃgrāmenti '(they) fought with gods' (Mahā i. p. 301); nandati putrehi putrimāṃ 'one who has sons delights in them' (Mahā iii p. 417); see OSBS p. 16ff.

ego eg'itthie saddhiṃ naiva ciṭṭhe na saṃlave 'a single person should neither stay nor converse with a single woman' (Uttara 1.26); mantaī samaṃ culaṇīe '(he) conversed with Culaṇī (Jacobi 5.13); mama pattī etena saha acchaī 'my wife is (*i.e.*, lives in adultery) with him' (ibid. 1.25); imeṇa c'eva jujjhāhi 'fight with him' (Āyara 1.5.3.2); asanivega-balena samaṃ jujjhiuṃ payattā '(the two) began to fight with the forces of Asanivega' (Jacobi 23.29); satthena mukko 'detached from the caravan' (ibid. 1.4); tahiṃ mandāïnī-tīre sikadā-pavvadehiṃ kīlamānā '(she was) then playing with 'sandhills' on the bank of the Mandākīnī' (Vikrama iv); sīarehiṃ siñcia 'having sprinkled with sprays of water' (Mṛccha ii); etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *viṣṇunā tu tadākāśe vainateyaḥ sameyivān* 'then the son of Vinatā met Viṣṇu in the sky' (1.28.12); *sambabhūva tayā rātrau* '(he) cohabited with her at night' (1.100.6); *saṃsarge tayā* 'in company with her' (1.66.6); *yeṇāsau saha śakreṇa spardhate* 'so that he vies with Śakra' (2.12.7); *yuyutsavaḥ jarāsandhena* 'eager to fight with Jarāsandha' (2.21.24); *sa nṛpatir yuddhaṃ vavre bhīmasenena* 'the king sought battle with Bhīmasena' (2.23.3); *yotsye tvayā sārddham* '(I) shall fight with you' (2.23.7); *samam etena yudhyasva* 'fight with him' (2.3.33); *tataḥ sammantrya kṛṣṇena* 'then having counselled with Kṛṣṇa' (2.23.9); *kathayan naiṣadhena* 'talking with the king of Niṣadha' (3.72.38); *tvayā sārddhaṃ vadiṣyataḥ* '(they two) shall talk with you' (2.21.34); *prīyamāṇo mayāpi ca* 'also delighted with me (*i.e.* affectionate to me)' (2.26.15); *mayā tuṣṭaḥ* 'pleased with me' (4.10.12); *saṃṛddhaiś ca na nandanti bāndhavā bāndhavair api* 'relatives are not pleased with (their relatives though (they may be) prosperous' (3.207.37); *na pravekṣyāmi vo deśaṃ viruddhaṃ yadi mānuṣaiḥ* '(I) shall not enter your country if (it is) forbidden for men' (2.28.15); *abhiṣiktaś ca śuśubhe sāṃrājyena* '(he) shone when endowed (lit. anointed) with the great kingdom' (2.12.19); *tāvat saṃśāmya pāṇḍavaiḥ* 'till then make peace with the sons of Pāṇḍu' (5.126.5 ; 6.121.50); *pāṇḍavaiḥ śāntim īpsuḥ* 'desiring peace with the sons of Pāṇḍu' (5.22.38); *dhriyamāṇaḥ kapotas tu māṃsenātiricyate* 'when held (in the scale) the pigeon outweighed (lit. exceeded) the (chunk of) flesh' (3.131.27); etc.

(a) The language of *Mahābhārata* has a peculiar idiom, *viz.*, the instrumental of fatherhood or motherhood in connection with the verb



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*jan* 'to be born'. In OIA the ablative of fatherhood is the idiom. Thus: *hiḍimbāyāṃ ca bhīmena vane jajñe ghaṭotkacaḥ* 'in the forest G. was born of H. by Bh.' (1.57.103); cf. *sūryāt ca kuntikanyāyāṃ jajñe karṇo mahārathaḥ* 'the great warrior Karṇa was born of Sūrya in the virgin Kunti (or, in the daughter of the king Kultibhoja)' (1.57.82). *yadṛcchayā kāmarāgāj jātā menakayā hy asi* '(thou) art indeed born of wilful Menakā by (the sage) intoxicated with passion (or, out of passion)' (1.68.79). This idiom occurs in the Jaina Prakrits. Thus: tassa dāsie bambhaṇeṇa dāsaceḍo jāo 'a low-caste slave was born by a brahman of his slave woman' (ZDMG N.F. Bd. 14, p. 302).

§38. The instrumental of exchange is allied to the instrumental with the verb. It is an exceedingly rare idiom in MIA. Examples: śivarakṣitasa mu(ṃ)javadaputtasa daṇamukhe ṇiyadide bhagavata śarīrehi sarvabuddha(ṇa) puyae 'the gift of Śivarakṣita, the scion of Muṃjavada, given in substitution of the relics of the Lord in honour of all the Buddhas' (Bīmārān Vase inscr.: CII II i); kīṇitā mulena kāhāpaṇasahassehi catuhi 'bought for the price of four thousand Kāhāpaṇas' (Nasik Cave: EI VIII i); kriṇanti putradāreṇa ekagāthām subhāṣitām 'in exchange of son and wife (they) buy a well-spoken verse' (Mahā i p. 91); see OSBS p. 18.

§39. Some secondary and also primary derivatives (nouns and adjectives), the verbs of which are not construed with the instrumental, as well as the interrogative pronoun 'kim', are construed with the instrumental. Thus: ki de jaḍa'i drumedha ki de ayiṇa-śaḍi'a 'what with thy matted hari, O fool, what with thy deerskin shirt?' (Khar O 3). ko atthi supinena vo 'what is the good of your sleeping?' (SN 22.1); atthi pañhena āgamaṃ '(I) have come begging a question' (SN 54.3; etc.); bhogehi kiṃ asārehi 'what is (the good) of empty pleasures?' (Therī 478); asuññaṃ hoti tan mayā 'that (place) is not devoid of me' (Jātaka iii 4.8); suñño hatthigavāssavaḷavena 'devoid of elephants, cattle, horses and mares' (MN iii p. 104); sace te ūnaṃ kāmehi paripūrayāmi te 'if you are short of pleasures I can supply you (with them)' (Jātaka iv 11.71); samo samehi 'just with the just' (SN 30.14); bhagavatā samasamā sambodhiyaṃ '(they) are the Lord's equals in 'sambodhi' ' (DN iii p. 114); etc. tasyā kākiye rājabhojanena dohalako 'the hen-crow had a desire for (eating) the king's food' (Mahā iii p. 125); mayā vinābhāvo 'separation from me' (ibid. ii. p. 141); mayā sadṛśaḥ 'equal to me' (LV); see OSBS p. 18ff. na paoyaṇaṃ me gaṇiyājaṇasaṅgeṇa 'there is no necessity for me of the



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company of a public woman' (Jacobi 56.16.17); kiṃ vā sumarāvidena 'what is (the good) of making (him) remember' (*Śakuntalā* v); etc.

§40. The comparative instrumental, *i.e.*, the instrumental with comparative adjectives is very frequent in Pali and in *Mahābhārata*, but it is very rare in Buddhist Sanskrit and the Prakrits. It occurs in the Asokan Inscriptions. Examples: nasti hi kramatara savralokahitena 'there is no better work than (achieving) the good of all people' (M VI, S, K, D, J; but G here agrees with OIA in having the ablative instead of the instrumental: nāsti hi kaṇṃmataraṃ sarvalokahitatpā); ki ca iminā katavyataraṃ yathā svagāradhi 'what is a better duty than this, *viz.*, the worship (or, attainment) of heaven?' (G IX; J).

tasmā hi paññā'va dhanena seyyo 'hence wisdom indeed (is) greater than wealth' (Thera 784); na hi m'atthi tayā piyataro pāṇo 'my life is not dearer than you' (Therī 375); sabhā hi kāmaratiyo kaṭukatarā pañcakaṭukena 'all pleasures and enjoyments (are) more bitter than the five bitter (things)' (Therī 503); api rajjena taṃ varam 'it (is) better than a kingdom even' (Jātaka iii 4.40); etc. atha ko hi dāni bho reṇu tena bhagavatā mahāgovindena anyo paṇḍitataro 'now, who (is) there, O Reṇu, wiser than the Lord Mahāgovinda?' (Mahā iii p. 208).

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *gavāṃ śatasahasreṇa rājasūyaśatena ca|aśvamedhasahasreṇa śreyān saptārciṣe caruḥ* 'An oblation to the seven-rayed (god) is better than a hundred thousand (sacrifices) with cattle, a hundred Rājasūya (sacrifices) and a thousand Aśvamedha (sacrifices)' (3.82.99); *asti rājā maya kaścid alpabhāgyataro bhuvi* 'is there a king more unfortunate than I?' (3.52.50); *sarvaiḥ putraiḥ priyatarā draupadī me janārdana* 'O Janārdana, Draupadī (is) dearer to me than all (my) sons' (5.90.43); *prādeśenādhikaḥ pumbhir anyaiḥ* '(they are) taller than other men by a span' (5.166.5); *pṛthivyām nāsti yuvatir viṣamasthatarā mayā* 'there is no youngwomen in the world more miserably placed than I' (5.175.1); etc.

§41. The instrumental with the adverb: paraṃ ca tena 'after that (or them)' (G, S, M, D, J V; K has plural 'te(hi)'); paraṃ ca tena aṃtiyokena 'and beyond (the territory of) that Aṃtiyoka' (S, K XIII; G has param ca tena 'beyond him (or that)'). dukaraṃ tu idaṃ āñatra agena parākramena 'it is indeed difficult to achieve without the utmost exertion' (G, S, M, K, D, J VI; also G, S, M, K, D X); hidatapālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṃnata agāyā dhaṃmakāmatāyā agāyā palikhāyā agāyā susūsāyā agena bhayenā agena usāhena '(happiness in) this world and the next (is) difficult to be accomplished without the utmost love of 'dhamma' the utmost or circumspection, the utmost



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obedience, the utmost fear and the utmost energy' (T I, etc.); aṃtalā pi ca (tis)e(na) (kha)nasi kha(na)si ekena pi so(ta)viyā 'between one 'Tissa' day (and another) it should read at times even by a single (individual)' (D Sep I).

ko nu aññatra-m-ariyehi 'who, except the noble' (SN 38.42); aññatra tathāgatena 'other than the Tathāgata' (MN i p. 85); vinā mittehi ñātihi 'without friends and kinsmen' (Therī 122); alaṃ ñeva purāṇiyā 'away with the old (wife)' (Jātaka ii 2.80); ati viya aññehi manussehi '(a suzerain king) is above all other men' (MN iii p. 176); etc. bodhisattvena vinā 'without the Bodhisattva' (LV); dhik paṇḍitasya puruṣasya ratiprasaṅgaiḥ 'fie to the amorous relations of a wise man!' (LV); see OSBS p. 21.

alaṃ bālassa saṃgena 'away with the company of the fool' (Āyara 1.3.2.1). viṇā sabbhāveṇa 'without friendliness' (Gāthā 3.86); etc.

Cf. *anyatrārajunabhīmābhyāṃ tvayā vā madhusūdana* 'excepting Arjuna and Bhīma and also you, O Madhusūdana!' (Mbh 3.12.77).

§42. The adverbial instrumental: anaṃtaliyena paṭiyeditavye me 'should be forthwith made known to me' (M, S, K VI; G, D, J have the accusative instead); iya hi aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipula ca vaḍhisiti apaia-dhiyenā diyaḍhiya vaḍhisiti 'this object will grow its growth, it will grow immense, at least (it) will grow by half (as large)' (Rp I s; br and sd: avaradhiyā); asti eva saṃkhitena etc.; see §25. aviyena āṇataṃ 'verbally ordered' (Nasik Cave: EI VIII). saṅkhittena pañca upādānakkhandhā dukkhā 'briefly, the five 'upādānakkhandas' are painful' (MN i p 48); etc.

§43. The multiplicative instrumental: yo sahassaṃ sahassena saṅgāme mānuse jine 'who may conquer thousand-times thousand men in battle' (Dhamma 8.4); atha ko te udāyi bahūhi bahutarā devā ye imesaṃ candimasuriyānam ābhā nānubhonti 'now, O Udāyi, there (were) many times many gods who did not perceive the rays of the sun and the moon' (MN ii p. 35); māse māse sahassena yo yajetha sataṃ samaṃ 'who, for a hundred years, month by month, may perform sacrifices thousand times' (Dhamma 8.7). chaṭṭheṇaṃ egayā bhuṃje aha vā aṭṭhamena dasameṇaṃ 'sometimes (he) ate only the sixth (meal) or the eighth or the tenth' (Āyara 1.8.4.7); here the sense is that of the selective ordinal.

§44. The instrumental absolute occurs sporadically in OIA. It is extremely rare, if at all, in Pali and in the literary Prakrits. But in Buddhistic Sanskrit and in *Mahābhārata* it is a common idiom. So



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also in perhaps Apabhraṃśa, where, however, instrumental and locative have become almost identical in form. It is also not unknown in the Jaina Prakrits. In most of the examples cited below the peculiar idioms of the instrumental are quite apparent. Thus: sastehi daśahi 'when ten (days had) passed' (Hidda inscr.: CII iii); tayā gṛhītayā nāsya kāye śastraṃ kramiṣyati 'that being put on no missile will strike his body' (Divya p. 113); tena āgatena . . . . vyādhiḥ praśāmyati 'when he is come the epidemic will cease' (Mahā i p. 257); etc. See OSBS p. 25f. sattā kāmehiṃ māṇavā abaleṇa vadhaṃ gacchanti sarīrena pabhaṅgureṇaṃ 'addicted to pleasures men undergo death for want of strength, the body (being) fragile' (Āyara 1.6.1.4; sarīrena pabhaṅgureṇaṃ can also be taken as a causal instrumental as Jacobi has done). gaṃthehiṃ vivittehiṃ āukālassa pārae 'the bonds fallen off, he (has come to) the end of his life' (ibid. 17.8.11).

teṃ hoṃteṃ hosai avara dhuya 'if he be alive (literally, he being alive) you may have another daughter' (*Mahāpurāṇa* ii); citte bajjhe bajjhaï mukke mukkaï 'the mind being fettered (he) is fettered, (it being) freed (he) is freed' (Dohā); etc.

Examples from *Mahābhārata*: *kṛṣṇena samupetena jahṛse bhārataṃ puram* 'Kṛṣṇa having arrived (or, with Kṛṣṇa arrived) the city of the Bhāratas was delighted' (2.33.15); *pūtanāghāta- pūrvāṇi karmāṇy asya viśeṣataḥ | tvayā kīrtayatāsmākaṃ bhūyaḥ pravyathitaṃ manaḥ* 'You having extolled his exploits, in detail, beginning with the slaying of Pūtanā, our mind is very much disturbed' (2.41.4); *jāyamānena yeneyam abhavad dāritā mahī* 'who having been (just) born the earth had burst' (3.44.8); *anyaiḥ samṛddhair apy arthair na sutān manyate param* '(there being) other precious objects (one) does not consider (them) better than (one's) son' (3.9.5); *atikrāntena vayasā santāpam upajagmivān* (his) age having passed (or, with his age passed) he became sorrowful' (3.292.7); *bhavadbhyām puruṣāgryābhyāṃ sthitābhyāṃ vijayo mama* 'the foremost among men you two remaining (on my side) my victory (is assured)' (5.164.14); etc.

## 4. Dative

§45. At the earliest stage of MIA only the following idioms of the dative are retained: the final dative, the terminal dative (very rare with verbs denoting motion forward), the dative of advantage (*dativus commodi*), and, to some extent, the temporal dative. Of these idioms the final dative persisted the longest. In early MIA the periphrasis of the final dative is comparatively rare, but in the later Prakrits it becomes almost exclusive. In early MIA the final dative



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is a remarkable feature, perhaps more so than in classical Sanskrit where the final dative is rather a restricted idiom and, therefore, we do not find here the dative infinite which is rather abundant in Asokan, in some later north-western inscriptions and in Niya. It also occurs in Buddhistic Middle Indo-Aryan as well as in the early Jain texts.

The plural of the dative in MIA is identical with the plural of the instrumental and of the ablative. It occurs, though very rarely, with personal nouns and pronouns generally.

§46. The final dative: purā mahānasamhi devānaṃ priyasa priyadasino rāño anudivasaṃ bahūni prāṇasatasahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya 'formerly in the kitchen of the beloved of gods, king Priyadasi, many hundred thousands of animals were daily killed for the purpose of cooking' (G I, S, M, K, D, J); panthesu kūpā ca khanāpitā vrachā ca ropāpitā paribhogāya pasumanusānaṃ 'on roads wells have been dug and trees planted for enjoyment by animals and men' (G II, S, M, K, D); etāyeva athāya imāya dhaṃmānusaṣtiya yathā añāya pi kaṃmāya 'for this very purpose (*viz.*) for this teaching of 'dhamma' and also for other acts' (G III, M, K, D, J; S has one ablative, one genitive and one dative instead of the three datives: etisa vo karana imisa dhramanuśastiye yatha añaye pi kramaye); etāya athāya idaṃ lekhāpitaṃ 'for this purpose it has been ordered to be written' (G, S, M, K, D IV; etc.); anuvatarāṃ savalokahitāya '(let them) act for the good of all the world' (G VI, S, M, K, D, J); etakāya devānaṃ piyo piyadasi rājā yaso va kiti va ichati 'for this purpose the beloved of gods, King Piyadasi, desires glory or fame' (G, S, M, K, D X); etc. The final dative with nomina actionis is often indistinguishable from the infinitive; *e.g.*, yaṃ śako chamanaye 'what (it is) possible to bear' (S XIII 7; G has the clear dative infinitive 'chamitave').

esa khotaṃnami dutiyāya gada 'he went as envoy to Khotan' (KI 14); yaṃ kala kāla kirteya khotaṃnaṃmi dutiyae gatag'a āsi 'at the time when K. K. had gone as envoy to Khotan' (KI 637); etc.

sarvabudhana puyae 'for honouring all the Buddhas' (Taxila cop-pl. inscr.: CII III No. XIII); ṇivaṇae hotu a(ya) de saṃparicago 'may this thy right munificence be for emancipation ('nirvāṇa') (CII III, No. XXVII); sarvasatvana nirvanasaṃbharae bhavatu rajasa agrapracaṃsae 'may (this) be for the equipment of emancipation ('nirvāṇa') of all beings, and for a principal share for the king' (CII III, no. LXXXII), etc.

padhānāya gamissāmi '(I) will go for exerting' (SN 27.20); maggo so pāraṃ gamanāya 'that (is) the way for going to the other shore'



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(SN 72.7); pubbe'va natthi yad idaṃ yuddhāya 'formerly there was nothing like it to fight against' (SN 46.8); jahassu rūpaṃ apunabbhavāya 'leave the body behind for not having further existence' (SN 71.2); dassanāyopasaṃkama 'approach (him) for a visit' (Thera 485); na hi pabbajitāya āvuso puriso saṃphusanāya kappati 'no man, O friend, is able to touch a (woman) in holy orders' (Therī 367); labheyyāma bhagavato sammukhā dhammikaṃ kathaṃ savanāya '(we) shall have the privilege of hearing religious talk from the Lord' (MN i p. 160); etc. tad bhaviṣyati bahujanahitāya 'it would be for the good of many' (LV p. 7); mā ca samudram avataraṇāya cittaṃ karotha 'do not make (thy) mind for plying the sea' (Mahā iii p. 73); etc. See OSBS p. 28f.

app'ege accāe haṇaṃti app'ege ajināe vahaṃti 'some are slain for sacrificial purposes, some are killed for the sake of their skin' (Āyara 1.1.6.5); parass' aṭṭhāe 'for other's sake' (ibid. 1.2.3.5); kaḍaṃ paraṭṭhāe 'done for other's sake' (ibid. 1.8.4.9); jāimaraṇamoyanāe dukkhaparighāyaheuṃ 'for release from birth and death, for the sake (lit., reason) of removal of suffering' (ibid. 1.1.1.7); etc.

The use of the final dative in the literary Prakrits is only Sanskritism. Thus: pavisa nivvudi-lāhāa 'go in for obtaining happiness' (*Mālavikāgrimitra* iii).

§47. The terminal dative, be it a person or an object or place, is governed by a verb (or verbal derivative) signifying 'motion toward'. It is however a dying idiom in MIA. Examples: saggāya gacchati 'goes to heaven' (Dhamma 13.18); yo maṃ gehetvāna dakāya neti 'who, catching hold of me, takes (me) to the water' (Jātaka iii 6.99).

§48. The dative of the indirect object is closely allied to the terminal dative. It is found only in Asokan and in Buddhistic Sanskrit. It is almost non-existent in Pali and Prakrits. Examples: yaṃ va puna mahamatrehi acayike aropita hoti 'whatever urgent (matter) is delegated to the officials' M VI, K, D, J); tehi vatavyaṃ 'to them should be said' (G XII, M, K; S has genitive 'teṣaṃ'); athā hi pajaṃ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti 'just as (one) is relieved by making over a babe to a wet nurse' (T IV; Rdh, Mth, Rp). In the following example 'mamiyāye' can be taken as an instrumental or as a dative or as a locative: mamiyāye asvaseyu '(they) may trust in me' (J Sep II; D has mamāye).

(a) As regards Buddhistic Sanskrit the dative of the indirect object does not occur in *Mahāvastu*. See OSBS p. 26f.

§49. The dative of advantage is sometimes governed by a verb meaning 'to give' (or its derivative). Examples of the dative of



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advantage: nātisu ca baṃbhanasamanehi sādhu dāne 'gift to kinsmen and to brahmans and Śramaṇas (is) good' (D III, J);[1] atha pa(jā)ye ichām(i) ki(ṃti) me savena hita(su)khena y(ū)jevu ti 'now for (my) progeny (I) desire that they, through me, be added with entire welfare and happiness' (J, D Sep I); here, however, 'pajāye' can be taken as locative also. (ājīvi)kehi bhadaṃtehi vā(ṣani)ṣidiyāye niṣiṭhā '(this cave) has been bestowed on the venerable Ājīvikas for living in during the rains' (Nagarjuni Cave Dedication of Daśratha). yo dukkhapuṭṭhāya bhaveyya tāṇaṃ 'who becomes the saviour to a sorrow-stricken person' (Jātaka i 1.101). sā ca rājñā .... bodhisattvāya vṛtābhūt 'she was chosen by the king as the Bodhisattva' (LV).

§50. The dative with a substantive or an adverb is either a final or a terminal dative.

(i) Final dative: paṭibalā hi tuph(e) asvāsanāye (h)itasu(khā)ve ca (tesa) hidalokikapāla(lokikā)ye 'you (are) indeed competent for consolation and also for their welfare and happiness pertaining to this world and the next' (D Sep II 7-8); alaṃ hi tuphe asvāsanāye h(i)tasukhāye (ca) (t)esaṃ hidalogikapālal(o)kikāye (J Sep II 12-13).

abhavu parihaṇa'e 'not susceptible to diminution' (Khar B 32). kālañññū c'assa garūnaṃ dassanāya 'knowing the time for seeing teachers' (SN 21.2); kālo ito prakramaṇāya vīra '(it is) time, O hero, to go away' (Thera 528); bhavāya vibhavāya vā taṇhā yassa na vijjati 'who has no desire for (coming into) existence or leaving existence' (SN 48.9); n'atthi mahārāja hetu n'atthi paccayo sattānaṃ saṃkilesāya 'there is, O king, neither ultimate cause nor remote cause for the depravity of beings' (DN i p. 53); vinibaddhāya bhavāva hetukappā '(which are) causes of binding (men) to existence' (SN 1.16); kallaṃ tassa evaṃ vacanāya '(is) it fit for his saying?' (DN i p. 157; cf. MN ii p. 241); abhabbo so tassa paṭicchadāya 'he (is) incapable of concealing it' (SN 13.11). alaṃ bālassa mohāya 'sufficient for deluding a fool' (Thera 771; MN ii p. 64); nālaṃ pisācā yuddhāya 'the Piśācas are not capable of fighting' (Jātaka iii 4. 184).

apratikūlo śravaṇāya 'not disagreeable to ear' (Mahā i p. 194); kuśalam adhiṣṭhānāya bhavatu 'welfare be to the place' (Divya p. 76); samayo vā me agnihotraṃ juhanāya '(it is) time for my offering the Agnihotra (oblations) '(Mahā iii p. 161). See OSBS p. 27f.

nālaṃ te tava tānāe vā saraṇāe vā 'they are not worthy of thy

[1] There is probably a subtle difference here between the locative and the dative. The dative here perhaps implies *sampradāna* i.e., a ritualistic gift.



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protection and refuge' (Āyara 1.2.1.2). Elliptic dative of the following type is a feature of Ardhamāgadhī: se na hassāe na kiḍḍāe na ratīe na vibhūsāe 'he (is) not (fit) for hilarity, playing, pleasure, (or) show' (ibid. 1.2.1.3).

ṇamo rakkhasa-sajjaṇāa 'a bow to the good one among the Rākṣasas' (Pratimā).

(ii) Terminal dative: ā pānadākhināye 'up to the boon of life' (T II, D-M, A-K, Ra, Ma, Ram); though written as a compound it is hardly so. Had it been a compound it would have been an adverbial accusative. But '-dākhināe' may very well be taken as an ablative, as in Sanskrit. idaṃ katavyaṃ maṅgalaṃ āva (<*yāvat*) tasa athasa niṣṭānāya 'this good should be done until the attainment of that desired object' (G IX 6); S, M. K have 'nivuṭiyā', and D has 'niphatiyā'. Both these forms may be taken either as dative or as ablative, but they are probably datives since the dative with 'yāvat' is an idiom in Buddhistic Sanskrit and in Pali.

duggo maggo padhānāya 'difficult (is) the way to concentration' (SN 28.5); maggo so pāraṃ gamanāya 'this (is) the way to the other shore' (SN 72.7); idha bhikkhave bhikkhu . . . . cīvaraṃ paṭisevati yāvad eva sītassa paṭigātāya uṇhassa paṭighātāya 'here, O bhikkhus, a bhikkhu uses (the mendicant's garment) until the removal (of the feeling) of cold or heat' (MN i p. 10); atthi kāyo ti vā pan' assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñānamattāya passatimattāya 'there is the body—this perception comes to him until knowledge (and) realization' (MN i p. 59). na cāsyā amanojñaśravaṇaṃ yāvad garbhasya paripākāya 'no hearing of unpleasant sounds for her until the maturing of the embryo' (Divya pp. 2, 99).

(a) Like the final dative the terminal dative also occurs elliptically in Ardhamāgadhī; *e.g.*, ettha mohe puno puno sannā no havvāe no pārāe 'sunk deeper and deeper (lit., again and again) in this delusion, (they cannot get) to this shore nor to the opposite' (Āyara 1.2.2.1).

§52. The dative is sometimes used (mostly adverbially) for the temporal accusative, instrumental or locative. In Sanskrit it is restricted to a few fossilised adverbs like *cirāya, ahnāya,* etc. The temporal dative is never an extensive idiom in Indo-Aryan. Examples: (i)māya kālāya 'at that time' (Rup I 2; br and sd have the instrumental, *viz.*, iminā cu kālena). dhuvāye 'for ever, *i.e.*, invariably' (T V, Mi, Rdh, Mth, Rp); dighāya 'for a long time to come' (G X).

dattā paṭṭikā vassasatasahassāya 'the charter (has been) given, (valid) for a hundred thousand years' (Hirahaḍagalli: EI I).



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adhivāsetu me bhavaṃ gotamo svātanāya bhattaṃ 'would the venerable Gotama accept my food tomorrow' (SN 33; DN i p. 125); adhivāsetu me bhavaṃ gotamo ajjatanāya bhattaṃ 'would the venerable Gotama accept my food today' (DN i p. 109); cirarātrāya 'for a long time' (MN i p. 338).

The adverb 'dīrgharātrāya' 'for a long time' is quite frequent in Buddhistic Sanskrit.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *varṣasahasrāya rājyaṃ kārayitum* 'to rule the kingdom for a thousand years' (80.27); *cirarātrāya* 'for a long time' (3.131.8; 3.298.7).

§52. Owing no doubt to some extent of overlapping the dative sometimes appears for the ablative or the instrumental. Thus: bhāyāmi paccāgamanāya tassa '(I) am afraid of his return' (Jātaka ii 2.179); gacchāmi dāni vanam eva rādha asakkatā v' amhā dhanañjayāya '(I) am going to the forest, O Rādha, not being entertained by this Dhanañjāya' (Jātaka iii 4.113); note that 'amhā' is ablative-instrumental, while 'dhanañjayāya' is undoubtedly dative.

sattvā ayuḥkṣayāya ābhāsvarād devanikāyato cyavitvā 'creatures having fallen from hte shining body of goods on the exhaustion of the span of life' (Mahā i p. 52).

(a) In the following instance from *Mahābhārata* a *dativus incommodi* has been used in place of a possessive genitive: *prāyopaviṣṭāya raṇe pārthena chinnabāhave | sātyakiḥ kauraveyāya khaḍgenapāharac chiraḥ* 'To (*i.e., of*) the scion of the race of Kuru, who is about to die and who has lost an arm, Sātyaki struck off the head with (his) sword' (7.141.37).

## 5. Ablative

§53. The ablative is the first case to disappear from MIA. The reason was that the functions of the ablative were alternatively carried by other cases notably the instrumental and the genitive. In OIA the ablative had a distinctive form only in the singular of the *a*-declension, otherwise it was either identical with the genitive (singular) or with the dative (plural) or with the instrumental and dative (dual).

The only ablative forms available in Asokan are the fossilised forms: pachā (<*paścāt*) (G, S, M, D, J I; G, S, M, K XIII); athā (<*arthāt*) (T VII), karaṇa (<*kāraṇāt*) (S III, XIV), akasmā (<*akasmāt*) (D, J Sep I). Besides the above adverbial ablative forms there are two 'living' ablatives in the Girnar version:



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āva saṃvaṭakapā (<*yāvat saṃvṛttakalpāt* IV 3); sarvalokahitatpā (<*sarvalokahitatvāt*; VI 11). The forms 'nivuṭiyā' (S, M, K IX) and 'niphatiy(ā)' (D IX) may be taken either as datives or ablatives. As a matter of fact the corresponding word in the Girnar version is a dative, 'niṣṭānāya'.

In Pali, however, the inflicted ablative is not at all rare. But in Buddhistic Sanskrit and in the Prakrits the inflected ablative is extremely rare.

The ablative of place is scrupulously replaced in early MIA by adverbial formations ending in *-tas,* and later on, especially in the Prakrits, these are used as equivalents of the inflected ablative. Therefore the following ablatives occurring in later inscriptions must be imitations from Sanskrit: kāṃcīpurā (<*kāñcīpurāt*) Hirahaḍagalli: EI I); nāgavarakadhā (<*nāgavarskandhāt*) (Nasik: E VIII); vijaykhadhāvārā (<*vijayaskandhāvārāt*) (ibid.); sirī-vijayaveṅgīpurā (Inscr. of Vijayavarman: EI IX).

§54. The ablative of the starting point: tanasuliyavāṭā panāḍiṃ nagaraṃ pavesa(ya)ti 'he diverted the stream from the road (?) . . . to city' (Khāravela). uṭṭhāyāsanā 'rising from the seat' (SN 24); mā maṃ ṭhānā acāvayi 'may (he) not drive me away from (my) place' (SN 28.18). raṭṭhā raṭṭhaṃ vicarissaṃ '(I) shall wander about from kingdom to kingdom' (SN 28.20); sukhā te dhaṃsate ṭhānā 'they fall away from the happy stance' (Thera 225); yena vāti dīso disaṃ 'along which it blows from quarter to quarter' (Thera 615); kulā kulaṃ 'from house to house' (Thera 79, 123); sakamhā gāmā aññaṃ gāmaṃ gaccheyya '(he) would go from (his) own village to another' (DN i p. 81); rājadhāniyā nīyiṃsu '(they) started out from the capital (city)' (DN ii p. 41); yānā paccārohitvā 'climbing down from the carriage' (ibid.); etc.

§55. The ablative with verbs (and verbal derivatives) denoting separation, physical or mental, actual or supposed: abha muto va suriu 'like the sun freed from cloud' (Khar Aa 3; 'abha muto' may however be a compound, *abhramuktaḥ*); sadharma parihayadi 'he is divorced from his own *dharma*' (ibid. B 22); yadha phalana pakana nica padaṇado bhayo 'just as the standing fear of ripe fruits from dropping down' (ibid. Cvo 8); so duha na parimucadi 'he is not relieved of misery' (ibid. Cvo 42; 'duha' may be accusative *duḥkham*). jigucchati kammehi pāpakehi '(he) is disgusted of sinful acts' (SN 12.9); dhammā dhaṃsenti yājakā 'the sacrificing priests fall away from 'dhamma' (SN 19.29); so sukhā na vihāyati 'he is not deprived of happiness' (Thera 232; DN iii p. 185); pāpakammā pamuccati '(he)



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is released from the evil action' (Therī 239); ahiṃ karantā uddhareyya '(he) would take out the snake from (its) slough' (DN i p 77); tārehi aghā mahato sudutthārā 'protect (me) from the great flood difficult to cross over' (Thera 1131). pāpā ṇivāreti '(he) restrains from (doing) evil' (DN iii p. 187); no te jāti nivāreti dugaccā garahāya vā 'birth does not save them from distress or from blame' (SN 7.26). yasmā hi dhammaṃ puriso vijañña 'from whom a man learns 'dhamma' ' (SN 20.1); yamhā dhammaṃ vijāneyya 'from whom (one) may learn 'dhamma' ' (Dhamma 26.10; Jātaka iv 13.8). papatanā bhayaṃ 'fear from falling' (SN 34.3); attadaṇḍā bhayaṃ jātaṃ 'fear from a raised rod occurred (or fear arises from a raised rod)' (SN 53.1); kaṭṭhā have jāyate jātavedo 'fire is indeed produced from wood' (SN 30.8). imassa uppādā idam uppajjati 'from the rising of this rises that' (MN iii p. 63); vissāsā bhayam anveti 'fear arises out of trust' (Jātaka i 1.92); yathāpi puppharāsimhā kayirā mālāguṇe bahu 'just as from out of a heap of flowers many strands of garlands are made' (Dhamma 4.10); abrahmacariyā virameyya methunā '(one) should refrain from unchaste sexual intercourse' (SN 26.25); pāṇātipātā paṭivirato 'abstaining from taking life' (DN i p. 4). satthā va hīno 'lost from a caravan' (SN 51.5). ñātisaṃghā vinā-hoti '(he) is separated from (the company ot) his kinsmen' (SN 34.16); etc.

evaṃ bhagavatā sārthaś caurasahasrāt pratimokṣitaḥ 'thus the caravan was saved by the Lord from the thousand thieves' (Divya p. 94); yāvajjīvaṃ prāṇātipātāt prativiramiṣyam 'for the rest of (my) life (I) shall forbear from taking life' (Mahā iii p. 268); etc. See OSBS p. 29f.

maraṇā pamuccati '(he) is liberated from death' (Āyara 1.3.1.3).

lajjai . . . sā . . . sahīhī 'she is shy of her friends' (Gāthā 5.82).

In *Mahābhārata* the ablative sometimes appears for the subjective instrumental or genitive. Here the agent is viewed as the source of the action. Thus: *durātmano vadho yatra kīcakasya vṛkodarāt* 'where (there is) the killing of the foul-hearted Kīcaka by Vṛkodara' (1.2.131); *tvatsakāśāccа rāmāccа bhīmasenāccа mādhava|arjunād vā mahabāho hantuṃ śakyo na veti vai* '(he) cannot, O great-armed Mādhava, be killed by you, or by Rāma, or by Bhīmasena or by Arjuna' (2.15.9). Allied to this is the ablative of fatherhood; *e.g., janayāmāsa yaṃ kālī śakteḥ putrāt parāśarat* 'whom Kali gave birth to from Parāśara the son of Sakti' (1.54.2); etc. See §37.

§56. The ablative with an adjective or an adverb (including the preverb) implying a relation in space or time. Examples: āva



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saṃvaṭakapā 'up to the final cycle' (G IV 9); cf. āva ite (<*yāvad itaḥ*) 'even so far as' (Rp IV 18; T, Ksb, Rdh, Mth). In the following instances the case in question can be taken either as ablative or dative or instrumental, but the ablative is probably the case here. āva taṃbapaṃniya 'as far as Tambapanni' (S XIII 9; avaṃ taṃbapaṃniyā K, a taṃbapamniya M); ā pānadākhināye (text 'āpāna-') 'up to the boon of life' (T II, Mi, Ksb, Rdh, Mth, Rp).

purā bhedā 'before dissolution' (SN 48.2); paraṃ maraṇā 'after death' (DN i p. 31); uddhaṃ pādatalā adho kesamatthakā 'upward from the sole of feet and downward from the hair on the head' (MN iii p. 90); pubb'eva yaññā 'before the sacrifice (had began)' (DN i p. 138); tiro raṭṭhā tiro janapadā 'across the country, across the province' (DN i p. 116); kacci ārā pamādamhā 'is (he) far from (a state of) carelessness?' (SN 9.4); ārakā hoti saddhammā '(he) is far from 'saddhamma' ' (Thera 360, 1078); kim aññatra adassanā 'what excepting blindness' (SN 11.14); jīvitasaṃkhayā heṭṭhāto 'after the loss of life' (Thera 969); oraṃ vassassatā pi miyyati 'evan within a hundred years (one) dies' (SN 44.1); huraṃ gotamasāsanā 'previous to Gatama's preaching' (SN 63.1); tāni yāva c'aggā yāva ca mūlā sītena vārinā abhisannāni 'they are drenched with cold water from the very tips down to the roots (literally, up to the tip and up to the root)' (DN i p. 75; MN ii p. 16); yāva brahmalokā 'up to the sphere of Brahman' (DN i p. 78); etc.

tūryāṇi . . . pravādayāmāsur yāvat tasya bhagavato mahāparinirvāṇasamayāt '(they) sounded the trumpets till the time of the lord's great extinction' (Sadharma p. 160). See OSBS p. 30f.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *purā dyūtāt* 'before a dice play> without a dice play' (2.63.9); *sarvopāyair nihantavyāḥ śatravaḥ śatrusūdana| purā yuddhād balād vāpi prakurvanti tavāhitam* 'By all means (your) enemies should be killed, O killer of foes, without fight or (application of) force (they would) do you harm' (2.74.8); *na śaktas triṣu lokeṣu kaścid dhārayituṃ nṛpa|anyatra vivudhaśreṣṭhān nīlakanthān maheṣvarāt* 'O king! no one in the three worlds is capable of bearing (my brunt), except the best of gods, the great god Nīlakaṇṭha' (3.108.23); *yaḥ prācīṃ diśaṃ jigāya yāvat sūryodayāt* 'who conquered the eastern quarter up to (the place of) sun-rise' (1.90.12); *vasadhvaṃ pāṇḍavaśreṣṭhā yāvad arjunadarśanāt* 'stay (here), O great sons of Pāṇḍu, till the meeting (*i.e.*, the return) of Arjuna' (3.159.31); etc.

§57. The comparative ablative: nāsti hi kaṃmataraṃ sarva-



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lokahitatpā 'there is no better duty than the good of all beings' (G VI; S, K, D, J have the instrumental, 'sarvalokahitena').

yadi saccā damā cāgā khantyā bhiyyo'dha vijjati 'whether exists here (anything) greater than truth, self-restraint, liberality and forbearance' (SN 10.9); yo sītañca uṇhañca tiṇā bhiyyo na maññati 'who does not care cold and heat more than a (bit of) straw' (Thera 232); nirayā . . . . tiracchānayoni seyyo 'being born as a bird is better than (going to) hell' (MN ii p. 193); etc. See §40.

(a) Comparison is very often expressed periphrastically in Pali; *e.g.*, alābho dhammiko seyyo yañce lābho adhammiko 'an honest failure is better than (lit., so that) a dishonest gain' (Thera 666); seyyo amitto medhāvī yañce bālānukampako 'an intelligent foe is better than a sympathising fool' (Jātaka i 1.44).

(b) In the works of Aśvaghoṣa and in *Mahābhārata* occurs a kind of elliptic comparative ablative (generally with the verb *man*, sometimes with the verb *vṛ*) where the adjective implying comparison is omitted. Thus: *paramahilā dahanato' pv amanyata* '(he) thought of other's women as (fiercer) than fire' (*Saundarānanda* 3.32). *guṇān niḥsaṃśayād rājan nairguṇyam manyase katham* 'why do you, O king, prefer absence of virtue to undoubted (existence of it)' (Mbh 2.16.16); *kāmād artham vṛṇīte yah sa vai paṇḍita ucyate* 'he is, indeed, called wise, who prefers wealth to the sexual pleasure' (Mbh 5.33.25). These examples, especially the last, should properly be included in the section 'Ablative with Verbs' (§55).

§58. The causal ablative: pakamasi hi esa phale no ca esā mahatatā (<*mahātmatvāt*?) pāpotave 'this the result of exertion; it is not to be obtained through (inactive) greatness' (ru. II 2; s.); if however 'mahatatā' is a scribal error for 'mahatanā' (as in bb) it would be subjective instrumental.

vyarosanā paṭighasaññā n'aññam-aññassa dukkham iccheyya '(one) should not, out of anger or resentment, with harm to one another' (SN 8.6); kacci abhiṇhasaṃvāsā nāvajānāsi paṇḍitaṃ 'do you not despise the wise man, from living with him constantly?' (SN 23.1); madā hi pāpāni karonti bālā 'out of intoxication the stupid (fellows) commit sin' (SN 26.24); mattāsukhapariccāgā passe ce vipulaṃ sukhaṃ 'if (he) finds great happiness by renouncing miseries of course pleasures' (Dhamma 21.1); pāpāni kammāni karonti mohā '(they) commit sinful acts out of ignorance' (Thera 784); anāgatabhayā dhīro ubho loke avekkhati 'the wise looks at the two worlds for fear which has no apparent cause' (Jātaka iii 4.44); etc. See §30.



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teṣām alābhāt saṃtapyatha '(you) pine for not attaining them' (Saddharma p. 74). See OSBS p. 32.

§59. The cause is sometimes confused with the purpose. For this reason the ablative sometimes appears for the final dative. Thus: bhavataṇhāya nirodhā anujānātha pabbajissāmi 'permit (me), (I) shall take up the religious life for quenching the thirst of (continued) existence' (Therī 458). Cf. 'athā', 'karaṇa' in Asokan Inscriptions (§53).

Cf. *ahaṃ bhīṣmavadhāt sṛṣṭo nūnaṃ dhātrā mahātmanā* 'I am indeed created by the high-souled creator for the slaying of Bhīṣma' (Mbh 5.162.44). See §30.

§60. The ablative sometimes denotes the starting point or the finishing point of an action. Thus: kāyassa bhedā tidivamhi modati 'after release from the body (she) delights in heaven' (Thera 534). tena aṣṭacatvāriṃśadvarṣāt kumāram brahmacaryaṃ cīrṇaṃ vedā ca adhītā 'by him was practised the celibate studentship up to the forty-eighth year and the Vedas were learnt' (Mahā ii p. 209).

Cf. *kāṅkṣamāṇo' ham āsiṣye dehasyāsya samāpanāt* 'I shall continue desiring till the end of this body' (Mbh 1.110.35). Cf. the ablative with *yāvat* (§56).

§61. The most of the adverbial ablatives are fossilized forms; *e.g.*, pachā, athā, karaṇa in Asokan; yasmā, tasmā, kasmā, heṭṭhā, ārā, ārakā, kicchā, etc. in Pali; pacchā, heṭṭhā, dūlā, etc. in the Prakrits. In *Mahābhārata* occur the temporal adverbial ablatives: *muhūrttāt,* (7.80.28; 7.105.30; etc.) and *kṣaṇāt* (7.137.81).

Examples of the adverbial ablative in Pali: mūlā akusalā samūhatāse '(whose) sins are extirpated from the (very) roots' (SN 1.14); sīhanādaṃ nadissāma buddhaseṭṭhassa sammukhā '(I) shall roar the lion's roar in the presence of best of the Buddhas' (Thera 175); atha kho lohicco brāmaṇo buddhappamukhaṃ bhikkhusaṃghaṃ panītena khādanīyena bhojanīyena sahatthā santappesi sampavāresi 'now the brahman Lohicca, with his own hand, fed the Bhikkhus with the Buddha at (their) head, with palatable food' (DN i p. 227); etc. In the last example 'sahatthā' may be taken as instrumental as well.

§62. In OIA the affix *-tas* was added to nouns and pronouns to form adverbs of place. In classical Sanskrit these adverbs with *-tas* formed ablatives generally and locatives sometimes. In MIA they replaced the organic ablative more or less completely. In the Asokan inscriptions, especially in the Eastern dialect, the forms in *-tas* are the regular ablatives. Thus: uje(ni)te 'from Ujeni' (D Sep I); takha-



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silate from Takhasilā' (D Sep I, j ?); suvaṃṇagirīte 'from Suvannagiri' (sd I, br); duvālate (<*dvārataḥ*) 'with (appropriate) means' (J Sep I; J, D, Sep II), aṃ pi ca kiṃchi mukhate ānapayāmi 'whatever I command verbally (lit. from month, *i.e.*, by word of month)' (J, D, K VI; S, M, G have 'mukhato'); parisā pi yute āñapayisati gaṇanāyaṃ hetuto ca vyaṃjanato ca 'the council also shall order the Yuktas (officials) to register (these rules) both with (addition of) reasons and according to the letter' (G III, S; M, D, J read 'hetute ca viyaṃjanate ca', K has 'hetuvatā ca viyamjanat(e) ca'); dhaṃmate (<*dharamataḥ*) (D Sep I); mamiyāye asvaseyu ca me sukhaṃmeva ca laheyu mamate no dukhaṃ (text 'khaiṃ') '(they) may trust in me, may receive only happiness from me, and not misery' (J, D, Sep II); yo cu ato (ekaṃ pi hapeśati) 'who will neglect even one of (*i.e.* from) these' (S V 11; M 'atra', G 'eta' <*etat* or **etra* or **etaḥ*), K 'heta (<**etra*) D 'heta'); kute (?<*kutaḥ*) (D, J, Sep I); tatā ('tato' S, M) pachā 'thereafter' (G, S, M, K XIII); tatā ('tato' S, M) ṣatebhāge va sahassabhāge vā 'the hundredth or the thousandth part of (<from) it' (K, S, M XIII); iyaṃ pi cu tato galumatatale devānaṃ piyaṣā 'it is considered even more serious than that by the beloved of gods' (K, S, M XIII).

In Niya the *-taś* forms are generally used for the ablative; they occur also in the sense of the locative. Thus: avi khotaṃnade yog'ach'ema 'also (it is) all right in Khotan' (KI 272), ahono cinasthanade nasti vaniye 'now theres is no commerce with China' (KI 35); ma iṃci puna paṃthade pranaśiṣyati 'but nothing should get lost on the way' (KI 310).

In Pali the *-tas* ablative occurs side by side with the inflected ablative, the abundance of which in early canonical works is probably due to the influence of Sanskrit. There is a peculiar idiom of the adverbial ablative in Pali; *e.g.*, disvāna aṇuto aṇuṃ 'having seen a particle from a particle, *i.e.*, after gradually seeing through' (SN 19.16); sārañca sārato ñatvā 'knowing an essence from an essence (*i.e.*, knowing it to be the real essence)' (Dhaṃma 1.12); tatra tumhehi bhūtaṃ bhūtato paṭijānitabbaṃ 'there you should perceive the reality as reality' (DN i p. 3); paṭhaviṃ paṭhavito sañjānāti .... āpaṃ āpato sañjānāti '(he) knows earth as earth .... (he) knows water as water' (MN i p. 1); etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *rumanvān nāma nāmataḥ* 'Rumanvant by name' (3.116.10); *vallavo nāma nāmataḥ* 'Vallava by name' (4.2.1).



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In Buddhistic Sanskrit the *-tas* ablative is not very frequent. But in *Mahāvastu* it is quite common.

(a) In the Prakrits the *-tas* ablative has almost completely replaced the inflected ablative. In the Prakrits the adverbial affix *-tas* is probably added on to the ablative instead of to the stem direct. Thus -ādo <-ā+to <*-āt+tas*. The old ablative is thus preserved in the new forms. Examples of the adverbial ablative in the Prakrits: virao vahāo 'refrained from taking life' (Āyara 1.3.2.4); campāo parinikkhamittā 'coming out of Campā (Jacobi 33); mā bihasu .... raṇṇakalahāo 'do not be afraid of the quarrel with the king' (ibid. 81.34); mahanto kkhu kālo amhāṇaṃ paḍiṭṭhāṇādo niggadāṇaṃ '(it (is) a long time since we have left Pratiṣṭhāna' (Vikrama iv); etc.

(b) The use of the adverbial ablative in *-tas* in *Maṅābhārata* is interesting; *e.g.*, *takṣaśilātaḥ* 'from Takṣaśilā (1.3.179); *yuyukṣamāṇas tvattaḥ* 'desiring to fight with you' (2.22.25), *cyavano juhuve mantrato 'nalam* 'Cyavana offered oblations on fire by (uttering 'mantras' ' (3.124.18); *mātā ca prativindhyataḥ* 'the mother of Prativindhya' (3.35.15); *śaṃyutaḥ sutaḥ* 'the son of Śaṃyu' (3.218.6); cf. the ablative and the instrumental of parenthood (§§37, 54).

## 6. Genitive

§63. In MIA the genitive generally functions for the dative and the ablative. In Pali the ablative, and to some extent the dative, remain side by side with the genitive, but in Buddhistic Sanskrit and in the literary Prakrits the genitive almost totally replaces the other two cases.

(a) Among the Asokan dialects the Shahbazgarhi version has preference for the genitive whereas the Kaliṅga versions and partially the Girnar version prefer for the locative. Thus: (a)ya(ṃ) dhramadipi devana priasa raño likhapitu 'this edict has been commanded to be written by the beloved of the gods' (S I): devānaṃ priyena priyadasinā rāña (G; so also M, K, D, J); (ba)huka(ṃ) hi doṣaṃ sama(ja)sa devana priy(o) priadraśi raya d(a)khati 'the beloved of the gods, king Priyadarśī, much harm in a samāja' (S I, M, K): samājamhi (G; D, J); ñatinam (asa)mpa(ṭi)pati 'discourtsey to kinsmen' (S IV; M, K): añani ca divani rupani draśayıtu janasa 'having shown to the people other divine spectacle' (S IV, M, K, D, J); janaṃ (G); so imasa athrasa vaḍhi ahini ca sadhu 'therefore increase and non-diminution of this matter is good' (S IV; M, K, D); imamhi athamhi (G); yaṃ



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va puna mahamatranaṃ acayika(ṃ) -a(ro)pitaṃ bhoti 'whatever urgent (matter) is delegated to the officials' (S VI); mahāmātresu (G); dasabhaṭakasa sammapaṭipati 'good disposition towards slaves and servants' (S IX): dāsabhatakamhi (G; M, K, D, J); praṇaṇaṃ saṃyamo (S; M, G): pāṇesu (K, J); tesaṃ vatavo '(it) should be said to them' (S XIII): tehi (dative; G, M, K).

The Shahbazgarhi dialect often shows the genitive when the other versions have the word as the first member of a compound: vimananaṃ draśamaṃ (S IV): vimāna-dasanā (G etc.); gurunaṃ suśruṣa (S XIII): gurususūsā (G, M, K); dipikarasa va aparadhena S XIV): lipikarāparādhena vā (G, K, D).

The Kaliṅga versions show some other instances of the locative: jīvesu anālaṃbhe sādhu (D III, J); yonakambocagāṃdhālesu lāṭhikapitenikesu . . . aṃnesu vā ñātisu savata viyāpaṭā (D V).

Cf. yo na lipadi kāmehi 'who is not smeared with pleasures' (Khar O 32): kāmesu (Pali *Dhammapada*).

§64. The possessive genitive; mahānasamhi devānaṃ priyasa priyadasino rāño 'in the kitchen of the beloved of gods king Priyadasi' (G I; S, M, K, D, J); tasa aṃtiyokasa samaṃta (ra)jano 'the neighbouring (or vassal) kings of that Antiyoka' (S II; M, G, K, D, J); aṭhaṃ janasa 'business of the people' (S VI 14; M, G, K, D, J); duvāl(a) etas(a) aṭhasa 'the means of (accomplishing) this object' (J Sep II); etc.

§65. The subjective genitive has an alternative idiom in the instrumental or the locative. It is very rare in Buddhistic Sanskrit and in the literary Prakrits. Examples: (a)ya(ṃ) dhramadipi devana priasa raño likhapitu 'this edict has been caused to be engraved by the beloved of the gods, the king' (S I); sādhumatā devānaṃ priyasa priyadasino rāño 'considered beneficial by the beloved of the gods, the king Priyadasi' (G I; S, M, K, D, J); rāño dve cikicha katā 'by the king two (kinds of) medical treatment have been installed (G II 4; S, M, K, D, J have the instrumental); priyadasino rāño dhaṃmacaraṇena 'by the practice of piety by the king Priyadasi' (G IV; S, M, K, D, J); imisa athasa vaḍhi hini ca 'increase and non-diminution of this object' (S IV; M, K, D); duvādasavasāni abhisitasa devā-(n)aṃ (p)i(ya)sa piyadasine lājine (ya)ṃ (idha) likhite 'what has been ordered to be inscribed here by the beloved of the gods, the king Piyadasi, anointed (a king) twelve years (back)' (D IV; S, M, G, K

[1] It seems to have been a characteristics of the North-Western Middle Indo-Aryan. The Niya documents and the Kharoṣṭhi *Dhammapada* also prefer the genitive.



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have the instrumental). karita mahakṣatravasa '(ordered to be) made by the Mahākṣatrapa' (Mathura Lion Capital inscr.; CII II i). mama ca tvaṃ śāriputra dīrgharātram anuśikṣito' bhūt 'you, O Sariputra, were for a long time instructed by me' (Saddharma p. 64); see OSBS p. 39. dhammassa gutto 'protected by piety' (Dhamma 19.2); kumbhakārassa katā mattikābhājanā 'earthen pots made by a potter' (SN 34.4); bālānaṃ abhinanditaṃ 'praised by fools' (Thera 394); jugucchito manussānaṃ 'shunned by men' (Thera 621); etc.

§66. In Niya Prakrit the genitive sometimes appears as the subject of the sentence: mama arogemi dahi prasadena 'I (literally, 'my') am well by your grace' (KI 139); na sarvajanasya raja-karyani kartavo 'not everyone is to conduct state affairs' (KI 272); jaṃdunaṃ ca sarva-karyena varidavya 'vermin is all means to be kept away' (KI 565 B; cf. paśunaṃ 683); cojhboāna kolpisa kunalasa ca namakerogya kojalya prichaṃti 'the Cojhbos Kolpi and Kunala (make) obeissance (and) ask (your) well-being and prosperity' (KI 283); etc. tasa pava'ido di vucadi 'he is called mendicant' (Khar O 17).

(a) In the following instance from late Apabhraṃśa the genitive is perhaps appositional to the nominative 'jo': jivantaha jo ṇau marai so ajarāmara hoï 'he who dies not, being alive, becomes unageing and undying' (Dohā). See §69.

§67. The objective genitive is a much more prolific idiom than the subjective genitive. The object may be direct or indirect. Examples: prāṇānaṃ sādhu anāraṃbho 'non-destruction of life (is) good' (G III; S, M, K, D, J have locative); vihisa ca bhutanaṃ ñatinam (asa)aṃpa(ti)pati śramaṇabrahmaṇaṃ (asaṃpati)pati 'destruction of beings, bad disposition of kinsmen and sramaṇas and brāhmaṇas' (S IV, M, K; G has two genitives and one locative: ñātisu, and D has two locatives and one genitive: bhūtānaṃ); anāraṃbho prāṇāṇaṃ avihisā bhūtānaṃ ñātīnaṃ sampaṭṭipatī brāhmaṇasamaṇānaṃ saṃpaṭipatī 'non-destruction of life, non-injury of beings, good disposition of kinsmen, and of brāhmaṇas and sramaṇas' (G IV; S, M; K has one locative: ñāti(su); D, probably also J, has two locatives: nātisu, (sa)manaba(m)bh(a)nesu). vudhrana suśuṣa 'obedience to the old' (M IV; S); baṃdhanabadhasa paṭividhānāya 'for taking care of one committed to prison' (G V; S, M, K, D); bāmhaṇasamaṇānaṃ dasaṇe ca dāne ca 'paying visit to and bestowing gift on brāhmaṇas and sramaṇas' (G VIII; S, M, K, D, J); praṇananaṃ saṃyamo 'gentleness to animals' (S IX; M, K); tato ubhayasa ladham bhoti 'thence gain of both accrues' (S IX; M, K); etc.



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mātāpitu upaṭṭhānaṃ puttadārassa saṃgaho 'obedience to parents, protection of children and wife' (SN 16.5); lābhī annassa pānassa vatthassa sayanassa ca 'winner of food, drink, clothes and bed' (Thera 153); kammaseṭṭhassa kārakā 'doers of the noblest deed' (Therī 275); rūpānaṃ dassāvī 'seer of forms' (MN ii p. 201); etc.

(a) Examples of the objective genitive with a finite verb are very rare, and they occur only in the late Apabhraṃśa. Thus: bhattāraha loḍai '(she) seeks the husband' (Dohā). See §73.

§68. There are some instances of the reciprocal genitive in *Mahābhārata*. In this idiom the two genitives are either both possessive or subjective genitives or one is a subjective and the other an objective genitive. Thus: *aikātmyaṃ vāsudevasya proktavān arjunasya ca* '(he) mentioned the community between Vāsudeva and Arjuna (1.2.144); *samāgamam dvijendrasya pannagendrasya cādhvani* 'meeting, on the way, between the best of birds and best of serpents' (1.46.28); *yathāvṛttaṃ tu tat sarvaṃ takṣakasya dvijasya ca* 'all that happened between Takṣaka and the brahman' (1.46.31); *tasya niṣpiṣamānasya pāṇḍavasya ca garjataḥ| abhavat tumulo nādaḥ sarvaprāṇibhayaṅkaraḥ* 'A great roar terrific to all creatures arose between him pressing down and the son of Pāṇḍu thundering' (2.24.8); *yathābhūd rākṣasendrasya saubhadrasya ca* 'what happened between the great demon and the son of Subhadrā' (6.101.5); etc.

§69. The appositional genitive or the genitive of identity is an exceedingly rare idiom in Indo-Aryan. There are a few instances of it in OIA (see UCVP p. 130). It is also not absolutely unknown in MIA. Thus: eso adhammo daṇḍānaṃ okkanto purāṇo ahu 'this injustice of violence that has come down (to us), was old' (SN 19.29); rājagṛhe parvaṃ vartati pañcānāṃ tapośatānām 'a (sacrificial) session (consisting) of five hundred austerities is being held at Rājagṛha' (Mahā iii p. 57); tasya rājño brahmadattasya putraśataṃ kumārāṇāṃ 'the king Brahmadatta (had) a hundred sons, (all) lads' (Mahā iii p. 361). See OSBS p. 43.

Cf. *damayantyāḥ pāṇaḥ sādhu vartyatāṃ yadi manyase* 'if you please, let there be the stake on Damayantī, by all means (*i.e.*, let Damayantī be the stake)' (Mbh 3.61.3).

§70. The partitive genitive (including the superlative and the comparative genitive): māthurā(ṇam) śailālakānaṃ cāndakā bhrātṛkā 'the brothers Cāndaka among the play-actors of Mathurā' (Jaina inscr. from Mathura XVIII: EI I); imāsāṃ yamaḍapuṣkaraninaṃ paścimā puṣkarani 'the western tank of these twin tanks' (Mathura Stone: EI IX). magaṇa aṭhagi'o śeṭha sacana ca'uri pada|viraku śeṭho



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dhamaṇa praṇa-bhudana cakhuma 'Of the ways the best (is) the eight-staged one, and of truths the four-stepped; diaffection (is) best of *dharmas*, and the seer among living beings.'

therisaṃghassa sobhane 'O thou beauty among the Therīs' (Therī 331); kāmabhoginaṃ aggo 'the foremost of the pleasure-seekers' (Therī 485); sā vai vācānam uttamā 'this (is) indeed the best of speeches' (SN 29); tesaṃ taṃ vārijo seṭṭho 'of them, you, an aquatic animal, are the best' (Jātaka ii 3.51); isīnaṃ isisattamo 'the greatest saint among saints' (Thera 1240); etesaṃ gandhajātānaṃ sīlagandho anuttaro 'of these various sweet scents that of good conduct the supreme' (Dhamma 4.12); ayaṃ imesaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ abhikkantataro ca panītataro ca 'of these two colours this is more nice and pleasing' (MN ii p. 34); etc. See OSBS p. 42 f

doṇṇi lakkhā mayakalānaṃ donni sahassā rayaṇāṇaṃ 'two lakhs of emeralds and two thousands of jewels' (Jacobi 39); gahanakkhattānaṃ sasaharo vva 'like the moon among the planets and stars' (Jacobi 84.18-19); etc.

§71. The genitive of race or family (*i.e.* origin) is a special idiom of the partitive genitive. This occurs mostly in the southern inscriptions. Thus: pallavāṇa sivakhaṃdavamo 'Śivaskhandavarman of the Pallavas' (Hirahaḍagalli: EI I); pūkīyānaṃ kaṃdasiri(sa) 'of Kaṃdasiri of the (family of) Pukiyas' (Nagarjunikonda: EI XX p. 16); dhanakānaṃ khaṃdavisākhaṃnakasa bhayā 'the wife of Khaṃdavisākhaṃnaka of the (family of) Dhanadas' (ibid. p. 18); pūyikānaṃ cāṃtasiriṇikāhi 'by Cāṃtasirinikā of the (family of) Pūyikas' (ibid. p. 19); etc.

(a) The adverbial ablative in *-tas* instead of the genitive occurs in the Jaina inscriptions from Mathura. Thus: koṭṭiyato gaṇato bra(hma)dāsikato kulato ucenanagarito śākhāto 'of the Kottiya gaṇa the Brahmadāsika kula and of the Ucenanagarī śākhā' (EI I); etc.

§72. The genitive of material and origin: nekkhaṃ jāṃbunadass'eva 'like a *niṣka* of gold' (Dhamma 17.10); sāliṇam bhojanaṃ bhuñje '(one) should eat of a dish of rice' (Jātaka iii 4.34); etc. caturaśīti kuṭāgārasahasrāṇi kārayesi . . . . saptānāṃ ratnānām '(he) built eighty-four thousand strongholds of the seven gems' (Mahā i p. 49). See OSBS p. 43.

§73. In OIA a large number of verbs govern the genitive. The genitive so governde falls into four types, *viz.*, (1) the partitive genitive, (2) the possessive genitive, (3) the genitive of the subject matter or reference, and (4) the genitive of the indirect object (*i.e.*, the dative and



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the ablative genitive). Though there is provision in Panini's grammar for this idiom the number of verbs governing the genitive is really very few in classical Sanskrit and these again, excepting the verbs *as, bhū* and their synonyms, almost always govern other cases, and there is no partitive genitive with a finite verb. The idiom of the genitive with verbs is quite prominent in *Mahābhārata*. Owing to the gradual disuse and ultimate disappearance of the dative and ablative cases in MIA the idiom of the genitive with verbs is very much extended, so much so that in Buddhistic Sanskrit (especially in *Mahāvastu*) a direct object often appears in the genitive case.

§74. When the object (or an instrument) of a verb is affected only in part it takes the objective case. Thus: ath'assa susiram sīraṃ matthaluṅgassa pūritaṃ 'then its hollow head is filled with 'mātuluṅga' stuff' (SN 11.7); dhaññassa pūretvā 'having filled (these) with corn' (SN 19.22); tad vāhanaṃ gośīrṣacandanasya pūrayitvā 'having filled the cart with sandal wood' (*Divyāvadāna* p. 42); viulassa asaṇapāṇakhāimasāimassa bharei 'she filled (the cart) with plenty of food, drink, delicacies and relishes' (Vipāka i 1); hiraṇṇamottiyāṇaṃ thālaṃ bhareūṇa 'filling the plate with gold and pearls' (Jacobi 80.24); kumbho viṣasya pariṣiktaḥ 'the pot filled with poison (LV p. 180). Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *adām ahaṃ pṛthivīm brāhmaṇebhyaḥ pūrṇāṃ imām akhilāṃ vāhanasya* 'I gave away to Brahmins the earth full of beasts of burden' (1.88.23); *apaśyam nalinīm pūrṇām udakasya* '(I) saw a lotus bed full of water' (2.50.25); *santi niṣkasahaṣrasya bhāṇḍinyo bharitaḥ* 'there are nice pots filled with thousands of gold coins' (2.61.2).

accasanassa puriso pāyasassa pi tappati 'after a heavy meal a man is satiated of rice-milk even' (Jātaka i 1.24). Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *atṛpto yauvanasyāham* 'I am unsatiated of youthful pleasures' (1.78.37); *nāgnis tṛpyati kāṣṭhānāṃ nāpagānām mahodadhiḥ* 'fire is not satiated of wood, nor the ocean of rivers' (5.40.7); *amṛtasyeva nātṛpyan* '(they) were not satiated as if of nectar' (5.94.52); *nābhuñjāno bhakṣyabhojyasya* 'not partaking of various food' (5.29.6); *ahaṃ dātāsmi ratnānāṃ dhanānāṃ ca* 'I shall give of jewels and riches' (2.59.29); *bhattacolassa nādhigaṃ* 'I could not find any food or raiment' (Therī 122).

§75. The verbs *as, bhū* and their synonyms govern the genitive in the sense of belonging to or occurring to. Examples: esa me huthā 'this occurred to me (*i.e.*, I thought))' (T VII 14-15, 20); nāsti jana aprañasa praña nasti ajayado 'there is no *dhyāna* to one without *prajña*, and no *prajñā* to one without *dhyāna*' (Khar B 16); na pasu



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brāhmaṇān' āsuṃ 'brahmans had no cattle' (SN 19.2); amhākaṃ . . .. etad ahosi 'it occurred to us (*i.e.*, we thought)' (MN ii p. 224); no me atthi koi naya'naṃ avi kassaci 'I have no one, nor do I belong to anybody') Āyara 1.7.6.1); etc.

§76. The genitive of the subject matter or reference is governed by verbs meaning 'to remember of', 'to think of', 'to speak of', 'to hear or learn of', 'to do (well or ill) of', 'to imitate of', 'to ask of', 'to rule over', 'to protect', etc. This a special idiom of the partitive genitive.

*kṛ*: parapāsaṃḍasa pi ca upakaroti 'and (he) does well in respect of other creeds (*i.e.*, does good to the other creeds)' (G. XII, S, M; K has the accusative); parapāsaṃḍasa ca pi apakaroti '(he) also does ill in respect of other creeds' (G XII, S, M; K has the accusative); cf. *Mahābhārata*: *tasyāpacakre medhāvī* 'Medhāvī did harm to that (sage)' (3.135.51); *vikurvāṇo munīnāṃ ca vyacarat sa mahīṃ imām* 'he wandered over the earth, doing harm to the hermits' (ibid. 50); but *viprakurvan ṛṣīn anyān atuṣyat parayā mudā* 'doing harm to other sages (he) was greatly delighted' (ibid. 60).

*smṛ*: sumarati nāgavanassa kuñjaro 'a (tame) elephant remembers of the wood (frequented by wild) elephants' (Dhamma 26.7); anussaraṃ pettipitāmahānaṃ 'remembering the ancestors' (Jātaka ii 2.25); ahaṃ te smārayiṣyāmi 'I shall remember you' (Divya p. 57); sumariya rayanavaīe 'remembering Ratnavatī' (Jacobi 15.17; bharimo pāanta-suttassa '(I) remember of (him) sleeping at (my) feet' (Gāthā 3.26); cf. *tasya smṛtvā* 'having remembered him' (Mbh. 3.6.5); *rājā smarati te khattaḥ* 'O Kṣattṛ, the king remembers you' (ibid. 16).

*ut-kaṇṭh*: mātuḥ pituḥ na utkaṇṭhitaṃ syāt '(he) may not be anxious in respect of the parents' (Mahā ii 6. 165); saggassa na ukkaṇṭhedi '(so that she) does not long for the celestial region' (Vikrama iii).

*dhyā, adhi-i*: nidhyāyati rājakanyānām '(he) thinks of the princess' (Mahā ii p. 147); asmākam bhagavān adhyeṣyati 'the lord thinks of (*i.e.*, calls) us' (Saddharma p. 270).

*ud-diś, mṛg-*: tesam uddeśenti 'make enquiries about (*i.e.*, hunts) them' (Mahā i p. 21); mama mārgamāno 'seeking for me' (Mahā ii p. 102).

*kīrtay*: samanānaṃ eva kittesi 'you praise the sramaṇas only' (Therī 271); yassa tvam abhiṇhaṃ kittayamāno ahosi 'whom you had been always praising' (MN ii p. 65; MN i p. 146).

*garh*: kin nu ruru grahasi migānaṃ 'why do you, antelope, revile the dear?' (Jātaka iv 13.124); kasya vā garahāmy ahaṃ 'of whom



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shall (I) speak ill of (*i.e.*, whom shall I take to task)?' (Mahā ii p. 480).

*śru*: sutvā devassa vassato 'hearing of (*i.e.*, in respect of) the sky raining' (SN 2.13); cf. *śṛṇu rāmasya rājendra bhārgavasya ca dhīmataḥ* 'listen O great king about Rāma and the renowned scion of Bhṛgu' (Mbh 3.99.40); *tasya dāśaratheḥ śrutvā* 'hearing about (*i.e.*, of the facts of) the son of Daśaratha' (ibid. 42).

*dṛś*: savaśu nama-ruvasa yasa nasti nama'ida 'seeing through name and appearance, who has no attachment for self' (Khar B 38); andho va siyā samavisamassa adassanti 'like a blind man not perceiving of smooth or rough (ground)' (Thera 321).

*jñā*: ko nu kho jānāti jīvitānaṃ 'who indeed knows of lives?' (DN ii p. 233); jātasya tasya guṇasāgarasya jñātvā 'knowing about Guṇasāgara being born' (LV p. 129); cf. *jānāti hi yathā bhīṣmaḥ pāṇḍavānāṃ yaśasvinām* 'as Bhīṣma knows about the renowned Pāṇḍavas' (Mbh 5.57.44); *atra te hṛdayaṃ veda satyasyaivānṛtasya ca* 'in this matter your heart knows of truth and of falsehood' (ibid. 10.68.25); *yo veditā karmaṇo pāpakasya* 'who (is) the knower of the evil deed' (ibid. 27).

*ava-man*: mā'vamaññetha puṇṇassa 'do not think lightly of piety' (Dhamma 9.7).

*anu-kṛ*: evaṃ gihī nānukaroti bhikkhuṇaṃ 'so a householder does not imitate (lit., does alike in respect of) the Bhikṣuṣ' (SN 12.15); tassānukaraṃ 'imitating him' (Jātaka ii 2.107); tatthabhavado bahu anukarodi 'imitates you much' (Vikrama v).

*anu-vi-dhā*: tasseva anuvidhīyati 'he imitates him' (Jātaka ii 2.65).

*anu-hṛ*: aṇuharai navara tissa vāmadhaṃ dāhiṇaddhassa 'her left side always imitates the right side' (Gāthā 4.3); cf. *tvam apy asyānuvartase* 'you also follow him' (Mbh 3.5.88.20).

*anu-mud*: tassa te . . . . sabbe devā numodanti 'all the gods approve of you' (SN 32.34).

The genitive with the above-mentioned verbs with *anu-* was originally governed by the preverb *anu* 'after' before it was compounded with the verb. Cf. tes' āhaṃ anu sikhāmi 'from them I learn' (Jātaka ii 6.139); yad vayam api tathāgatasyānuśikṣemahi 'as we too would learn after the Tathāgata' (Saddharma p. 180).

*vi-jnā, śikṣ, pari-pṛcch, bhaṇḍ, sah*: yasa (Dhamma 'yamhā') dharmo vi'ane'a 'from whom *dharma* may be learnt' (Khar O 4);



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subhāsitassa sikkhetha 'learn of the pious utterance' (Thera 239); see SN 37.40. cirassa vata man tāta samaṇānaṃ paripucchasi 'for many a day, father, you have asked me about the śramanas' (Therī 274); uttare ca paripṛcchanti sūtrasya vinayasya mātṛkāyaḥ 'the others ask about the Sūtra, the Vinaya or the alphabet' (Divya p. 18); saṃghalābhassa bhaṇḍanti saṃghato paribāhirā 'those outside the Saṃgha quarrel abouts its gain' (Thera 943); gandhassa asahamāno 'not tolerating (in respect of) the scent (or, not tolerating even a spell of the scent)' (Therī 471).

*rājyaṃ kṛ, pari-rakṣ, pra-bhū*: sukhaṃ āharitaṃ tesaṃ yesaṃ rajjaṃ akārayiṃ 'happiness was brought over to them over whom I ruled' (Jātaka iii 7.88); nagarasahasrāṇāṃ rājyaṃ kārayati 'he rules over sixty thousand cities' (Mahā ii p. 420); sa teṣāṃ śakuntakānāṃ parirakṣati 'he protected (or ruled over) those birds' (Mahā ii p. 251); tava putro na kiñcit paitṛkasya rājyasya ca dravyasya ca prabhavati 'your son would not inherit (lit. be the master of) the paternal kingdom or any other thing' (Mahā i p. 349); cf. *neśe balasya* 'does not command power' (Mbh 3.25.11); *imā vai tava pānthasya pālayantu dhanañjaya* 'O Dhanañjaya, may these protect you, a wayfarer' (Mbh 3.37.33).

*spṛh, iṣ*: añeṣa sviha'o bhikhu samadhi nadhikachadi 'envying others a bhikṣu does not obtain *samādhi*' (Khar B 20); rittassa munino pihayanti 'they envy the hermit who is bereft (of all)' (SN 45.10); na pihetīdha kassaci 'he does not envy any one here' (SN 53.13); tassa me bahukā pihayānti 'many envy me' (Thera 62); tesaṃ na pihemi 'them (I) envy not' (MN i p. 506); cf. *spṛhayāmy adya nirvedāt puruṣāṇāṃ sacakṣuṣāṃ* 'out of disgust I now envy men (who are) wise' (Mbh 1.124.6); *tasya spṛhayāmāsa reṇukā* 'Reṇnkā desired him' (ibid. 3.116.17). tasyāpi no icchati 'has no desire for (*i.e.*, in respect of) him' (Mahā ii p. 69); eṣa mama abhikāṅkṣati 'she wants me' (Mahā ii p. 69); cf. *nāthantaḥ sarvakāmānām* 'having desires in respect of all pleasures' (Mbh 3.183.73).

loko cuhucuhai kamaḍharāyassa 'people applaud (in respect of) the prince of tortoises' (Two Prakrit Poems at Dhar A 44: EI VIII).

§77. The sense of the subject-matter or reference is to be found in same instances where the genitive represents an indirect object expressed in OIA by the dative or the ablative or even by the accusative.

The genitive with verbs meanting 'to say', 'to explain', 'to inform' etc. is the regular idiom in MIA. But in the Asokan inscriptions we have only two instances; *viz.*, tesaṃ vatavo 'should be said



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to them' (S XII; M, G, K have dative: tehi); vucati teṣa kiti 'it is said of them that' (S XIII; M, G).

In Pali the following verbs occur: *brū, bhaṇ, bhāṣ kathay, prati-veday, deśay, upa-diś, vi-ā-kṛ, ā-khyā, ā-rocay,* etc.; in Buddhistic Sanskrit: *vac, vad, jalp, bhāṣ, kathay, deśay, ā-cakṣ, prati-veday, vi-ā-kṛ, ā-rocay, sam-śrāvay, vācay, sam-diś, ā-jñāpay, ā-mantray, upa-darśay, abhi-pra-veday, ni-veday, prati-hāray; sam-anu-śās* etc.; in the Prakrits; *vac, vad, kathay, sādh, vi-ā-kṛ, ni-veday, upa-darśay,* etc.; and in *Mahābhārata*: *kathay, ā-cakṣ, prati-ā-khyā,* etc.

(a) Verbs meaning 'to give', 'to bring to' etc.: imesa pavajitāna tekirasiṇa vitarāma 'we confer on those Tekirasi ascetics' (Nasik Cave: EI VIII); tato etesa pavajitāna bhikhūnaṃ teraṇhukānaṃ dadamo khetasa nivataṇasataṃ 'from that (field we) give to these mendicant ascetics of Tiranhu one hundred nivartanas of land' (ibid.); cātudiśasa bhikhūsaṃghasa niyātitaṃ 'given to the body of bhikṣus from all quarters' (ibid.). In Pali the following verbs occur: *dā, pra-nī, upa-nāmay,* etc.; in Buddhistic Sanskrit: *dā, anu-pra-dā, sam-arpy, nīr-yātay, upa-nāmay, upa-pra-nāmay, upa-sthā, nī, upa-sam-kram, preṣay, sam-vi-bhaj, vibhājam kṛ, anu-pra-yam, kṣip, pari-tyaj,* etc.; in the Prakrits: *dā, vi-tṛ, nir-yātay, prati-pad,* etc.

(b) Examples of other verbs governing the dative genitive: na brammaṇasa prahare'a 'one must not strike a brahman' (Khar O 12); (Dhamma 26.7); kim asya praharāmi 'what shall (I) dart against him?' (Divya p. 40); yo appaduṭṭhassa narassa dussati 'who offends against an inoffensive person' (Dhamma 9.10, SN 36.6, Jātaka iii 5.89). ma iṃci daraṃnagena jaṃnasya upeḍ'eṃti '(they) should not molest people for indebtedness' (KI 272); ede kilmeciye paroś-parasya adhaṃa kareṃti 'these Kilmeciyas do harm to one another' (KI 468); etc.

sa kassa kandāmi vanassa majjhe 'whom shall I cry (for help) in the midst of the wilderness?' (Jātaka ii 2.133); sa cet sattvā nadībhir uhyamānā avalokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasya .... ākrandaṃ kuryuḥ 'if the creatures being carried away by (the current of) the river should cry for the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (*i.e.* for his help)' (Saddharma p. 439).

nīcamano vandi tathāgatassa '(he) worshipped the Tathāgata in humility' (SN 14.14); vande bhaṇḍīrassa '(I) worship the Bhāṇḍīra (tree)' (*Kumārapālacarita* 5.60); name namantassa 'one should bow to the humble' (Jātaka ii 2.114); bhikkhusaṃghassa añjaliṃ paṇa-



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metvā 'bowing to the assembly of the bhikṣus with folded hands' (DN i p. 50 f); yasya sarve rājāno praṇamanti 'to whom all the kings bow low' (Mahā ii p. 491); etc. Cf. Mbh 3.28.8, etc.

na āmagandhe mama kappati '(the charge of) Amagandha does not apply to me' (SN 14.3); sammādiṭṭhissa bhikkhave sammāsaṃkappo pahoti 'O Bhikṣus, strong determination serves for perfect vision' (MN iii p. 76).

keṇiyassa jaṭilassa paṭissutvā 'complying with (the request of) Keṇiya Jaṭila' (SN 33); rañño .... paṭissutvā 'having agreed to the king' (DN i p. 49); ānando bhagavataḥ pratyaśrauṣi 'Ānanda agreed with the Lord' (Divya p. 76); tena tasyāḥ pratijñātam 'by him (it) was promised to her' (ibid. p. 15).

sadevakassa lokassa yathā dissati cakkhumā 'as the one with clear vision appears to the world of (men and) gods' (SN 54.2). Cf. *kim tatra dṛśyatām tava* 'what may appear to you there' (Mbh 5.64.25).

ubhayaṃ me na ruccati 'both do not appeal to me' (Jātaka ii 2.93); tāvat kumārasya katamā .... kanyā rocate 'which of the girls appeals to the prince?' (LV p. 156); yaṃ devīe ruccadi 'as the queen pleases' (Vikrama ii); cf. *na vai tesām svadate pathayam uktam* 'good advice does not appeal to them' (Mbh 5.36.57). yathā te khameyya tathā naṃ vyākareyyāsi 'you may explain howsoever (it) is suitable to you' (MN i p. 395); ubhayaṃ me na khamati 'the both do not suit me' (Jātaka ii 2.93).

evaṃ prasanno ahaṃ bhoto gotamassa 'thus I am pleased with the venerable Gotama' (MN i p. 240); nandādināṃ bhikṣūṇām abhiprasanno 'pleased with the bhikṣus beginning with Nanda' (Mahā i p. 36); cf. *kṣetrajño yasya tusyati* 'with whom the Knower of Self is pleased' (Mbh 1.30). khamataṃ ambaṭṭhassa mānavassa 'pardon the youngman Ambaṭṭha' (DN i p. 108); khama deva asappurisassa 'O Lord, pardon the bad man' (Jātaka iv 10.65); cf. *śiṣyasyāśiṣyavṛtter hi na kṣantavyaṃ bubhūṣatā* 'one desiring well-being should never pardon a disciple acting otherwise' (Mbh 1.74.9); *kṣama vā yadi te śraddhā mā vā kṛṣṇa mama kṣama* (pardon if you like, O Kṛṣṇa, or do not pardon me' (ibid. 2.45.20).

nāsaṃ kujjhanti paṇḍitā 'wise men are never angry with them' (Jātaka i 1.64); sarve'sya .... krudhyanti 'all are angry with him' (Saddharma p. 378); sā .... tāsāṃ antaḥpurikāṇāṃ ruṣyati 'she is angry with the ladies of the harem' (Mahā ii p. 480); nāpi tasya ahituṇḍikasya kupyati 'did not flare up at the juggler' (Mahā ii p 178);



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aham samdesassa jjeva kuppāmi 'I resent the news even' (Mṛccha iv); cf. *Mahābhārata*: *nāhaṃ kupye sutaputrasya* 'I am not angry with the son of the charioteer' (2.71.7); *so' bhikrudhyati bhṛtyānām* 'he is angry with the servants' (5.72.31); *anāyudhā sāyudhāyā riktā kṣubhyasi bhikṣuki* 'O beggar woman destitute and without any weapon, you are angry with one who is well-armed!' (1.73.11). na kho ahaṃ . . . . arahaṭṭassa maccharāyāmi 'I do not make any reflection upon sainthood' (DN iii p. 7); devā issanti purisaparākkamassa 'gods envy the valour of a man' (Jātaka iii 4.4); see *spṛhay* above. ṇiabandhavāṇaṃ jurai ghariṇī 'the mistress of the house is angry with her own relations' (Gāthā 1.38); kadāi asūyissanti paidio amha 'sometime (my) subjects may hate me' (Vikramṅa iv); yadā bhante brahmā sanaṃkumāro devānaṃ . . . . pātu bhavati 'when Brahmā Sanatkumāra appears before the gods' (DN ii p. 210).

kṣudhā pipāsā . . . . naiva tasya bādhate 'hunger and thirst oppress him not' (LV p. 85); nāham āyuṣmanto yuṣmākaṃ paribhavāmi 'O long-lived ones, I cannot vanquish you' (Saddharma p. 378); eṣā na asmākaṃ mālinī aparādhyati 'this Mālinī does not offend us' (Mahā i p. 313).

tvam apy asmākam utprāsayasi 'you too mock us' (Divya p. 17). See OSBS p. 33 ff.

pañcannaṃ dhīro bhayānaṃ na bhāye 'the wise should not be afraid of the five dangers' (SN 54.10); kassa bāhmaṇa tvaṃ bhīto 'of whom are you afraid, O brahman' (Therī 237); paradhammikānaṃ na santaseyya 'let him not be afraid of adversaries' (SN 54.11); sabbe tasanti daṇḍassa 'every one is afraid of punishment' (Dhamma 10.1); rañño pajjotassa āsaṃkamāno 'being afraid of the king Pradyota' (MN iii 7); pacchādāvassa bhāāmi 'I am afraid of remorse' (Vikrama ii); bihei jaṇo palāsāṇam 'people are afraid of the Palāśa (flowers)' (Gāthā 4.11); cf. Mbh 1.109.26; 3.64.10; 3.99.52; 5.176.55. tesiṃ vayaṃ lajjāmo 'them we abhor' (Āyara 1.7.1.5). kissa jugucchamāno 'disgusted of what' (Jātaka iv 10.50); cf. sakalo jaṇo amacaṃ jugucchadi 'all people hate the minister' (*Malatīmādhava* ii).

sutaṃ . . . . m'etaṃ brāhmāṇaṃ 'I have heard this from brahmans' (SN 33); cf. sutvā ca mahesissa 'hearing from the great sage (or hearing the words of the great sage, or having listened to the great sage)' (Therī 149); etc. sukassa bhāsamānassa na nisāmetha paṇḍitā 'dō you not, O wise men, listen to the parrot talking' (Jātaka iii 6.159).

sammā-ñānassa sammā-vimutti pahoti 'from complete knowledge ensues complete emancipation' (DN ii p. 217).



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muttik 'amhi musalassa 'I am freed from the mortar (*i.e.*, drudgery)' (Therī 23); cf. *samayujyata dehasya* '(he) was divorced from the body' (Mbh 3.276.30).

antàradhyāyissāmi samanassa gotamassa '(I) shall go away from the Samana Gotama' (MN i p. 330); acchinditvā kulagharassa 'not tearing away from the family' (Therī 444). See OSBS p. 39 f.

§78. The genitive with non-verbal nouns, ádjectives and adverbs. Examples: namo bhagavato . . . . saṃmāsambudhasa 'a bow to his lordship the Perfectly Awakened One' (Nagarjunikonda: EI XX); tasmā te sāgatam bhadde 'welcome to you, O lady', (Therī 337); sotthi gabbhassa 'weal to the embryo' (MN ii p. 103); sotthi savāṇaṃ 'weal to all' (Vikrama v). na tvaṃ assattha jānāsi nama corassa c'antaram 'you, O Aśvattha, do not know the connection between me and the thief' (Jātaka iii 4.43).

kusalo sabbhadhammānaṃ 'skilful in all Dharmas' (SN 56.8). tesaṃ saha 'with them' (DN i p. 112); mama saddhiṃ 'with me' (DN i p. 157); see OSBS p 42. aññatra tathāgatassa 'other than the Tathāgata' (SN 4); antarā dinnaṃ ayujjhapurāṇaṃ 'between two impregnable cities' (Jātaka ii p. 302); pāsādassa heṭṭhā 'at the foot of the palace' (DN i p. 198); uttareṇa manasākaṭassa 'to the north of Manasākaṭa' (DN i p. 235); tikkhattuṃ divasassa 'thrice a day' (Thera 345); pag eva suhitānaṃ 'let alone be satisfied!' (MN i p. 40); dhi-r-atthu bālassa 'fie to the fool!' (Jātaka iv 13.127); nayarassa bahiyā 'outside the city' (Vipāka i 1); nayarīe vahiṃ 'outside the city' (Jacobi 12.16); tassa aggao vedī 'an altar in front of it' (ibid. 49.5); kumārassovariṃ 'upon the prince' (ibid. 22); sattarattassa abbhantare 'within seven nights' (ibid. 67.11); tasya mūlaṃ gayā '(she) went near him' (ibid. 35.29-30); tuha samīve 'to you' (ibid. 17.17); vaḍapāya-vassa heṭṭhā 'under a banian tree' (ibid. 1); dhi-r-atthu amhānam 'fie to us' (ibid. 2); etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *alaṃ sa teṣāṃ sarveṣāṃ* 'he (is) a match for them all' (3.86.15); *dharmārthayor alam cāham* '(I am) equally competent in piety and in worldliness' (5.31.23); *anu tasya* 'after him' (3.166.20); *tasyānu* 'after him' (5.7.9); *dhigastu mama vārṣṇeya* 'fie to me, O scion of the race of Vṛṣṇi!' (7.157.24); etc.

(a) The genitive with a noun denoting time; na'i kalu pramodasa 'it is not time for enjoyment' (Khar A 6); mahanto kkhu kālo amhāṇaṃ paditṭhāṇādo niggadāṇaṃ 'it is a long time since we left Pratiṣṭhāna' (Vikrama iv); samayo de gehappavesassa 'it is time for your going into the house' (ibid. iii); kā vi velā ajjacārudattaśśa



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gandhavvaṃ śuṇiduṃ gadaśśa 'it is long since the honourable Cāruddatta went out to attend a performance' (Mṛccha iii). Cf. Mbh. 1.73.2, etc.

§79. The genitive sometimes stands for the dative of advantage or disadvantage. Thus: eto khetāto civarakaṃ pavaitasa 'from this field (accrues) the (providing of) clothes for the ascetic' (Nasik Cave, EI VIII); akāle vassati tassa kāle tassa na vassati 'it rains for him out of time, it does not rain for him in time' (Jātaka ii 2.84); vilumpat' eva puriso yāv'assa upakappati 'a man robs as long as it is suitable to him (*i.e.*, he is able)' (Jātaka ii 2.177); āyasmato ca ānandassa pañcasataṃ vihāram kārāpesi 'for the long-lived Ānanda (he) built five hundred monasteries' (MN i p. 353). tīse ca piuṇā sayaṃvaro dinno 'for her the father held a svayaṃvara' (VH p. 78; see also p. 116). tāṃ tān gandhān pareṣām api vyākaroti 'emits that perfume for others as well' (Saddharma 361); daṇḍakarmaṃ karotha yathā caurasya kriyati tasya me 'give me punishment as is done to a thief' (Mahā iii p. 174). Cf. *ito dukhataraṃ kinnu yad aham mātur antataḥ | saṃvidhātum na śaknomi mitrāṇāṃ vā janārdana* 'O Janārdana, what can be a greater regret than that I cannot achieve (happiness) for (my) mother or for (my) friends' (Mbh 5.72.13).

(a) In the following instance the genitive is really elliptic: sarvā sā sarājikā pariṣā yajñadattasya vismita 'the entire assembly including the king was astonished (by the cleverness) of Yajñādatta' (Mahā iii p. 362).

§80. The purpose of an action is generally expressed in Pali by the word *hetu* with the genitive, as in classical Sanskrit where the word *hetu* also takes the genitive. Examples: kissa hetu musā bhaṇe 'what for should one speak falsely?' (SN 72.8); mā appakassa hetu kāmasukhassa vipulaṃ jahi sukhaṃ 'do not reject profound happiness for the sake of a little sensual pleasure' (Therī 508).

(a) The final genitive without a helpword in Pali comprizes adverbs like kissa 'why, what for' etc. In the Prakrits the final genitive is very rare except in the Jaina works. Thus: ukkaṇṭhiyaṃ tuha daṃsanassa me hiyayaṃ 'my heart yearns for your sight' (Jacobi 57.16); jalaṇassa gao 'went out for fire' (ibid. 85.15); etc.

The final genitive in the literary Prakrits: jhāṇassa kiṃ vilambīadi 'why is it being delayed for contemplation?' (Vikrama ii).

§81. The OIA idiom of the temporal genitive occurs in such adverbs as—(Pali) cirassa 'for long', kālassa 'in proper time', nacirassa 'soon', divādivassa 'early in daytime', dīgharattassa 'for a long time';



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(Prakrits) aho ca rāo 'day and night', ratto 'of a night', cirassa, kālassa 'for a long time'; āamuhūrtasya 'for a moment' (Mahā iii p. 296).

(b) A numeral is sometimes used adverbially in a multiplicative sense. Thus: tena kho pana samayena sambahulā devatā sahassass' eva pāṭaligāme vatthūni pariganhanti 'at that time many gods accepted things in thousand in the village Pāṭali' (DN ii p. 86-87).

(c) The following idiom in Niya Prakrit is noteworthy: śuki masu trina saṃvatsarana 'white wine of three years' (make)' (KI 431).

§82. The temporal genitive sometimes denotes the end of a period, as in the temporal ablative. Thus: dinnaṃ vassānaṃ ekā vācā me bhāsitā 'after two years one word (only) was spoken by me' (Thera 128). tatra ṇaṃ sā miyā devī navaṇhaṃ māsānaṃ bahupaḍipuṇṇāṇaṃ dārayaṃ payāya 'there indeed Miyā the queen delivered the child at the expiry of full nine months' (Vipāka i 1); vīi-parampareṇa vicchubbhamāṇo satta-rattassa umbarāvaivelāe vicchūḍho'mhi 'being tossed in the series of waves I was thrown over the Umbarāvai coast at the end seven nights' (VH p. 146); kassai kālassa puṇo uvaṭṭhiyāo 'they appeared after some time' (ibid. p. 351 f); etc. Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *atha dīrghasya kālasya devayānī nṛpottama | vanaṃ tad eva niryātā krīḍārthaṃ varavarṇinī*. 'Then after a long time, O king, the exquisite girl Devayānī went to that very forest to sport' (1.76.1); *kālasya nātimahataḥ punaḥ śakreṇa pātitaḥ* 'after not a long period (he) was again thrown down by Śakra' (1.81.3); *kasyacid atha kālasya* 'after some time (or, after a long time)' (1.123.47); *ta ime kālapūgasya mahato'smān upāgataḥ* 'they have come to us after a long time' (2.36.24); *tataḥ katipayāhasya* 'then after a few days' (3.160.15); etc.

§83. The genitive sometimes appears for the dative of direction or for the locative of place. Thus: gao ya parivvāyako mamaṃ mahāpasuṃ pakkhiviūna kūvassa 'the mendicant went away after sending me, a great fool, down the well' (VH p. 147); cīṇaṭhāṇassa mukkaṃ jānavattaṃ 'the ship weighed anchor for China' (ibid. p. 146); dhamacari suhu śe'ati asvi loki parasa yi 'the virtuous enjoys happiness both in this world and in the next' (Khar Ab 6).

§84. The idiom of the absolute genitive originated in the later Vedic period (cf. UCVP p. 149 f), and it sporadically occurs in MIA. Thus: yadha sagara-'uḍasa ujidasa maha-pathe | padumu tatra ja'e'a suyi-gaña manoramu 'Just as a heap of refuge being thrown off by a roadway a lotus, sweet-scented and pleasing, would grow therein'



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(Khar Cro 3); atha kho aññatrā devatā abhikkantāya rattiya .... yena bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami 'now when the night had come a deity of beautiful appearance approached the Lord' (SN 16); pekkhataṃ yena ñātīnaṃ passa lālapataṃ puthu|ekameko ca maccānaṃ go bajjhe viya niyyati 'Mark, while the relatives are looking on lamenting, one by one of the mortals is carried off, like an ox to the slaughter house' (SN 34.7); brahmuno pekkhamānassa tato cittaṃ vimucci me 'while Brahman was looking on, then by mind was liberated' (Thera 182); yo ve buddhena cudito bhikkhusaṃghassa pekkhato| migāramātu pāsādaṃ pādaṅguṭṭhena kampayi 'Who, urged by the Buddha, gave a shake to the palace Migāramātu with his toe, while the assembly of the Bhikkhus was looking on' (MN i p. 337); etc. See OSBS p. 43 f.

siyā se'vaṃ vadaṃtassa paro aganikāyaṃ ujjalettā pajjalettā vā pāyavejjā 'perhaps after (the mendicant) had spoken thus, the other kindles a fire (that he) may warm or heat (himself)'. (Āyara 1.7.3.3); rāiṇo nivaṇṇassa ahaṃ tae akkhānayaṃ pucchiyavva 'when the king has retired I shall be asked by you (to narrate) a story' (Jacobi 50.10); evaṃ ca tassa raṇṇo kumāracariyammi khittacittassa tā sayalo puraloo samāgao rāyapāsammi 'when the king was thus distracted by the behaviour of the prince, all the citizens came to the king' (ibid. 73.4-5); tattha me vasantassa samatikkantaṃ varisaṃ 'a year passed as I stayed there' (VH p. 122).

## 7. LOCATIVE

§85. In OIA the locative is sometimes a concurrent idiom with another local case, especially with the dative. Any oblique case could be put in the locative, if it is looked upon as the field or subject-matter of the action of the verb. The relation between the possessor and the possessed may be viewed as a relation between the container and the contained. Hence the possessive genitive is sometimes replaced by the locative.

The locative for other oblique cases is specially preferred in the eastern dialect of early MIA.

§86. The locative of content (person, space, time, circumstance): ā(ya)tiye 'in the future' (J X, D); (kha)nasi kha(na)si ... so(ta)viyā 'should be read at times' (D Sep I); yasmiṃ pāpakāni kammāni 'in whom are sinful acts' (Thera 140); sadevakasmiṃ lokasmiṃ natthi te paṭipuggalo 'in the world of (men and) gods there is no man equal to thee' (SN 32.35); etc.



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§87. The possessive locative generally occurs with a noun denoting a person. This idiom is rather rare in non-inscriptional MIA. Thus: pakamasi hi esa phale 'this is the result in exertion' (ru II); es(a).....( duvā)la etasi (a)ṭhasi 'this (is) the door (i.e., means) of (accomplishing) this object' (D Sep II; J has genitive etas(a) aṭhasa). natthi bāle sahāyatā 'there is no help from the fool' [Dhamma 52]; yasmiṃ kataññutā natthi 'who has no gratitude' (Jātaka iii 4.31); etc.

Cf. *asti vīryaṃ nare nare* 'there is valour in every man' (Mbh 2.22.21); *etaṃ dṛṣṭvā śriyaṃ pārthe* 'finding this prosperity in Pārtha, i.e., seeing the prosperity of Pārtha' (Mbh. 2.53.24).

§88. The subjective genitive or instrumental is often etxpressed by the locative. Thus: ta imamhi athamhi vadhī ca ahīnī ca sādhu 'so in this matter increase and non-diminution are good' (G IV 10-11; S, M, K, D have the genitive). veraṃ tesūpasammati 'wrath subsides in them (i.e., their wrath subsides)' (Dhamma I 4); cf. veraṃ tesaṃ na sammati (Dhamma 1.3); na pare vacanā coro na pare vacanā muni 'no speech of others (makes a man) thief or saint' (Thera 497); yāyaṃ vandanapūāja kulesu 'this worship and gift from the wealthy folk' (Thera 124); etc. Cf. *klīve dārakriyā yādṛag andhe vā rūpadarśanam | arāño rājavat pūjā tathā te madhusūdana* 'O Madhusūdana! as is marriage by an enunuch or sight of forms by the blind so is the royal worship (offered to) you who are no king' (Mbh 2.37.29).

§89. The locative of the subject-matter is often extended to include an indirect object expressed by the dative and other cases. Thus: ñātīsu asaṃpaṭipatī 'discourtesy to kinsmen' (G IV 1-2, K, D, J); matapitusu suśru(ṣa) 'obedience to parents' (M IV 15, S, K; S XI 23, K); mātari pitari susrusā (G IV 6-7; XI 2); dāsabhatakamhi saṃmapratipatī 'good behaviour to servants and slaves' (G IX 4, M, K, D, J; G XI 2, K; K XIII 37); pānesu sayamo 'control of lives (i.e., abstenance from (killing) animals)' (G IX 5, J); see T VII 29. tuphe(su) anusathi 'instruction to you' (D Sep I 3, J); (he)meva m(e ichā) savamuni(se)su 'this (is) my desire for all men' (J Sep I 3); jīvesu anālambhe sādhu 'non-destruction of living beings (is) good' (D III 11, J).

saviṣu bhudeṣu niha'i daṇa (Khar B 39), sabbhesu bhūtesu nidhāya daṇḍaṃ 'having laid aside the rod against all beings' (SN 3.1; 29.19; Thera 867; MN ii p. 99); nāhaṃ kumāre ahitaṃ anussarāmi 'I do not remember anything unlucky for the prince' (SN 37.14); ko pana vādo sotāpanne 'what to say of one who has joined in the stream' (MN iii p. 255); puttesu dāresu ca yā apekkhā 'the care one has for children and wife' (SN 3.4; Dhamma 24.12; Thera 187);



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abhivādanā ujjugatesu seyyo 'salutation to one going along the straight path is good' (Dhamma 89); vinayassu mayi kaṃkhaṃ 'subdue (thy) doubt in me' (SN 33.12; Thera. 829); kāraṃ katvāna bhikkhusu 'doing honour to the Bhikkhus' (Thera 241); api nu assa itthīsu avaṭaṃ vā assa anāvaṭaṃ vā 'would he be shut off, or not, from (his) women?' (DN i p. 97); atthi nu tumhesu anukampā 'I have compassion for you' (MN i p. 12); nāgo sinehaṃ akāsi kukkure 'the elephant entertained affection for the dog' (Jātaka i 1.26); rasesu gedhaṃ akaraṃ 'not being greedy of sweet things' (SN 3.31); etc.

sarata-cita mani-kuṇaleṣu putreṣu dareṣu yaya aveha 'hankering after jewelled earrings, and the expectation from sons and wives' (Khar Cvo 31). tesu mucchio 'attracted to them' (Jacobi 29.5); aṇurāgo guṇesu 'attachment to good qualities' (ibid. 58.4); etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *śiśupālas tu tāṃ pūjāṃ vāsudeve na ca kṣame* 'Śiśupāla could not excuse the honour (shown to) Vāsudeva' (2.36.31); *rukmiṇyām asya mūḍhasya prārthanāsīt* 'the fool had desire for (i.e., wanted to marry) Rukmiṇī' (2.45.14); *parīkṣāṃ kuru bāhuke* 'examine Bāhuka (or, enquire about Bāhuka)' (3.75.2); *vikrīṇīte yudhiṣṭhire* 'sells to Yudhiṣṭhira' (4.13.7); etc.

§90. In all the instances of the locative governed by verbs the fundamental sense of location is more or less apparent. When a verb governs the dative the latter denotes the goal of an action, but when it is expressed as the location of an action the case is the locative. In early Indo-Aryan the accusative and the dative of goal as well as the locative are in many instances concurrent idioms; e.g., *devān gacchati, devebhyo gacchati* and *deveṣu gacchati.* Similarly the smotion, and so the ablative may be replaced by the locative.
emotion, hence the ablative may be replaced by the locative. The

The idiom of the locative governed by verbs is illustrated below.

parisā pi ca yutani gaṇanasi (aṇa)payiśati 'the council will order the officials in registering' (M III 11, S, G, K, D); te savapāsaṃḍesu vyāpatā 'they, engaged in (the supervision of) all creeds' (G V 4, S, M, K, D; etc.); tuphe hi ba(h)ūsu pānasahasesu ā(yatā) 'you are indeed occupied with (or, concerned with) thousands of beings' (D Sep I 4, J; etc.); dhaṃmamhi sīlamhi tiṣṭaṃto 'staying in (i.e., adhering to) piety and good conduct' (G IV 9, S, M, K, D). yo c'asi vigghe vaṭṭeja 'who may remain in obstacle to it (i.e., who shall oppose or undo this)' (Hirahaḍagalli: EI I). yuñjati buddhasāsane 'is attached to the commandment of the Buddha' (Thera 203); ghaṭatha buddhasāsane 'be attached to the commandment of the Buddha' (Therī 176); sadatthe ghaṭatha 'be engaged in a good object' (DN ii p. 141). sari-



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sammi jaṇammi jujjae rāo 'affection fits (i.e., is proper in) like persons' (Gāthā 1.12). teṣu cāsma prayuktā ghaṭamānā vyāyacchamānāḥ 'we are engaged in trying and struggling for them' (Saddharma p. 109). itthīsu na bajjhare 'who are not bound to women' (Thera 137); vāto va jālamhi asajjamāno 'like wind not being caught in a net' (SN 3.37); na ca kāmeṣu sajjate badhyate vā '(he) is not attached to, nor bound in pleasures' (Divya p. 116). kayavikkaye va tiṭṭheyya 'let him not be engaged in purchase and sale' (SN 52.15); gajuttamo savvaguṇesu aṭṭhā 'the best of elephants stood in (i.e., was endowed with) all the virtues' (Jātaka i 1.25). ṇa uṇa jujjadi dhammāvarodhe vaṭṭiduṃ 'it is not proper to obstruct the practice of piety' (*Vikramorvaśī* v). āhāre ca anissito 'not addicted to food' (Thera 92). na lippatī diṭṭhasutesu dhiro 'the wise does not cling to what is seen and heard' (SN 14.12); etc. Cf. *nale yaḥ samyag ātiṣṭhet sa gacched vadhyatāṃ mama* 'he shall be killed by me, who may do well by Nala' (Mbh 3.61.8); guruvat teṣu vartate '(they) behaved as superiors to them' (Mbh 3.37.6).

kacci na rajjati kāmesu 'is he not infatuated by sensual pleasures?' (SN 9.8), sagge pi te na rajjanti 'they do not delight even in (the pleasures of) heaven' (Thera 280); bhiduresu na rajjejjā kāmesu bahutaresu vā '(one) should not be addicted to the momentary pleasures even (if they be) diverse' (Āyara 1.7.8.23). ariyappavedite dhamme sadā ramanti paṇḍitā 'the wise (men) always delight in 'dhamma' declared by the righteous' (Dhamma 6.4); nāhaṃ porahacce rame 'I do not rejoice in priesthood' (DN ii p. 243). je āyāre na ramaṃti 'who do not delight in right conduct' (Āyara 1.1.7.6). appamāde pamodanti '(they) delight in vigilance' (Dhamma 2.2.). odātesu samucchitā 'who indulge in white (robes)' (Thera 961); rajje ya raṭṭhe ya mucchai 'indulges in kingdom or government' (Vipāka i 1).

tena kho pana samayena vāseṭṭha-bhāradvājā bhikkhusu parivasati 'at that time Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvājā were living with the Bhikkhus' (DN iii p. 80); kiṃ-sīle kiṃsamācāre purise nivase tuvaṃ 'what kind of man as regards discipline and conduct do you live with?' (Jātaka iii 6.42); osadhivanaspatisu adhivatthā devatā 'the deity dwelling in plants and trees' (MN i p. 306); brahmachariyaṃ sugate carāmase '(we) shall live as religious students with the Sugata' (SN 2.15); vasittā bamhaceraṃsi 'living in celebacy' (Āyara 1.6.4.1). Cf. *sukham asmy uṣitas tvayi* 'I have dwelt happily with you' (Mbh 3.42.24).

pādesu vā gehetvā 'catching by the feet' (SN 10; 17); kesesu gahetvā 'taking by the hair' (DN i p. 234); kesesu parāmasitvā



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catching by the hair' (MN ii p. 47); keśeṣu parāmṛśati 'takes hold of the hair' (Mahā i p. 321); kare ghettūṇa 'catching (him) by the hand' (Jacobi 56.23); gahio kaṇṭhammi 'was caught by the neck' (Gāthā 1.86). Cf. *sa yantety ucyate sadbhir na yo raśmiṣu lambate* 'he is indeed called a driver (lit., controller) and not he who catches (lit., dangles) at the reins' (Mbh 1.74.2).

tathā kalaṃtaṃ bāḍhatale upahaṃti atapāsaṃḍasi 'while doing so (he) greatly injures (lit., strikes at) (his) own creed' (K XII 33; accusative in S, M, G); cf. *carmaṇi dvīpinaṃ hanti* etc. 'at (i.e.) for the skin, one kills a leopard' (Verse quoted in *Māhābhāṣya*). dissāna rūpesu vihaññamāne ruppanti rūpesu janā pamattā 'seeing others afflicted by the body, heedless people suffer in their bodies' (SN 71.2); saṃkhāresu saṃkilissamānāse 'suffering in 'saṃkhāras' ' (Thera 102); mūle taruṃ chettu tam eva icchasi 'indeed you wish to cut down the tree at the root' (Thera 1121). See UCVP p. 157 f. Cf. *anāgasi prasajati* 'strikes at the innocent' (Mbh 2.22.3); *śarān mumoca tanaye mama* 'threw darts at my son' (Mbh 3.17.15); etc.

ovāditavyaṃ tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe 'should be admonished in those subjects (or occasions)' (G IX 8, D). bodhisatto taṃ rājānam aṭṭhe ca dhamme ca anusāsati 'the Bodhisattva instructed the king in polity and in religion' (Jātaka i p. 184). sā bhagavatā . . . . bodhau vyākṛtā 'she was coached by the Lord in 'bodhi' ' (Divya p. 70); tadā lipyām upanyastaḥ 'then (he was) initiated in the alphabet' (ibid., p. 3); tenaiva paripācitā abhuvann uttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau '(they were instructed by him in that unrivalled perfect knowledge' (Saddharma p. 22); dharmeṣu niryātāḥ 'instructed thoroughly in the 'dharmas' ' (ibid. p. 60); dhaṇuvvede a viṇido 'well instructed in archery' (Vikrama v).

(tathā savamuni)sesu pi (i)chāmi hakaṃ 'so I desire in all men' (D Sep I 6); hevaṃmeva me icha savamunisesu siyā 'such is indeed my desire in all men' (J Sep II 4; I 3). iccheyya . . . . pūjā para-kulesu ca 'and (he) should desire honour in (i.e., from) other people' (Dhamma 5.14).

kaṃ vā tvam atthaṃ mayi patthayāno idhāgamo brahme tad iṅgha brūhi 'say, O brahman, what do you want to get from me, for which you have come here?' (Jātaka iv 11.14).

hemevā savanikāyesu paṭivekhāmi 'thus (I) observe in all classes' (PE VI, VI); bahukaṃ hi dosaṃ samājamhi pasati devānaṃ priyo priyadasi rājā 'great indeed (is) the harm (that) the beloved of gods, king Priyadasi finds in 'sāmāja' ' (G I 4-5, J). sehi dārehi 'santuṭṭho vesiyāsu padissati | dissati paradāresu taṃ parābhavato mukham.' (If



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one is) not satisfied with one's own wife but is seen among harlots and wives of others, it (is) the cause of downfall' (SN 6.18); pāpesu kāmesu abhiṇhaṃ upadissare '(they) are continually found in sinful deeds' (SN 7.25).

uvehamāṇo saddarūvesu 'disregarding sounds and colours' (Āyara 1.3.1.3).

mitte suhijje anukampamāno 'having compassion on friends and confidents' (SN 3.3).

yo daṇḍena adaṇḍesu appaduṭṭhesu dussati 'who offends good men not deserving punishment by (inflicting) punishment (on them)' (Dhamma 10.9); see §78.

sīho va saddesu asantasanto 'like a lion not trembling at noises' (SN 3.87). saṃketh 'eva amittasmiṃ 'should be afraid of a foe' (Jātaka ii 2.30); tasmiṃ me saṃkate mano 'my mind is dubious in that matter' (Jātaka iii 4.43). utpāṭane 'haṃ na bibhemi .... netradvayasya 'I am not afraid of plucking out the two eyes' (Divya p. 411). Cf. *saṃāśaṅkata māṃ tvayi* '(she) suspected me (having illicit connection) with you' (Mbh 4.19.12).

sīlesu akatthamāno 'not bragging for (his) virtues' (SN 41.4).

rasesu gedhaṃ akaraṃ 'not being greedy of sweet things' (SN 3.31); rasesu nānugijjhati '(he) does not covet sweet things' (SN 48.7); kaṃsi vā ege gijjhe 'for what should one covet?' (Āyara 1.2.3.1). Cf. *gṛddhāṃ vāsasi* 'greedy of clothes' (Mbh 1.66.5).

na ussesu vadate muni 'the hermit does not reckon (himself) amongst the distinguished' (SN 48.13); na samesu na omesu na ussesu vadate muni 'the hermit does not reckon (himself) amongst the plain, amongst the low, nor amongst the distinguished' (SN 53.20).

sāsane gotamassa na-ppamajjeyya 'let him not be delinquent in Gotama's commandment' (SN 52.19). Cf. Mbh 3.33.28.

eyārise sarīrammi .... mā mujjha munipuṅgava 'do not be deluded, O good hermit, in this body' (Jacobi 4).

nirvindāmi ahaṃ rūpe 'I am disgusted in (my) loveliness (Therī 26); rūpesu nibbindati 'is repelled from (or, disgusted in) appearances' (MN iii p. 279).

kiṃ pan' ānanda bhikkhusaṃgho mayi paccāsiṃsati 'O Ānanda, what does the assembly of the Bhikkhus expect in me?' (DN ii p. 100).

evam eva .... sālarājamūle antarahito avihesu devesu pātur ahosiṃ 'thus, indeed, disappeared from the root of the big 'śāla' tree (I) appeared among the 'Aviha' gods' (DN ii p. 50).



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yo paresaṃ vacanāni saddaheta yathāyathaṃ | khippam bhijjetha mittasmiṃ 'who believes in others' words to the letter, he is soon estranged from his friends' (Jātaka iii 5.63).

na vissase ekatiyesu 'should not believe in some people' (Thera 1009); tasu ko jātu vissase 'who can ever believe in them?' (Jātaka i 1.61); nāssase katapāpamhi nāssase alikavādine '(one) should not believe in a sinner nor in a liar' (Jātaka iv 10.88); cf. tādisam pi nāssase '(one) should not beleve in such a person' (Jātaka iv 10.91). saccaṃ savvo sagandhe vīsasadī '(it is) true (that) every one feels confidence in one of the same class' (*Śakuntalā* v).

kallaṃ kira kharahiao pavasiihi pio tti sunnai janammi 'that tomorrow the cruel-hearted lover would depart is heard from (i.e., among) people' (Gāthā 1.46).

ñātīnañ ca piyo hoti mittesu ca virocati '(he) becomes dear to the kinsmen and is liked by (lit., shines among) the friends' (Jātaka ii 3.120); na ca rocesi pāsaṇḍe '(you) do not like (any) other seet' (Theri 183).

sā dāni sudarśanā devī . . . . aparāsu devīṣu jalpati 'now the queen Sudarśanā talked to the other queens' (Mahā ii p. 449); udāsīṇe pharusaṃ vayaṃti 'speak harshly to the passionless' (Āyara 1.6.4.2); se uṭṭhitesu vā aṇuṭṭhitesu vā sussūsamāṇesu pavedae 'he should proclaim it to (lit., among) those who exert (themselves), to those who do not, and to those who are willing to hear' (ibid. 1.6.5.2); ananvayaṃ piyaṃ vācaṃ yo mittesu pakubbati 'whosoever uses pleasing words without effect, to friends' (SN 15.2). Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *tvam apy evaṃ nale vada* 'you, too, say thus to Nala' (3.53.32); *nale sarvam nyavedayat* 'said everything to Nala' (3.53.32); *yudhiṣṭire sarvam etat samāvedya* 'saying all this to Yudhiṣṭhrira' (2.1.14); *kathayāmāsa daiteyaḥ pāṇḍuputreṣu* 'the demon narrated (the story) to the sons of Pāṇḍu' (2.1..16); etc.

ya vā puna mahāmātresu ācāyike āropitaṃ bhavati 'and what urgent matter is indeed entrusted to (my) officials' (G VI 6-7). yo sīlavā dussīlesu dadāti dānaṃ 'if a virtuous man makes a gift to men of bad character' (MN iii p. 257); adeyyesu dadaṃ dānam 'making a gift to the unworthy' (Jātaka iii 4.5); kāmaṃ cajāma asuresu pāṇaṃ 'I would feign offer (my) life to the Asuras' (Jātaka i 1.30. asmābhih . . . . śramaṇabrāhmaṇeṣu . . . . udārāṇi dānāni dinnāni 'by us generous gifts were given to sramaṇas and brāhmaṇas' (Mahā iii p. 43). dāuṇa jaṇesu 'making gifts to people' (Jacobi 64.20). Cf. *prādād ḥemaviṣāṇināṃ śatāny anaḍuhām pañca dvijamukhyeṣu* '(Yudhiṣṭhira) bestow-



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ed to the best Brahmins five hundred oxen with their horns mounted in gold' (Mbh 2.53.20.21); etc. See UCVP p. 168 f.

govindiye abhisiñcissāmi '(I) shall anoint (i.e., appoint him) in the post held by Govinda' (DN ii p. 232); kāśīrājñā supriyo mahāsārthavāhatve 'bhiṣiktaḥ 'by the king of Kāśī Supriya was appointed in the post of the chief merchant' (Divya p. 100); sanaṃkumāraṃ .... rajjaṇmi ahisiñciūṇa 'having anointed Sanatkumāra in kingship' (Jacobi 26). Cf. Mbh 1.89.59; etc.

dharme caratha śramaṇabrāhmaṇeṣu 'do religiously by the sramaṇas and brāhmaṇas' (Mahā i p. 196). Cf. *goṣu tīkṣṇaṃ samācaret* '(if one) should deal harshly with cattle' (Mbh 5.4.5).

guṇān ātmani pratijānīte 'admits (to have) virtues in herself' (LV p. 161). Cf. *nādharmaṃ na mṛṣāvādaṃ tvayi jānāmi bhārgava* 'O scion of bhṛgu, I have never known in you either impiety or falsehood' (Mbh 1.75.6).

loyaṃsi vipparāmusaṃti ('they) entertain (cruel) thoughts against the world' (Āyara 1.5.1.1).

phale visaṃvadati '(it) disagrees (or, contradicts) in the result' (Vikrama ii).

aṇṇesu pahia pucchasu vāhaputtesu pusitacaṃmāiṃ 'ask other hunters' sons, O traveller, for deerskins' (Gāthā 7.29).

§91. Various idioms of the dative expressed by the locative may be found in some of the instances quoted above. Some further instances of the dative of advantage and disadvantage replaced by the locative are given below.

dupadacatupadesu pakhivālicalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe 'various concessions have been made by me for the two-legged and the four-legged (animals), for birds and aquatic (animals)' (PE II 12-13). hemeva garusu prāṇesu drahyitavyaṃ 'this (one) should be firm (in compassion) to beings . . . .'' (br II 9, jtr). śarmaṃ arthaye taṇayeṣu '(I) pray happiness for (my) children' (Skarah Dheri Image: CII II i). amhaṃ vāhajuvāṇo hariṇesu dhanuṃ na ṇāmai 'our young hunters do not draw the bow against deer' (Gāthā 7.29).

§92. The final locative which is not rare in OIA is a very prominent idiom in MIA. The final locative with a verbal noun is equivalent to the gerundial infinitive. Examples: ājīvikesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti 'for the Ājīvikas I have done (i.e., ordered) that they may be engaged (over them)' (T VII 25-26). śrira pratriṣṭhavitro bhagravatro śakamunisa budhasa .... thuva ca saghārama ca catrudiśrasa saghasa sarvastivaena parigrahe 'the image of the Lord Buddha,



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the Śākya ascetic, and a 'stūpa' and a monastery have been erected for the acceptance of the assembly of Sarvāstivādins from all quarters' (Mathura Lion Capital: CII II i); savalokahitasukhāvahathanāya atano ca nivāṇasaṃpatisaṃpādake . . . ca imaṃ khaṃbhaṃ patithapitaṃ 'this column has been erected in order to achieve happiness in both the world, to acquire the wealth of 'nirvāṇa' and to achieve happiness for the entire world' (Nagarjunikonda: EI XX p. 16; see pp. 19, 20). bhave chandaṃ virāgetvā 'giving up desire for birth' (Therī 14); ye . . . . ussahanti kasigorakkhe 'who are enthusiastic in agriculture and dairy' (DN i p. 135). Cf. *prayatasvātmahite jagaddhite ca* 'strive for your own as well as for the world's good (*Buddhacarita* 5.78).

(a) The final locative is a quite prominent idiom in the language of *Mahābhārata*. Thus: *mā caināṃ śayane hvayeḥ* 'never ask her for (sharing your) bed' (1.76.34); *yadi te śravaṇe buddhir vartate* 'if you have desire for hearing (it)' 2.6.13); *avicārya mahārāja rājasūye manaḥ kuru* 'without deliberating, O king, do you make up (your) mind to (hold) the Rājasūya (sacrifice)' (2.13.26); cf. *punaḥ punar mano dadhre rājasūyāya* 'again and again he made up (his) mind (to hold) the Rājasūya (sacrifice)' (2.13.28). *jarāsandhasya nidhane kālo' yaṃ samupāgataḥ* 'this time has come for killing Jarāsandha' (2.20.1); *kāryaṃ kiṃ vāsmadāgame* 'what is (thy) purpose in coming to us?' (2.21.47); *cakre matiṃ vadhe* '(he) made up (his) mind to kill (Jarāsandha)' (2.23.34); *iti sma bhāṣate kāvyo jambhatyāge mahāsurān* 'thus Kāvya asked the prominent Asuras to spurn Jambha' (2.62.12); *tam uvāca tato rājā tvarito gamane nṛpa* 'O king, then the king in haste asked him to go' (3.72.26); *tato vṛtravadhe ṣatnam akurvaṃs tridaśāḥ purā* 'in days of yore the gods had tried to kill Vṛtra' (3.100.5); *svayaṃvare sthitā kanyā* 'the girl (was) ready for 'svayaṃvara' ' (3.35.6); *na darśane tiṣṭhati rūpam asya* 'his form does not stand for a sight (i.e., cannot be seen with eyes') (5.46.20); etc.

§93. The locative very rarely denotes the cause. Thus: aryadevasya nirvyarttane 'at the request of Āryadeva' (Jaina inscrs. from Mathura: EI I). nikkāmino gotamasāsanamhi 'free from desire by the commandment of Gotama' (SN 13.7); yato ahaṃ pabbajito sammasambuddhasāsane 'as I (am) a mendicant by the commandment of the Perfectly Awakened One' (Thera 181); idha brāhmaṇā brāhmaṇaṃ kismicid eva pakaraṇe khuramuṃḍaṃ karitvā assaputena vadhitvā raṭṭhā vā nagarā vā pabbajeyyuṃ 'now brahmans, for some offence, may (punish) a brahman by shaving his head. . . . .' (DN i p. 98).

§94. The locative of goal is a rather rare idiom in MIA, as in



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classical Sanskrit. Examples: dhammesu ca na gacchati '(he) does not go to (i.e., accept) 'dhamma' ' (SN 48.14); sace dhāvati te cittaṃ kāmesu ca bhavesu ca 'if your heart runs to sensual pleasures and to the (consequent) births' (Thera 446); anupanīto so nivesanesu 'he (is) not led into (any of) the resting places' (SN 47.12).

§95. The locative for the instrumental is an exceedingly rare idiom. Thus: hathisu gaṃgāya pārayati 'crosses over the Ganges on elephants' (Khāravela 12). jano janamhi saṃbaddho 'folk are bound up with folk' (Thera 149). asaṇesu bhūsiavanassa 'of the forest resplendent with 'asana' flowers' (*Kumārapālacarita* 5.61).

Cf. *ulūke prāpayiṣyāmi yad vakṣyati suyodhanam* '(I) shall send through Ulūka what (he) shall say to Suyodhana' (Mbh 5.161.61).

§96. Instances of the locative with verbal derivatives have been given above. Some further instances as well as instances of the locative with secondary derivatives (nouns and adjectives) are given below.

mātāpitisu susūsitaviye '(one) should be obedient to the parents' (br. II. 9, jtr.); ñātikesu ca kaṃ yathārahaṃ vatitaviye '(one) should behave properly to kinsmen' (ibid. 11, sd). kāmesu brahmacaryavā 'abstaining from sensual pleasures' (SN 57.2); na kāhāpaṇavassena titti kāmesu vijjati 'even with a rain of 'kāhāpaṇa' (coins) there is no satiety in sessual pleasures' (Dhamma 14.8); dhammesu cakkhumā 'a seer of 'dhammas' '(Thera 295); kiṃ tav' attho vane tāta 'O child, what business have you in the forest?' (Thera 597); adhijegucche pañhaṃ pucchi '(he) asked (me) a question about (austere) scrupulousness' (DN i p. 176); sotesu gutto 'guarded in the (sense) organs' (SN 14.12); brāmaṇesu abhippasanno 'intimate with brahmans' (SN 33); indriyesu susaṃvutā 'well guarded in the (sense) organs' (Therī 196); appossuko paraputtesu hutvā 'caring little for others' sons' (SN 3.9); tatra kevalino'smase '(we) are accomplished in that (knowledge)' (SN 35.2); kappākappesu kusalo 'skilled in what should be done or left undone' (Thera 251) akathaṃkathī kusalesu dhammesu 'not doubtful about the auspicious 'dhammas' ' (MN iii p. 3); subbakiccesu paṇḍito 'clever in all works' (Jātaka ii 3.65); etc. For Buddhistic Sanskrit see OSBS p. 47.

§97. In the following instances the locative and the word governing it are cognate derivatives: saññavimokkhe parame vimutto 'being delivered in the highest deliverance' (SN 61.3); tad ayuktam etat.....mama bhavet.....yad aham anuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau nābhisambuddheyam 'it would be improper for me if I



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be not fully awakened in the unsurpassed perfect awakening' (LV p. 43); atha sa bhagavān nirvāṇadhātau parinirvṛtaḥ 'now the Lord was finally pacified in the state of extinction' (Saddharma p. 21).

§98. The locative with the adverb and the preverb. Examples: a ṣaṣu pi yojanaśa(te)ṣu 'even upto six hundred 'yojanas' ' (S XIII 9, M, K); aṃte olodhanasi 'in (or within) the harem' (J VI 2, D); añatra yone(su) 'excepting the Yavanas' G XIII, M, K). heṭṭhā pādatalesu 'under the soles of the feet' (DN iii p. 148); heṭṭhāto veḷugumbasmiṃ 'under the bamboo grove' (Thera 919); etc.

§99. The locative of distinction or choice, or the partitive locative, is an idiom that easily follows from the fundamental sense of the case. Examples: paṭivisiṭhaṃ paṭīvisiṭhaṃ tesu tesu te (t)e (ma)hāmātā 'those officials (are appointed) for the special (sects) among them' (T VII 26). tes' aññataro' yaṃ 'he is one of them' (Thera 234); yo'dha koci manussesu parapāṇāni hiṃsati 'whoever among them takes the life of others' (Thera 237); so seṭṭho devamānuse 'he(is) the best among gods and men' (DN i. p. 99); apramadu pramateṣu suteṣu baho-jagaru 'undisturbed among the disturbed, fully awake among the sleeping' (Khar Ab 15); appamatto pamattesu suttesu bahujāgaro 'calm among the perturbed, well awake among the asleep' (Dhamma 2.9); etc.

Cf. *sahasre so'sti nāsti ca* 'in a thousand he may be or may not be' (Mbh 3.32.9).

(a) In the following instance the locative stands for the comparative ablative; tumaṃ si me pāṇesu piyatarī 'you are dearer than my life' (VH p. 236).

§100. The locative absolute is found thoughout all the stages of MI. Thus: tatā (pa)chā adhunā ladhesu kaligyeṣu tive dhaṃmavāye dhaṃmakāmatā dhaṃmānuṣathi cā devānaṃ piyaṣā 'then afterwards, now Kaliṅga being conquered, the beloved of gods (has) great striving after 'dhamma', desire for 'dhamma', and preaching of 'dhamma' ' (K XIII 35-36, S,M,G). na'i kalu pramodasa aprati asava-kṣaye 'it not the time for merriment, the destruction of *āśrava* not having been achieved' (Khar A 6; see A 7). imasa mahāvihārasa mahācetīyaṃ samuthapiyamāne mahātalavarīa ubhayitā dināri-māsakā sattari- sataṃ khaṃbho ca 'when the great Caitya of this monastery (was) being erected, one hundred and seventy 'dināri-māsakas' and a pillar have been raised by the Mahātalavarī' (Nagarjunikonda; EI XX p. 19). upṭṭhitasmiṃ yaññasmiṃ nāssu gāvo hiṃsiṃṣu te 'when the sacrifice (was) held they did not kill cows' (SN 19.12); ukkāsu dhariyamānāsu



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rājagahammā niyyāsi 'tarches being held up (he) went out from Rājagṛha' (DN i p. 49); uppatantesu nipate nipatantesu uppate | vase avasamānesu ramamānesu na rame '(One) should sit down when (they) rise, should rise when (they) sit down, should stay in when (they) do not, and should not enjoy when (they) do' (Thera 52); etc. For Buddhistic Sanskrit see OSBS p. 47.

kaisu vi diṇesu gaesu rāiṇā maṇḍio bhaṇio 'a few days having passed the king said to Maṇḍia' (Jacobi 66); tattha vasiūṇa pahāyāe rayaṇīe tao niggantūṇa gao bahiṃ 'they stayed there, and the night having dawned they got out' (Jacobi 66); pacchā tassiṃ udae mae gahīde kado teṇa paṇao 'afterwards myself having offered that water, he showed affection' (*Śakuntalā* v); antaride tassiṃ mandāriāe gharaṃ upagada'mhi 'when he was gone (I) went to the house of Mandārikā' (*Mālatīmādhava* ii). virahe hontammi ko jīai 'separation having occurred, who can sustain life' (Gātha 2.24). pavaṇa vahante ṇau so hallai 'a strong wind blowing, he does not reel' (Dohā); ghaṇa varisante ṇau so timmai 'cloud bursting, he does not become soaked' (ibid).



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# Chapter II

# PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

## A. Prepositions

§102. Prepositions are of much less frequent occurrence than the postpositions in MIA. The old prepositions *ā* and *antar* (*anta-*) continue sporadically at the early stage. Some adverbs also appear as prepositions, but their number is gradually reduced as MIA advanced towards MIA. The most of the MIA prepositions are used as postpositions also.

1. *ā* (with acc. and loc.): ā taṃbapaṃnī 'as far as Tāmraparṇī' (G II);[1] a taṃbapaṃniya 'as fas as Tāmraparṇī' (M XIII); a ṣaṣu pi yojanaśateṣu 'up to even six hundred *yojanas*' (S XIII, M, K). a pacima kalaṃmi 'up to the future time' (KI 419, 549 ; Burrow p 41).

2. *antar* (with loc.): aṃte olodhanasi 'in the harem' (D VI, J). Cf. *antar bhūmau nipatati* 'falls on the ground' (Mbh 3. 174. 27).

3. **atyantar* (with loc.): tade caḍ'odade stora aṭh'ovag'e valag'a ca dadavya acaṃta khotaṃnaṇmi 'from Caḍoda a horse and a serviceable rider are to be given as far as Khotan' (KI 367).

4. *abhyantara-* (with loc. or stem): abhyadara kuhaniyaṃmi aniṣyaṃti 'they will bring into the capital' (KI 291 ; Burrow p. 41).

5. *antarā* (with instr.): aṃtalā pi tisena . . . ekena pi sotaviya 'it should be listened to by even a single person and on a day other than *Tiṣya*' (D Sep. I, II ; J Sep. I ; tisena aṃtalā pi ca sotaviya J Sep II).

6. *anyatra* (with instr. or loc.): dukaraṃ tu idaṃ añatra agena pārākramena 'it is difficult to achieve except by utmost attempt' (G VI, S, M, K, D, J); nāsti ime nikāyā añatra yonesu 'these classes do not exist outside the *Yavanas*' (G XIII, M, K); aṃnata agāya dhaṃmakāmatāyā 'except by the utmost love of *dharma*' (T I, A-K,

[1] 'ā-taṁbapaṁnī' can be taken as a compound as such compounds occur in Asokan. Lueders takes 'ā for *yā*.





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Rdh, Mth, Rp). In the following instance *anyatra* governs a clause: devānaṃ priyo priyadasi rājā yaso va kīti va na mahāthāvahā maṃñate añata tadātpano dīghāya ca jano dhammasusrusā susrusatāṃ dhaṃmavutaṃ ca anuvidhiyatāṃ 'King Priyadarśī, the beloved of the gods, does not consider glory and fame worth much except that at the present time and for long (afterwards) the people should submit to the obedience of *dharma* and should stick to the duties of morality' (G X, S, M. K, D).

7. *param* (with loc. or abl.): paraṃ ca tena 'after that' (G V, S, M, D, J), paraṃ ca tehi 'after them' (K V); paraṃ ca tena 'beyond that' (G XIII, S, K). paraṃ maraṇā 'after (or beyond) death' (DN i p. 31).

8. *yāvat* (with abl., dat., loc. or acc.): āva saṃvaṭakapā 'up to the final cycle of creation' (G IV, V);[1] yava tasa aṭhrasa nivuṭiya 'till the achievement of that purpose' (S IX, M, G, K, D) ; āva tasa niṣṭānāya 'until its completion' (G IX) ; ava taṃbapaṃniya 'as far as Tāmraparṇī' S XIII, K) ; yāva saḍuvīsativasa-abhisitena me 'by me who have been a king for twentysix years' (T V, Mi, A-K). yava khemaṃmi 'as far as Khema' (KI 214); yava tatig'a bhatrasa agamanaṃmi 'until the arrival of Tatig'a and Bhatra' (KI 506 ; Burrow p. 42) ; yava ajakra divasa 'up till to-day' (KI 45 etc.) ; yava ajakra 'up till to-day' (KI 358 etc.) ; ninade yava khotaṃnaṃmi 'from Niya as far as Khotan' (KI 14).

9. *madhye* (with loc.): majjhe sāgarasmiṃ tiṭṭhanti 'they remain in the sea' (Thera 1190) ; sā dhannā majjhe mahilāṇa 'she is blessed among women' (Two Prakrit Poems at Dhar, EI VIII).

Cf. Mbh: *madhye samudrasya* 'in the sea' (5. 110. 11) ; *madhye kurūṇām* 'among the Kurus' (5. 147. 14) ; *madhye dhanasya tiṣṭhāmi* 'I stand in riches' (4. 44. 13) ; *kurubhyaḥ prasthitās te tu madhyena kurujāṅgalam* 'they left the Kurus (and went) along the heart of Kurujāṅgala' (2. 20. 26) ; etc. Cf. Pāṇini 2. 1. 18 (*pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā*).

10. *bahir* (with gen.): bahiṃ devakulassa 'outside the temple' (VH p. 186) ; bahiyā gāmassa 'outside the village' (VH p. 195).

11. viṇu (<*vinā* ; with instr., in Apabhraṃśa and later): viṇu hiae bhamāmi 'I am roaming without (my) heart' (Vikrama iv). viṇu āāseṃ 'without effort' (Dohā) ; mokkha ki labbhai sakala viṇu jāṇī 'can salvation be achieved without knowing all' (ibid.); etc.

[1] Other versions compound *yāvat* with the word it governs: avakapaṁ (S, M), āvakapaṁ (K, D). D IV has ākapaṁ (< *ākalpam*).



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12. *sacā* (with instr.): saja uvajhaena rohiṇimitrena 'with the teacher Rohiṇīmitra' (Taxila cp-pl. inscr. of Patika).

13. *saha* (with instr. or abl.): sukhito bāvarī hotu saha sissehi brāhmano 'let Bāvarī the brahman be happy with the disciples' (SN 55. 54) ; tassa saha dassanena 'with a sight of him' (MN i p. 30) ; saha darśana-mātreṇa gaṇikāye tasmiṃ sārthavāhe premnaṃ nipatitaṃ 'with a mere sight the courtesan's love fell on the merchant' (Mahā ii p. 168) ; saha darśanād eva 'with the sight alone' (LV) ; saha śravaṇād eva dhanasammatasya rājño 'marṣo vipannaḥ 'with (i.e. on) hearing (it) king Dhanasammata's anger rose' (Divya p. 62). sahā putrehi pālaghoṣena poṭhaghoṣena dhanaghoṣena 'with (her) sons Pālaghoṣa, Poṭhaghoṣa and Dhanaghoṣa' (Mathura Tablet of Śoḍāsa, EI IX) ; sahā mātapitihi sahā upaddhyāyācaryehi . . . sahā buddhamitraye . . . sahā kṣatrapeṇa 'with the parents, with the teachers and masters, with Buddhamitrā, with the *kṣatrapa*' (Sarnath Image inscr. of Kaniṣka). saha pamāeṇaṃ aṇegarūvāo joṇīo saṃdhei 'with (i.e. on account of) carelessness he enters into multiform births' (Āyara 1. 2. 2. 1); etc.

14. *sārdha-* (with instr.): sadha bhraduṇa . . . sadha putrehi . . . ca dhituna ca . . . sadha ṣṇaṣaehi . . . sadha jivanaṃdiṇa 'with (her) brother . . . , with (her) sons . . . and the daughter . . . , with her daughters-in-law . . ., with Jīvanandin' (Kalawan cp-pl. inscr.). sardha valag'ena 'with a guard' (KI 82) ; etc.

## B. Nominal Postpositions

§103. The phonetic loss of case-endings in MIA is largely compensated by the use of many nominal and verbal forms as postpositions. New idioms are also responsible for the abundance of postpositions in MIA. Most of them govern the genitive. Of the old *upasargas* only *prati* seems to have continued down to the end of MIA.

1. *anu* (with gen.):[1] tāṇ' anu kaiṇa 'after these poets' (Sandeśa p. 4).

2. *anta-* (with gen.): jao se mārassa ante tao se dūre 'by as much he is near Māra by so much he is away (from liberation)' (Āyara 1. 5. 1. 1).

2a. *antikam* (with gen.; combined in sandhi with the governed word): hedisā ca ikā lipī tuphākaṃtikaṃ huvāti 'let one such edict be kept with you' (Sarnath b) ; ikaṃ ca lipiṃ hedisaṃ eva upāsakā naṃtikam nikhipāpetha 'deposit one such edict with the laity' (ibid. 7).

[1] It is a Sanskritism.



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Cf. Mbh.: *sāgarāntikam agacchat* 'came to Sāgara' (3. 107-34) ; *abhisamprāptaḥ . . . mamāntikam* 'they reached me' (3. 11. 24 ; 3. 12. 102).

2c. *antike* (with gen.): vyākaromi tav'antike 'I shall testify it to you' (Thera 331). tathāgatasyāntike brahmacaryaṃ carituṃ 'to lead the life of religions studentship under the Tathāgata' (Mahā). annesiṃ vā antie soccā 'having heard (it) from others' (Āyara 1. 5. 6. 1) ; tesi'ntie pannānaṃ upalabbha 'having obtained true knowledge from them' (ibid. 1. 6. 4. 1) ; sāgaradattassa antie pavvaio 'he took religious initiation from Sāgaradatta' (Jacobi I).

Cf. Mbh.: *yasyātike tvaṃ vṛjinaṃ karoṣi* 'before whom you comit sin' (1. 68. 27).

2c. *antikāt* (with gen.; only in some Buddhistic Sanskrit texts): paścimabodhisattvasyātikād dharmaśravaṇaṃ śroṣyatha 'you shall hear lecture on *dharma* from the future Bodhisattva' (LV) ; mamāntikād . . . abhayaṃ pratiyācante sma 'they were begging protection from me' (ibid.) ; paśyāmi kim mamāntikād abhirūpataraḥ ahosvin na iti 'I shall see whether he is more goodlooking than I or not' (Divya) ; pūrṇasyāntikād vikrīya 'having bought it from Pūrṇa' (ibid.); bhagato'ntikād dharmaṃ śṛṇoti sma 'he was learning *dharma* from the lord' (Saddharma).

In Mbh. *antikāt* governs the accusative: *tadāśrauṣaṃ śālvaṃ sāgaram antikāt prayāntam* 'then (I) heard Śālva departing from the sea (coast)' (3. 20. 16) ; *na matkṛte tvayā vīra hrīḥ kāryā vanam antikāt* 'O hero, you should never have fear for in (*or*, from) the forest' (3. 39. 23) ; *sa tām uddhṛtya mañjūṣām utsārya jalam antikāt* 'catchnig hold of that casket and removing it from water' (3. 308. 6) ; *yugapat prāpataṃs tatra droṇasya ratham antikāt* '(thousands of arrows) fell simultaneously on (*or*, near) the chariot of Droṇa' (4. 58. 69) ; *indra-parvatam antikāt* 'on (or, near) Indra-parvata' (2. 30. 15) ; etc.

2d. *upānta-* (with gen.): mahārājasa aṃtalikitasa upa(ṃ)tā 'from the great king Antialkidas' (Besnagar) ; ede tasa vaṃti od'idavo 'they are to be surrendered to him' (KI 358) ; avi vasantaṃmi uṭasa karaṃna tahi vaṃti jalpita 'also in spring he had spoken to you regarding the camel' (ibid. 594) ; tahi vaṃti lekha pahuḍ'a preṣaṃnae 'to send you a letter and some present' (ibid. 288) ; etc.

2e. *antareṇa* (with acc. or gen.): ṇaṭṭaaṃ antareṇa kīrisī mālaviā 'how is Mālavikā doing as regards the play' (Mālavikā i). mamāntareṇa 'for my sake' (LV, Divya, Saddharma) ; etc.



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2f. *abhyantara-* (with stem): ura-bhiṃtari 'within the heart' (*Prthvīrāja-prabanaha*).

3. *agrataḥ* (with gen.): avi tusya pitu sug'uta yuṣme agrata uṭha . . . aspa pratiśruta 'also your father S. promised before you (to give) a camel and a horse' (KI 519) ; sucamas*a* agratu 'before S.' (ibid.).

Cf. *agre* in Mbh.: *teṣām agre notsahe sthātum eva* 'I dare not stand before them' (2. 67. 36) ; *gatvā bāhukasyāgre* 'going to B.' (3. 75. 21) ; *khaḍgaṃ cānyataraṃ prepsur mṛtyor agre jayāya vā* 'wishing to strike another sword for death or for victory' (6. 119. 69 ; 7. 137. 62).

4. *artha-* (with stem, dat. or gen.): bahūni prāṇasatasahasrāṇi ārabhisu sūpāthāya 'many hundred thousands of animals were killed for cooking purpose' (G I, S, M, K, D, J) ; etadathā me esa kaṭe 'for this purpose it has been done by me' (T VII). etāya athāya 'for this purpose' (G VI, S. M, K, D, J) ; etāyathāya (br 1, sd). tasmartha 'for that reason' (KI) ; maghalartaya 'for *maṅgala*' (KI 221) ; prahuḍ'arthaya 'for the sake of a present' (ibid.). samudranāvāve mahantaṃ samudramavagāḍhā dhanasya arthaṃ 'in a sea-going vessel (we) got into the boundless sea for the sake of wealth' (Mahā iii p. 67) ; mama arthāya 'for me' (LV, Divya, Saddharma). bhikkhaṭṭhā gāmaṃ paviṭṭho 'entered the village for alms' (Jātaka) ; jalaṭṭhā gato 'went out for water' (ibid.).

Cf. pabhajjiṃ jīvikattho' haṃ 'I have taken to the religious life for a livelihood' (Thera 311).

parass' aṭṭhāe 'for other's sake' (Āyara 1. 2. 3. 5).

Cf. Mbh.: *vapuṣṭamārthaṃ varayāmpracakramuḥ* '(the ministers) chose (the king of Kāśī) as the husband for Vapuṣṭamā' (1. 40. 8) ; *karuṣārthe* 'for (the king of) Karuṣa' (2. 45. 11) ; *madarthe devitā cāyaṃ śakunir mātulo mama* 'this my uncle Śakuni will play on my behalf' (2. 59. 20) ; *nirmitām ātmano 'rthāya* 'created for himself' (3. 96. 21) ; *teṣām arthena yācāmi tvām ahaṃ vai mahānadi* 'O great river, I supplicate thee for their sake' (3. 108. 20) ; *ābhyām arthāya somaṃ tvaṃ grahīṣyasi yadi svayam* 'if you take by yourself 'soma' for these two' (3. 124. 15) ; *na me dhanañjayasyārthe prāṇā rakṣyāḥ kathaṃcana* '(my) life would never be saved for (i.e., in exchange of, or, at the cost of the life of) Dhanañjaya' (7. 109. 5) ; etc.

5. *adhikaraṇa-* (with abl.): yato adhikaraṇaṃ 'whenceforth' (Mahā).



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6. *adhas* (with gen.): pippala-pāyavassa . . . . . ahe ṭhiyā acchati '(she) remained under the *pippala* tree' (VH p. 151).

7. *alam* (with dat. or dat. inf.): alaṃ capalaṃ samādāvayitave 'competent to control the fickle' (PE I); alaṃ he tuphe asvāsanāye 'you are competent to reassure' (J Sep II).

8. **āraka-* (with gen.): yo aparicchao niggao bahudhaṇo ei bārasaṇhaṃ vāsāṇaṃ ārao 'whoever, going away unequipped, returns rich within twelve years' (VH p 116).

9. *uṛari* (with gen. or stem): ajiassa mama uvari adakhiṇṇaṃ 'your honour is uncharitable to me' (Vikrama ii). jaï tumhovari rāo bhavissai eyasiṃ 'if they have affection for you' (Jacobi 8. 35); sirimatīe . . . . cauṇhaṃ puttāṇaṃ uvari ahaṇi jāyā 'I was born, after four sons, of Śrimatī' (ibid. 9); asanivego . . . . tumhovariṃ samāgacchaï 'Asaṇivega is coming against you (to fight)' (ibid. 23); maüdass' uvariṃ pajjoyassa lobho jāo 'Pradyota had a desire for the crown' (ibid. 39); etc.

raha-vari cadiau 'got up on a chariot' (Hemacandra); rūvahu uvvari rai ma kari 'one should never have attachment for beauty' (*Sāvayadhammadohā* 126); mahu ikkaha pari 'on me alone' (Sandeśa p. 77).

Cf. *aho mamoṛari vidheḥ saṃrambho dāruno mahān* 'alas, the creator has great and intense displeasure against me!' (Mbh. 3. 65. 31).

10. *uddeśa-* (with gen. or stem): citta vi gai acitta uesahi '*citta* has gone out for *acitta*' (Dohā); dikkhijjai dakkhiṇa uddesem 'they are given initiation for the purpose of the preceptors' fee' (ibid.).

11. *kāraṇa-* (with gen.): etisa va karaṇa 'because of this' (S III 6); saṃkhaye karaṇa 'because of mutilation or misunderstanding' (S XIV 14)=sachāya kāraṇaṃ (G; also K); isyā kālanena 'because of envy' (T III 1, M, Rdh, Mth, Rp). khotaṃniye iśa aitaṃti siṃmasa karaṃna 'the Khotanese have come here on account of boundary' (KI 86); eṣa pravaṃnag'a kuḍi smitsae karaṃna divira raṃsoṅkasa anada dharidavo 'this document concerning the girl S. should be carefully preserved by the scribe R.' (ibid. 589); ıtthiyā kāraṇā rājā bandhāpesiṃ purohitaṃ 'because of a woman the king put his priest to fetters' (Jātaka); issariyassa kāraṇā 'for wealth' (DN i p. 85); mama kāraṇena 'for me' (LV, Divya, Saddharma). puṭṭhā v'ege niyaṭṭaṃti jīviyass'eva kāraṇā 'when (they) feel (hardship they) turn back for their life' (Āyara 1. 6. 4. 1).



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tujjhaha kāraṇe raṇṇa bhamante 'while roaming in the forest for you' (Vikrama iv). te ya indubindusenā aṇantamatīe gaṇiyāe kāraṇā jujhanti 'they (two) Indusena and Bindusena are fighting on account of the public woman Anantamati' (VH p. 321) ; etc.

Cf. Mbh. *kaccid abhyāgato dūrād vaṇijo lābhakāraṇāt* 'does the merchantfolk come from afar for the sake of profit?' (2. 5. 114) ; *viṣam agniṃ jalaṃ rajjum āsthāsye tava kāraṇāt* '(I) shall have recourse to poison, fire, water or rope on account of you (i.e., on account of your refusal to accept me)' (3. 56. 4) ; *rājan niveśe buddhir me vartate putra-kāraṇāt* 'O king, I have desire for marriage for the purpose of a son' (3. 98. 2) ; *yudhyasva mama kāraṇāt* 'fight on my behalf' (6. 43. 98) ; *sahasā nyapatat sainyaṃ tāvakaṃ pārtha-kāraṇāt* 'forcibly your army made an attack for (i.e., in order to seize) Pārtha' (7. 105. 8) ; etc.

12. *kārya-* (with gen.): bhogāṇa kajje kilissai '(he) shall suffer for (sensual) pleasures' (Jacobi 29. 35) ; ciṭṭhaï tumhāka kajjeṇa 'he is staying on for your sake' (ibid. 78. 8). ṇia-suhakajje jammo jāṇaiṃ 'whose birth (is) for their own pleasure'. (Two Prakrit Poems at Dhar A 11 EI VII).

12a. kera(ka)- (kerika-) (with gen. or stem.; in the Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa only, and the postposition is treated as adjective): tava kelake mama yīvide 'my life is on account of you (i.e., I owe my life to you' (Śakuntalā v); vibhīsaṇa-kerakā rakkhasā 'Rākṣasas belonging to Vibhīṣaṇa' (Pratimā) ; vessā-jana-kerako alaṃkārao 'an ornament belonging to a courtesan' (Mṛccha iii) ; eso kkhu alaṃkārao ajjaākerao 'this ornament really belongs to your ladyship' (ibid. iv) ; tassa jjeva ajjassa kerao bhavia edaṃ alaṃkāraaṃ ajjaāe ubaṇehi 'deliver this ornament to her ladyship acting as if on behalf of his honour himself' (ibid.); amha-kerakaṃ geha-duāraṃ 'the door of the house belonging to us' (ibid.) ; mama keriā ṇhāṇa-sāḍiā 'my bath robe' (ibid. v) ; kaśśa kelake pavahaṇe 'whose wagon?' (ibid. vi) ; eśe kkhu pavahaṇe ajja-cāludattāha kelake 'this wagon belongs to his honour Cārudatta' (ibid.) ; appaṇo kerikaṃ jādiṃ na sumaresi 'you do not remember your own caste' (ibid.) ; tuha bappa-kelake pavahaṇe 'the wagon belongs to your father!' (ibid. viii) ; odala odala mama kelakādo pavahaṇādo 'get down, get down from my wagon' (ibid.) ; mama kelakāiṃ goṇāiṃ vāheśi 'you are driving my bullocks' (ibid.). jahe kerau 'belonging to whom' (Hemacandra) ; rāu rāu ṇaṃ sañjhahi (=sañjhaha) kerau 'a king and red glew belongs to 'sañjhā'[1]

[1] sañjha < (1) intreague (*sandhā*), (2) evening (*sandhyā*).



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(*Mahāpurāṇa* ii). śrīloligasvāmidevassa kerim 'for (or, on behalf of) the god Śrīloligasvāmin' (An Inscription of the reign of Udayāditya, BSOS I, p. 86).

12b. *kṛta-* (*kṛtena, kṛte ;* with gen.): etaṃ anādhanāṃ kṛtena d(ātavya) babhakṣitana pibasitana 'this should be given to the helpless and to the hungry and the thirsty' (Mathura stone inscr. of Huviṣka) ; eṣa pravaṃnag'a striya lip'ipaae kridena tivira raṃsoṅkasa thavidavo 'this document regarding the woman L. should be kept by the scribe R.' (KI 590) ; yahi anati didemi rajakicasa kridena 'when I have given an instruction for state purposes' (KI 272) ; jaṃnana kride 'for the sake of the people' (KI 157) ; yo pacema kali tasya uṭasya kida cudiyai vidiyati vivadu uṭhaviyati 'whoever shall in future .... contend for that camel' (KI 661) ; etc. mama kṛtena 'for my sake' (LV, Divya, Saddharma).

yassa kae .... kulaṃ sīlaṃ jāi jaso lajjā ya pariccattā 'for whose sake the family, character, caste, reputation and shame (all) have been given up' (Jacobi 24) ; eyassa mukkha-vaḍussa kae appāṇaṃ kheaha 'for the sake of this foolish brahman boy why do you fret?' (ibid. 6) ; kassa kae kao māno 'for whom have you taken up the attitude of pique' (Gathā v. 32) ; tujjha kae āṇīyāṇi '(these flowers) have been brought for you' (VH p. 232) ; jamma-viṇāsāṇa kae jo jammo so hu kassa na hu ettha 'the birth which (is) for the (ultimate) births and deaths (is) for anybody here' (The Two Prakrit Poems at Dhar, A 80 ; EI VIII) ; etc.

Cf. Mbh.: *tvatkṛte kartuṃ kiñcid icchāmi* 'I want to do something for you' (2. 1. 5) ; *kṛṣṇasya hi kṛte viśvam idaṃ bhūtaṃ carācaram* 'owing to Kṛṣṇa alone all this entire universe (exists)' (2. 38. 23) ; *mā tatkṛte 'nudhyāhi* 'do not be distracted for that' (2. 46. 16) ; *śiśnodara-kṛte prājñaḥ karoti vighasam bahu* 'the unwise does many sinful acts for the sake of the bodily pleasures' (3. 2. 65) ; *vivakṣitaṃ kim asyeti saṃśayaḥ sumahān abhūt | ubhayoḥ senayo rājan yudhiṣṭhira-kṛte tadā ||* 'Regarding Yudhiṣṭhira, O king, both the armies had great curiosity as to what (might be) his reply' (6. 43. 34) ; *tyaktvā mṛtyu-kṛtaṃ bhayam* 'giving up the fear of death' (6. 88. 4) ; *na te mṛyu-kṛtaṃ bhayam* 'you have no fear of death' (7. 72. 27). Cf. budha-kada svadi (Khar. D Ac 4).

13. *nimitta-* (with gen. or stem): mamaṃ nimitaṃ ca dhaṇima caley(ū) 'for me (i.e. for my sake) (they) would follow *dharma*' (J Sep II, D) ; etasa ca leṇasa citana-nimita 'for the sake of decoration of that cave' (Nasik Cave, EI VIII).



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Cf. *jalakṣaya-nimittam* 'for the sake of removing water' (Mbh. 7. 80. 11).

14. *param* (with abl. or adv.): etāo paraṃ palehi 'get away from here' (Āyara 1. 8. 3, 9) ; ajja paraṃ 'from now' (Two Prakrit Poems at Dhar, B 108 ; EI VIII) ; etc. Cf. *śailam imam pareṇa* 'beyond yonder hill' (Mbh. 3. 111. 11).

15. *paritaḥ* (with gen.): tumahu paride viṃñati-lekha anitaṃti (they) have brought from you a written report' (KI 494) ; supiyana paride palayaṃṇag'a 'a fugitive from the Supiyas' (KI 645).

16. *paścā(t)* (with abl. or gen.): tato pacha 'after that' (S XIII, M, K, G) ; taḍ'itag'ade paca 'after the beating' (KI 144) ; raja-viloṭa paca 'since the plundering of the kingdom' (ibid. 357) ; tade paca 'since then' (ibid. 400). tattha aham .... chaṇhaṃ bhaginīṇaṃ pacchao jāyā 'then I was born after my six sisters' (VH p. 171-172) ; etc.

17. *pārśve* (with gen.): buddhā ṇam doṇṇ' eyāṇi tassa pāse 'knowing him, the two came to him' (VH p. 297) ; ṭhaviya na appaṇa pāhi 'not placed with himself' (Sandeśa p. 15).

18. *prati* (with acc.): nadiṃ nerañjaraṃ pati 'near the river Nerañjarā' (SN 28. 1 ; Therī 306). paṭṭhiyā ujjeṇiṃ pai 'started for Ujjayinī' (Jacobi).

19. *pratyaya-* (with acc. or gen.): tasa uṭa praceya rayasach'i lihitag'a kridag'a 'regarding that camel a document witnessed by the king has been procured' (KI 165) ; goṭha-karya prace 'for household work' (ibid. 31) ; dviṃ uṭa praceya 'concerning two camels' (ibid. 577) ; paśavana praceya 'regarding the animals' (ibid. 584) ; etc. nivaṇasa pratiae hotu 'may it be for *nirvāṇa*' (Kalawan cp.-pl. inscr.).

Cf. avija- pracagra saṃkaraṃ saṃkara-pracagra viñāna 'from *avidyā* (comes) *saṃskāra*, from *saṃskāra* (comes) *vijñāna*' (Khurram cp.-pl. inscr.).

20. *prabhṛti-* (with acc.): jato ṇaṃ pabhiiṃ 'since when' (Āyara 2. 15. 10) ; jao ṇaṃ pabhiiṃ (ibid. 2. 15. 12).

21. *vinā* (with instr.): no mi jīviuṃ samattho etīe viṇā 'without her I cannot live' (VH p. 320).

21a. *viṇu* (with acc.): paiṃ viṇu 'without thee' (Hemacandra) ; lakkaḍiyaiṃ viṇu khoḍahaṃ maggu sacikkhalu duggu 'to the lame without sticks a slippery path is difficult' (*Sāvayadhammadohā* 148).



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22. *madhya-* (with gen.): ahaṃ rākṣaṣī-dvīpasya madhyena āgacchāmi 'I go to the island of the demonesses' (Mahā iii p. 287); sibiāe majjhiyāre 'in the palanquin' (Āyara 2. 15. viii) ; etc.

Cf. *bhrātṛmadhye 'bravīd idam* 'he said this before (or, to) the brothers' (Mbh. 3. 3. 1); etc.

23. *mūla-* (with gen.): yadi etāya mama mūle prema bhave 'if she have any love for me' (Mahā ii p. 55) ; tatra sa ṛṣisya mūle . . . . gīta-śabdaṃ śṛṇoti 'there he heard the sound of a song from (*or*, from near) the sage' (ibid. p. 96) ; mālākārasya mūle vasitvā 'dwelling with the garland-maker' (ibid. p. 463) ; tataḥ so mama mūlāto gatvā tāye sārdham āsati 'then he, going away from me, sat (or lived) with her' (ibid. p. 246); mātu mūle upasaṃkrame 'he went to (his) mother' (ibid. iii p 132); nalinīe mūlāto putrā jātā 'sons were born of Nalinī' (ibid. p 152) ; bhagavān antaḥpurikānāṃ mūle bhuñjitvā 'the lord having taken his food from the ladies of the harem' (ibid. 67). jāva dūraṃ gayā tāva tāvaso tassa mūlaṃ gayā 'then (she) went some distance (she saw) a hermit ; she went to (*or*, near) him' (Jacobi 35. 29-30) ; māyā ya se païṇo mūlaṃ gantūṇa savvaṃ jahābhūyaṃ parikahei 'the mother, going to her husband, told (him) everything as it happened' (VH p. 28) ; etc.

Cf. Mbh.: *duryodhana kuto mūlaṃ bhṛśam ārto 'si putraka* 'O (my) son Duryodhana, wherefore are you so much distressed?' (2. 49. 6) ; *sa kandukenāramatāsya mūle* 'she played with a ball near him' (3. 111. 16).

24. *sakāśa-* (with gen.): āgatena mahārājasa aṃtalikitasa upa(ṃ)tā sakāsaṃ raño kāsīputrasa 'by one that came to the great king Antialkidas from the king Kāśīputra' (Besnagar). pituḥ sakāśam āgatā '(she) came to (her) father' (Mahā ii p. 485) ; imāṃ gāthāṃ rājño brahmadattasya sakāśāto śṛṇvanti '(they) hear this verse from king Brahmadatta' (ibid. iii p. 191) ; uvajjhāassa saāsādo sāo 'the curse (is) from the master' (Vikrama iii) ; tujjha sayāsāo kacchao garuo 'the tortoise is heavier than you' (Two Prakrit Poems at Dhar, B 18 ; E I VIII).

Cf. Mbh.: *rājā ca māṃ prāhiṇot tvatsakāśam* 'the king has sent me to you' (2. 58. 11); *śikṣasva buddhiṃ sthavirārāṇāṃ sakāśāt* 'acquire intelligence from the old' (2. 64. 6) ; *tvatsakāśāc ca rāmāc ca . . . hantuṃ śakyo na veti vai* '(I am doubtful) even if (he) can be killed by you or Rāma' (2. 15. 9) ; *teṣāṃ sakāśād aśrauṣam* '(I) heard from them' (3. 32. 61) ; *vatsyāmi tvatsakāśe* '(I) shall live with you'



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(3. 65. 70) ; *athāsti kaścid bhavataḥ sakāśāc cirajātataraḥ* 'is there any one born earlier than you?' (3. 198. 7) ; etc.

25. *sacā* (with instr.): cojhbo yili namilg'aae saca namakero kareṃti 'Cojhbo Yili with N. makes obeisance' (KI 283).

26. *sant-+ka* (satka, sataka, saṭaka etc.; with stem or gen.): pitu sataka koṭasa 'of the store-room (*koṣṭha*) belonging to the father' (Perumaiyan Rock inscr. of Ceylon, EZ I) ; vaṇavasika-haṭika 'for dwelling during the rainy season' (Maha-ratmale Rock inscr., ibid.) ; lajaka tisa maharaji vihara karavaya . . . biku-saga-haṭaye dini 'the great king Lajaka Tissa having built a monastery dedicated (it) to the assembly of *bhikṣus*' (Nā-ulpata Rock inscr., ibid.) ; etc. ya dāni etha nagarasīme rājakam kheta amhasatakaṃ 'which (is) now here, on the limit of the town, that royal field of ours' (Nasik Cave inscr. No. 5, of Gautamīputra Ś., EI VIII) ; kṣetram . . . sapitusataka 'the field belonging to his father' (ibid. No. 10). jānyasatka-mātā praṇamati 'Jānya's mother makes obeisance' (An Inscription of the reign of Udayāditya, BSOS. I p 86).

26a. *sant-+ika* (santika ; with gen. or stem): labheyyāhaṃ bhoto gotamassa santike pabbajjaṃ 'may I receive religious mendicancy from the venerable Gotama' (SN 4) ; āgacchi te santike nāgarājā 'the elephant king came to you' (SN 26. 4) ; tassā devatāyā santike te pañhe uggahetvā 'having learnt those questions from that deity' (SN 32) ; atha maṃ ye santike paccāgato 'who returned to me' (DN i p 223). imaṃ ślokaṃ śreṣṭhiputrasya vajrasenasya santike bhaṇatha 'utter this verse before Vajrasena, the merchant's son' (Mahā ii p. 175) ; bhagavato santike brahmacaryaṃ cariṣyāmaḥ 'we shall lead the life of a religious student under the Lord' (ibid.) ; bhagavato santikā prasannacittā 'being satisfied at heart from (the teaching) of the lord' (Mahā iii p. 311). tassa ṇāṃ ime tinni nāmadhejjā evam āhijjaṃti: ammapiusaṃtie vaḍḍhamāṇe 'these his three mames are thus mentioned: 'Vardhamāna' from (his) parents' (Āyara 2. 15. 15) ; esa dhavalahatthi mama santio 'this white elephant belongs to me' (Jacobi 47. 1). rāyasantikaṃ kamalasāliṃ ghettūṇa 'taking good paddy from the king' (VH p. 62) ; imāṇi mittavatīe sasura-kula-santagāṇi 'these are the ornaments from Mitravatī's father-in-law folk' (VH p. 141). Cf. esa te piu-uvaramamettassa santiyaṃ siriṃ patto 'he obtained prosperity as soon as your father had died' (VH p. 36).

nivaṇaseva sadi'e 'near *nirvāṇa*' (Khar. D Ac 3) ; maraṇaseva sadi'i 'near death' (ibid. Cvo 11).



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27. *sama-* (with instr.): budhehi ca savakahi ca samaṃ 'with the Buddhas and the *śrāvakas*' (Mānikiāla stone inscr. of Kaniṣka). guruhiṃ samaṃ viharanto 'moving with (i.e., in the company of) the superiors' (Jacobi 1); laddha-sanno ya tena samaṃ bāhu-juddhena laggo 'recovering consciousness (he began an arm-to-arm fight with him' (Jacobi 22); etc.

27a. **samaka-* (samao, samayaṃ, samau; with instr.): ṣatosmi yaṃ ca tumahu padamuldade arog'a śruta śaparivarena samao 'I am happy that (I have) heard from your honour that (you are) well, along with (your) family' (KI 702); etc. mae samayaṃ javana-visayaṃ vaccaü 'let him come with me to the country of the Yavanas' (VH p. 62).

28. *samāna-* (<*as-*+*māna-*; with gen.): māṇesu mae samāṇam jovvaṇasirim 'enjoy with me the youthful fortune' (Jacobi 43. 37).

29. *samīpa-* (with gen.): ye vā pi tasa aṃtiyokasa sāmīpaṃ rājāno 'the kings (that ruled) near (the territory) of Antiyoka (or under Antiyoka)' (G II).[1] mama samīvaṃ tue āantavvaṃ 'you should come to me' (Vikrama v). teṇā vi tuha samīpaṃ ahaṃ pesiyā 'by him I have been sent to you' (Jacobi 34. 4); gao ruppi-samīvaṃ '(he) went to Rukmin' (VH p. 81); na juttaṃ itthi-samīve attā vikattheuṃ 'it is not proper to brag before a lady' (VH p. 81); etc.

30. *sameta-* (with gen.): niya-dhūyāe sameo naravaïṇā pesio kumāro 'the prince was sent to the king, accompanied by his own daughter' (Jacobi 78. 2); etc.

31. *sammukha-* (with gen.): sace koci bhikkhu āyasmato moliyaphaggunassa sammukhā tāsam bhikkhunīnaṃ avaṇṇaṃ bhāsati 'if any Bhikkhu speaks ill of those Bhikkhuṇīs before the long-lived Moliyaphagguna' (MN i p. 112).

32. *saha-* (with instr.): pucchanti ve bho brāhmaṇā brāhmaṇehi saha brāhmaṇo no bhavaṃ ti 'sir, Brahmans together with brahmans ask truly, 'Are you a brahman?' ' (SN 30, 3); aham eva tesaṃ saha dhammena paṭivacanaṃ karissāmi 'I alone shall hold a religious discourse with them' (DN i p. 112). vhuḍḍehiṃ saha saṃsaggiṃ hāsaṃ kīḍaṃ ca vajjae '(one) should avoid the company, laughing and playing with inferior persons' (Uttara 1. 9); so saha-paṃsukīliena . . . mahindasīheṇa saha . . . jovvaṇam aṇupatto 'along with Mahendrasiṃha, with whom he had played in the dust, (he) attained youth' (Jacobi 20); etc.

[1] The other versions have 'sāmantā' for 'sāmīpaṃ'.



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33. *sahita-* (with instr.): sahio niya-paṇayiṇīe rāya-suo raṇa-majjhe so thakko 'the kings soon stood in the battle-field, together with his beloved (wife)' (Jacobi 78. 29-30); devīsaeṇa sahio 'accompanied by a hundred queens' (ibid. 25). bhajjeṃ sahiau 'with wife' (Dohā); dehā-deuli jo vasai sattihiṃ sahiau deu 'the god that dwells with the Śaktis in the temple of the (human) body' (*Pāhuḍadohā* 53).

Cf. *yudhyasva sahito'smābhiḥ* 'fight with (i.e., against) us' (Mbh. 7. 157. 24).

34. *sārdha-* (with instr. and gen.): parivareṇa sadha 'with the family' (Mānikiāla stone inscr. of Kaniṣka); sabhaḍusa sabala-bhaḍa pitra sarddha ca 'together with (his) father Balabhadra' (CCI II i, No. IX). toṃmihi sadha iśa visajidavo '(it) should be sent here along with the *toṃmis*' (KI 165); bhutartha esa bharya sadha kuci rajaṃmi palayite hutaṃti 'it is true (he has) fled to the Kuci territory with (his) wife' (ibid. 632); yaṃ kalaṃmi atra caḍ'odaṃmi khotaniyana sadha akula hutaṃti (*or* hauti) 'at the time when in C. there was trouble from the Khotanis' (ibid. 515); viharavalasa sadha 'on the part of the monastery-master' (ibid. 358); etc. mama saddhiṃ sammodiṃsu 'chatted with me' (DN i p 157); tehi pi me saddhiṃ ekaccesu ṭhāṇesu sameti ekaccesu ṭhāṇesu na sameti 'with (i.e., between) them and me there is, as to some points, agreement, and as to some points, no' (DN i p. 162); etc. so dāni nāgarājā ugrasenena kāśirājñā sārdham ekaparyaṅkena nisaṇṇo 'then the king of the Nāgas sat on the same seat with Ugrasena the king of Kāśī' (Mahā ii p. 179); uttiyasya śreṣṭhisya dhītuḥ sārdhaṃ vipraduṣṭo 'corrupted with the daughter of Uttiyya the merchant' (ibid. i p. 86); etc. jehiṃ vā saddhiṃ saṃvasati 'with whom (he) lives' (Āyara 1. 2. 1. 2); ego egatthie saddhiṃ neva ciṭṭhe na saṃlave 'one should neither remain nor talk with a solitary woman' (Uttara 1. 26); etc.

35. *hasta-* (with gen.): data cānena kṣetraṃ brāhmaṇasa vārāhi-putrasa aśvibhūtisa hathe kīṇitā mulena kāhāpaṇasahasrehi catuhi ca sapitusataka 'a field has also given by him, bought at the hands of (i.e., through *or* from) the brahman Aśvibhūti the son of Vārāhī, for the price of four thousand 'kahāpaṇas,' which (i.e., the field) belonged to his father' (Nasik Cave inscr. No. 10: EI VIII); kularikaśreṇyā haste kārṣāpaṇasahasra 'a thousand *kārṣāpaṇas* (have been invested) with the Kularika guild' (ibid. No. 15); data ca nena akhayanivi kāhāpana-sata saṃghasa hathe 'a hundred 'kahāpaṇas' have been given (i.e., invested) by him at the hands of (i.e., with) the assembly as a perpetual trust' (ibid. No. 17).



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ede uta cavala lp'ipeyasa hastami calmadanaṃmi visajidavo 'these camels should be promptly sent to C. through L.' (KI 4) ; ahuno śadavita Kolp'isasya hastaṃmi vacari 2 prahidemi 'now I have sent two *vacaris* through K.' (ibid. 159) ; emeka leharag'asa hastaṃmi lekha iśa prahatavo 'a letter should be dispatched here in the hand of a letter-carrier' (KI. 165) ; etc. gandhikānāṃ haste vikrītaḥ '(it) was sold to the perfumers' (Mahā iii p 34) ; yadi icchatha rākṣasīnāṃ hastāto mokṣam 'if (you) wish deliverance from the hands of the demonesses' (ibid. p 75) ; etc. saccavadīe hatthe nikkhido '(he) was entrusted to Satyavatī' (Vikrama v).

36. **adhiṣṭāt* (heṭṭhā, hiṭṭhā ; with stem or gen.): rājatalākaheṭṭhe 'below the king's tank' (British Museum Plates of Cārudevī, I ; EI VIII). tassa eva pāsādassa heṭṭhā 'at the foot of that palace' (DN i, p. 198). heṭṭhāto veḷu-gumbasmiṃ 'from under the bamboo grove' (Thera, 919). ajjaṃ hiṭṭhā 'from today (?)' (Two Prakrit Poems at Dhar B 41 ; EI VIII) ; vaṭa-pāyavassa heṭṭha 'under a banian tree' (Jacobi i) ; etc.

37. *hetu-* (with stem, dat. or gen.): akhaya- (nīvi)-hetu 'because of perpetual trust (i.e., as a perpetual trust)'; (Nasik Cave inscr. No. 3 ; EI VIII). kissa hetu musā bhaṇe 'for what reason should (one) speak falsely?' (SN 72. 8) ; etc. dukkha-parighāyaheuṃ 'for the purpose of removing misery' (Āyara 1. 1. 1. 1) ; etc.

Cf. Mbh.: *bhīmaṃ te vivyadhus tūrṇaṃ śalyahetor arindamāḥ* 'the warriors quickly covered Bhīma (with arrows) for the sake of (i.e., in order to save) Śalya' (6. 113. 23) ; *dhṛṣṭaketum athāyāntaṃ droṇa-hetoḥ* 'then (seeing) Dhṛṣṭaketu advancing for (i.e., to kill or capture Droṇa' (7. 105. 6) ; etc.

38. **vyañc-* (**vitya-*) (with instr.): jeṃ maṇu vicci ṇa jāi 'between (or within) which the mind cannot go' (Hemacandra).

39. *bhavant-* (with loc.): tahiṃ hontau gau 'went away from there' (*Mahāpurāṇa* ii).

40. *bahis-* (with gen.): nayarassa bahiyā 'outside the city' (Āyara) ; nayarīe bahiṃ (ibid.).

41. The following additional postpositions occur in *Mahābhārata*.

(a) *aṅka-* (with gen.): *āsīnāṃ pitur aṅke* 'seated by (her) father' (3. 32. 62).

(b) *antara-* (with stem): *pṛtanāntaram* 'in the army (or, battle)' (7. 105. 31).



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(c) *abhyāsa-* (with stem): *jagāma pāvakābhyāsam* went to (the god of) fire' (3. 224. 1); *dadarśa tryambakābhyāse vāsudeva-niveditān* '(he) saw near Tryambaka (the things) offered by Vāsudeva' (7. 79. 2) ; etc.

(d) *upahvara-* (with gen.): *prahvo 'bhavad bhrātur upahvare saḥ* 'he stood bowing before his (eldest) brother' (3. 165. 5) ; *upahvare vāsudevasya* 'before (or near) Vāsudeva' (5. 48. 3).

(e) *gocara-* (with stem): *yuvā yauvana-gocare* 'a youngman in (his) youth' (1. 76. 25).

(f) *pārśva-* (with gen.): *jagāma himavat-pārśvam* '(he) went to the Himavant' (3. 108. 3) ; *pārthasyaiva mahābāhuḥ pārśvam āgād arindamaḥ* 'the long-armed warrior came to (i.e., joined) the son of Pṛthā' (7. 76. 43).

(g) *pṛṣṭha-* (with stem): *tato 'haṃ himavat-pṛṣṭhe samārabdho mahāvratam* 'then I began a great religious session on the Himvant' (2. 11. 9).

(h) *mukha-* (with stem): *nihataḥ pṛtanā-mukhe* 'killed in battle' (6. 109. 29).

(i) *sannidhi-* (with gen. or stem): *tato'haṃ lokapālānāṃ sannidhau tvām . . . varayisye* 'then I shall choose you (as my husband) before (i.e., in presence of) the principal gods' (3. 56. 21)) ; *tad abravīt sannidhau mātuḥ* 'said to his mother' (3. 70. 22) ; *tad yuddham abhavat . . . samājotsava-sannidhau* ('that fight happened on (the occasion of) the religious festival' (4. 13. 30) ; etc.

(j) *samakṣa-* (with stem): *yat tvayoktaṃ nara-śreṣṭha mat-samakṣam* 'O best of men, what you had said to me (or, before me)' (3. 64. 15) ; etc.

(k) The following is a very interesting instance where a present participle has been used as a postposition for the possessive genitive: *kauravāṇāṃ kule jātaḥ pāṇḍoḥ putro viśeṣataḥ| droṇaṃ vyapadiśan śiṣyo vāsudeva-sahayavān| bhīto'smīti kathaṃ brūyāṃ dadhāno gāṇḍivaṃ dhanuḥ||* 'Born in the race of the Kurus, especially (being) a son of Pāṇḍu, being a disciple of Droṇa (lit. a disciple to, or in respect of Droṇa), having Vāsudeva as the helper, (and) holding the bow Gāṇḍiva, how can I say that I am frightened?' (5. 157. 27).

(l) *purā* in Mbh. is used as a preposition: *purā dyūtāt* 'before the dice game' (2. 63. 9) ; *purā yuddhāt* 'before (i.e. without) war' (2. 74. 8 ; 5. 22. 9 ; 5. 49. 45) ; etc.



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## C. Verbal Postpositions

§104. The verbal postpositions are all conjunctives or absolutives ending in *-ya* (rarely ending in *-tvā*). These are very rare in the oldest stratum of MIA but are quite abundant in its later phases. In the literary Prakrits (including the Jaina) also the verbal postpositions are very rare. The use of the principal verbal postpositions in MIA is illustrated below. Some of these postpositions are no doubt of the insipient type. The verbal postpositions generally govern the substantive in the accusative.

1. *adhikṛtya*: musāvādaṃ adhigicya (=*adhigṛhya*+*adhikṛtya*) bhagavata budhena bhāsite 'told by the lord Buddha on the matter of falsehood' (Bh 6); cf. *adhikṛtya kṛte granthe* 'in a work on the matter of . . .' (Paṇini 4. 3. 87).

2. **anvāya* (<*anu*+*ā*+*ay*): tesaṃ saṃvāsam anvāya putto jāyetha 'from their intercourse a son should be born' (DN i p. 97); etc.

3. *āgamya*: kim āgamya 'about what' (DN i p 28); etc. yā kācid asmākaṃ śrī-saubhāgya-sampat sarvāsau buddhaṃ bhagavantam āgamya 'whatever beauty, fortune, or wealth we have, all those are owing to the lord Buddha' (Divya p. 95); etc.

4. *ārabhya*: kim ārabhya 'with reference to what' (DN i p 28); tassa mayhaṃ bhante bhagavantaṃ yeva ārabbha sati udapādi 'then the memory of the Lord arose in me' (DN i p 180); tassa mayhaṃ bhante bhagavantaṃ yeva ārabbha pīti udapādi 'there arose in me a respect for the Lord' (MN ii p 31); etc. See OSBS p 48.

5. *āsādya, samāsādya*: kāko va selaṃ āsajja nibbijāpema gotamaṃ 'like the crow with the pebble (lit. coming to the pebble) (we) shall go away from Gotama (in disgust)' (SN 28. 24).

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *agastyam ṛṣim āsādya jīrṇaḥ krūro mahāsuraḥ* 'the terrible, cruel demon was digested by Agastya' (3. 205. 27); *nedṛśaṃ bandhum āsādya bāndhavaḥ sukham edhate* 'a relative does not find pleasure with such a relative' (5. 133. 18); *na hi vairaṃ samāsādya sīdanti puruṣarṣbhāḥ* 'great men do not lose heart in a conflict' (5. 137. 10); *na vai samyag idaṃ putra viṣṇum āsādya vai kṛtam* 'O son this has not been done well by Viṣṇu' (3. 99. 67); *etad īdṛśakaṃ tāta rāmeṇākliṣṭakarmaṇā| prāptam āsīn mahārāja viṣṇum āsādya vai purā||* 'O son, this much had been received formerly by the idefatigable Rāma from Viṣṇu' (3. 99. 71); *tataḥ prakāśam āsādya punar yuddham avartata* 'then again in the light (i.e., when it dawned) the battle started again' (4. 33. 3); *ātmano buddhi-*



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*daurbalyād bhīṣmam āsādya keśava| vanaṃ yāsyāmi vārṣṇeya śreyo me tatra jīvitum||* 'Owing to the weakness of my own intelligence and owing to Bhīṣma (i.e., on account of his victories in the war), O Keśava, scion of the Vṛṣṇis! I shall go to the forest, (and) it is better for me to live there' (6. 50. 9) ; *dakṣiṇaṃ pakṣam āsādya sthitāḥ* '(they) took their stand on the right wing' (6. 56. 8) ; *śerate bhūmim āsādya* '(they) lie on the ground' (7. 91. 54) ; etc.

6. *uddiśya*: mātāpitaro udisa ima leṇa kāritaṃ 'this cave has been built for (i.e., for the religious merit of) (my) parents' (Nasik Cave inscr., No. 18, EI VIII) ; cātudisaṃ saṃghaṃ udisāya . . . ṭhāpitaṃ 'established for (the benefit of) the assembly of monks from the four quarters' (Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscr.). kin nu uddissa muṇḍāsi 'wherefore are you shaven-head?' (Therī 183) ; yāni kho niccadānāni . . . sīlavante pabbajite uddissa 'the gifts that are always made to (lit, intended for) virtuous recluses' (DN i p. 144) ; yo kho . . . catuddisaṃ saṃgham uddissa vihāraṃ karoti 'who indeed builds a monastery for the assembly all round' (DN i p. 145) ; na dānāhaṃ bhaggava bhagavantam uddissa viharāmi 'I do not now, O Bhaggava, wander under (the commandment of) the Lord' (DN iii p. 2) ; sutaṃ metaṃ bhante samaṇaṃ gotamam uddissa pāṇaṃ ārabhanti 'I have heard sir, (that) they kill animals for the Samaṇa Gotama' (MN i p 368). adhivāsayatu bhagavān ārya-mahākāśyapam uddiśya bhaktaṃ saptāhena 'may your lordship accept food for a week for the reverend Mahākāśyapa (lit., the food or feast celebrating Mahākāśyapa)' (Divya p. 85) ; śeṣāḥ punaḥ stūpā mamoddiśya kartavyāḥ 'the rest of the 'stūpas' should be built for me' (Saddharma p 241) ; mama uddiśya āgato 'come for me' (Mahā iii p. 361). ahaṃ . . . tumaṃ uddisiūṇa āgato 'I have come for you' (VH p. 11).

Cf. Mahābhārata: *kiñcit kāraṇam uddiśya somo 'yaṃ nīyate mayā* 'for some reason this 'soma' is being taken away by me' (1. 30. 8) ; *vane vāsam uddiśya* 'for the purpose of dwelling in the forest' (3. 5. 1) ; *svarge vāsam samuddiśya* 'for dwelling in heaven' (3. 108. 27) ; etc.

(a) In Niya Prakrit *uddiśya* governs a sentence: tatra sach'i nasti udiśa 'as there is no witness there' (KI 29) ; adehi tusya mahatvana paride no kimci śrunammi udiśa ahuno sadavita kolp'isasya hastaṃmi vocarī 2 prahidemi 'from there I have not heard anything from your Highness, because of (this) I have called Kolp'isa and sent 2 vocarīs in his hand' (KI 159) ; etc.

7. *upanidhāya*: na parass' upanidhāya kammaṃ maccassa pāpakaṃ 'men (are) not responsible for actions of others' (Thera 496) ;



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taṃ dibbassa sukhassa upanidhāya saṃghaṃ pi na upeti 'because of that divine pleasure, (he) does not come to the assembly even' (MN iii p. 177) ; etc.

8. *upaniśrāya, upaniḥśritya, āśritya*: tass'eva upanissāya gāmo ca vipulo ahu 'and close by the (bank) there was a large village' (SN 55. 3) ; etc. tena khalu punaḥ samayena bhagavāñ chrāvastīm mahānagarīm upaniḥśritya viharati sma 'at that time the lord, resorting to the great city of Śrāvastī, was roaming (i.e., was roaming in the great city of Śrāvastī)' (LV) ; etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *prāguttarāṃ diśaṃ ye ca vasanty āśritya dasyavaḥ* 'those aboriginal people who live on the north-east region' (2. 27. 24) ; *kopitāḥ pāṇḍavā nityaṃ samāśritya suyodhanaṃ* 'the sons of Pāṇḍu are always angered on account of Suyodhana' (6. 122. 27) ; *tvadbāhubalam āśritya* 'through the strength of your arms' (3. 242. 14) ; *arjunaṃ ye ca saṃśritya rājaputrā mahābalāḥ | aśikṣanta dhanurvedaṃ rauravājinavāsasaḥ||* 'those mighty prices, wearing deer skin, who learnt archery from Arjuna' (2. 4. 33-34) ; etc.

9. *upādāya, ādāya*: kissa loke upādāya kismiṃ loko vihaññati 'regarding what and by that is the world afflicted, after having grasped at what?' (SN 9. 16) ; channam eva upādāya chassu loke vihaññati 'regarding the six and by the six the world is afflicted' (SN 9. 17) ; etc. mahābrahmaṇo 'nukampām upādāya 'with pity for Mahābrahman' (LV) ; tam eva divasam upādāya 'from that very day' (Divya p. 25); yad upādāya rājā vipravāsito tad upādāya devo na varṣati 'since when king was banished the god does not rain' (Mahā iii p. 44) ; etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *tīrād upādāya* 'on (or near) the bank (of the river)' (3. 113. 9) ; *yad vayaṃ na tadaivaitān dhārtarāṣṭrān nihanmahi bhavataḥ śāstram ādāya* 'that we did not kill then the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra because of your scriptures (this misdeed distresses us)' (3. 33. 10).

(a) In the Niya Prakrit the postposition is restricted solely to the temporal adverb ; e.g. ajuvadae 'from today, from the time being'; tadopaya 'since then'; pari-varsi uvadae 'from last year onwards' (KI 272) ; etc.

10. *kṛtvā*: **kṛtvāna*: biku-saga- haṭaye dini 'given for the use of) the body of monks' (Ceylon inscr., EZ I p. 148) ; etc.[1] ā-candatāra-kālika kātūnaṃ 'making (i.e. for) the time so long as the moon and the stars exist' (Hirahaḍagalli cp.-pl. insc.). eīe kāuṇa pūyam bhaṇiyaṃ 'on account of her the worship (of Jina), it is said' (Jacobi).

[1] It is perhaps better to take 'haṭaye' < *bhṛtaye* 'for the support'.



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(a) In the Prakrits *'iti krtvā'* governs a sentence.

11. *niśrāya, niśitya*: diṭṭhiṃ ca nissāya anupucchamāno, 'asking on account of (your philosophical) opinion' (SN 47. 7) ; tuvaṃ nissāya . . . tisso vijjā anuppatā 'owing to you the three sciences have been learnt' (Therī 331) ; alīnacittaṃ nissāya pahaṭṭhā mahatī camū 'the great army was delighted regarding Alīnacitta' (Jātaka ii 2. 11). dakṣiṇaṃ kukṣiṃ niśritya tiṣṭhati '(he) remained in the right side of the womb '(Divya p 98) ; etc.

12. **prativrajya*: taṃ paḍucca 'with regard to this' (Āyara 1. 5. 3. 5).

13. *samādāya*: porāṇe vajji-dhamme samādāya vattanti '(they) retained the old customs of the Vṛjis' (DN ii p. 74) ; etc.

14. *saṃdhāya*: taṃ . . . saṃdhāya 'regarding it' (Divya p. 89); etc.

15. *sthāpayitvā*: imaṃ yaṭhi-paṭiṭhanam ṭhapaicaṃ 'in addition to this foundation of the pillar' (Sui Bihār cp.-pl. inscr. of Kaniṣka). ṭhapetvā dve 'excepting two' (SN 33) ; nāssa imissa parisāya samasamo atthi vaṇṇena ṭhapetvā samaṇaṃ gotamaṃ 'in this assembly there is none who equals him in complexion, excepting Gotama the Samaṇa' (DN i p. 123). sthāpayitvā bāhubalaṃ 'bodily strength excepted' (Saddharma 79) ; sthāpayitvā tathāgatasya 'excepting the Tathāgata' (Divya p. 43) ; etc.

§105. The following additional verbal postpositions occur in *Mahābhārata* ; some of these also have continued up to NIA.

1. *atikramya*: *bhīmadroṇāv atikramya* 'excepting Bhīṣma and Droṇa' (7. 129. 6) ; etc.

2. *ādiśya*: *cikṣepārjunam ādiśya vāsudevāya tomaram* 'threw a missile at Vāsudeva for (injuring) Arjuna' (7. 27. 9) ; etc.

3. *āsthāya*: *ayudhyamānaḥ kāṃ buddhim āsthāyāhaṃ vṛtas tvayā* 'for what reason have I, not fighting (on your side) been accepted by you?' (5. 7. 34) ; *kāraṇadvayam āsthāya nāhaṃ yotsyāmi pāṇḍavān* 'I shall not fight the Pāṇḍavas because of two reasons' (6. 119. 32) ; etc.

4. *gatvā*: *prāpto 'smi gatvā naradeva pāṇḍavān* 'O god among men, I am come from (lit. having gone to) the Pāṇḍavas' (5. 32. 7).



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5. *dattvā*: *jihvāṃ dattvā bahūnām hi kṣudrāṇāṃ lubdhacetasām| nikṛtyā labhate rājyam āhāram iva śalyakaḥ||* 'By the defeat of many small-minded and avaricious (persons) (also, by the destruction of many greedy ants) with the tongue one secures a kingdom like a porcupine its food' (3. 33. 59).

6. *puraskṛtya*: *etat te sarvam ākhyātem . . . . śiṣṭācāraguṇam . . . . puraskṛtya* 'all this (is) said to your regarding good behaviour (and proper conduct)' (3. 206. 99) ; *mitratām ca paraskrtya prcchāmi tvām aham dvija* 'O brahman, because of (our) friendship I ask you (this)' 3. 259. 35) ; *evam tad abhavad yuddham divasam bharatarṣabha| pāṇḍavānāṃ kurūṇāṃ ca puraskṛtya ghaṭotkacam||* 'Thus the battle ensued for a (whole) day, scion of the Bharatas, between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kurus, with Ghaṭotkaca (lit., having placed Ghaṭotkaca at the front)' (6. 64. 80) ; *yāhi svargam puraskṛtya yaśase vijayāya ca* 'go to heaven or to glory and victory (lit., having placed heaven at the front go to glory and victory)' (6. 112. 28) ; etc.

7. *prāpya*: *etad vākyaṃ vidura yat te sabhāyām iha proktam pāṇḍavān prāpya māṃ ca* 'O Vidura, this utterance (was) which made to you in the assembly regarding the Pāṇḍavas and also me (lit., having come to the Pāṇḍavas and me) . . .' (3. 4. 18) ; *yat etat prāpya mucyeta* 'who can escape from (lit., having come to) this' (5. 76. 9) ; *pratīparakṣitaṃ rājyaṃ tvām prāpya vinaśiṣyati* 'the kingdom ruled by Pratīpa shall be lost through you' (5. 147. 31) ; *kasmād dravata he yodhāḥ phālgunam prāpya saṃyuge* 'O warriors, why do you fly from Arjuna in the battle?' (6. 177. 30) ; *tvām tu caksurhanam prāpya dagdhāḥ* 'through you who kill with the eyes (Bhīṣma) has been killed' (6. 120. 68) ; etc.

8. *sametya*: *sarvaiḥ sametya saṃrabdho dahyatām vā katāgninā* 'by (all of us) together let the offender (Bhīṣma) be lynched' (2. 44. 87).

§106. Not a few conjunctives in Apabhraṃśa are used as insipient postpositions, and one or two of them have become regular postpositions in NIA. Some of these conjunctives appear also as postpositions at the earlier stage.

(a) *apa-iks-*: paiṃ apekkhivi mavaṇuvi dūhau 'compared with thee even Cupid is ugly' (*Mahāpurāṇa* iii).

(b) *muc-*: paiṃ muivi 'beside thee' (*Mahāpurāṇa* ii).



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(c) *mella-*: mellivi paumu kāsu suyanattanu 'who but Pauma (i.e. Rāma) is so noble' (*Mahāpurāṇa* ii). Cf. mama mellitva 'leaving me' (Mahā iii p. 132).

(d) *lag-*: kariṇihiṃ laggiu hatthiyau ṇiyalaṃkusa duhu pattu 'for the sake of the mates an elephant receives both the fetters and the goad' (*Sāvayadhammadohā* 123) ; rūvahu laggi payaṃgaḍā pekkhaha dīvi paḍanta 'look! for the dazzle a moth falls into (the flame of) a lamp' (ibid. 126) ; jā lai acchama 'for what I am' (*Dohākoṣa*) ; tasu lai mai taṇi niṃda ṇahu 'from that time there is no sleep for me' (Sandeśa p. 37).

(e) *vṛj-*: sahiaṃ vajjia 'except the master of the gambling house' (Mṛccha ii).



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## Chapter Three

# THE PRONOUN

§107. The OIA distinction of gender in the demonstrative pronoun is not strictly preserved even in the Asokan Inscriptions.[1] Thus: 'ayaṃ' appears as feminine in Girnar four times: ayaṃ dhaṃmalipī (I 10, V 9, VI 13, XIII 11); and in Shahbazgarhi once: a(ya) dhramadipi (I 2-3). It also occurs as neuter once in Girnar: ayaṃ tu mahaphale maṃgale (IX 4).

The OIA neuter 'idaṃ' occurs in Girnar alone, and only once in Shahbazgarhi: (id)aṃ naṃ dipa(pi)taṃ (IV 11).

'imaṃ' as neuter occurs in Shahbazgarhi mostly, but occurs also in other versions sporadically. It does not occur in Girnar.

'iyaṃ' occurs as neuter in S, M, K, D, J. It does not occur in G.

§108. The following idioms of the indefinite pronoun in the Asokan Inscriptions are to be noted.

(1) In the Shahabazagarhi and Mansehra versions the demonstrative pronoun 'sa (se)' occurs as an indefinite pronoun. Thus: ia ca sa sukhayami 'and here I give pleasure to some' (S VI 16; M has 'ṣe').

(2) In the corresponding passage in the Girnar version the indefinite pronoun 'nāni' (neuter plural nominative-accusative of a demonstrative pronoun 'na-') occurs: idha ca nāni sukhāpayāmi (12). This indefinite pronoun occurs in the Pillar Edicts also. Thus: aiakā nāni eḍakā ca sukalī ca gabhinī va pāvamīnā va avadhva 'any she-goat or ewe or sow either with young or in milk (is) not to be killed' (Rdh V 5-6); etc.). In the Allahabad-Kauśāmbī Queen's Edict 'nāni' occurs as an enclitic: se nāni (he)vaṃ .... dutīyāye deviye 'this (is) indeed (the request) of the second queen.'

(3) The form corresponding to 'sa (se)' in S and M, and to 'nāni' in G is 'kāni' in D and J: hidha ca kāni sukhāyāmi (K VI 20). 'kāni' occurs in the Pillar Edicts also.

§109. In Niya the simple interrogative-indefinite pronoun *ka-* sometimes occurs indefinitely. Thus: aja uvadae ko asmahu ñati va

[1] This agrees with Old Persian.



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putro va .... 'from today any one of our (family) whether a kinsman or a son. ...' (KI 573) ; taha ko biti vara bhuma karaṃna maṃtra uthaveti dhaṃda deyaṃti 'now any one for the second time raises a dispute for the land punishment should be given' (KI 580) ; etc.[1]

§110. As in Vedic *tanu-* and *ātman-* also occurs as reflexive pronouns. In Gandhāri (i.e. Inscriptional Prakrit of the North-West and Niya). Thus: taṇuvae bodhisatvagahami 'in his own Bodhisattva-chapel' (Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription) ; tanuvakaṃmi raṃñaṇımi 'in his own grove' (Kurram Casket Inscription). aji uvadayi so uṭaḥ vāg'iti vadhag'asya tanuvag'aḥ saṃvritaḥ 'from today that camel has become Vag'iti Vadhag'a's own' (KI 661) ; etc.

(a) In *Mahābhārata* the reflexive pronoun *ātmanā* sometimes occurs as the second personal pronoun: *imaṃ tu bālaṃ saṃtyaktum nārhasy ātmajam ātmanā* 'you should not throw away this your infant son' (1. 68. 71) ; *mātmanā vismayaṃ gamaḥ* 'do you not be astonished' (1. 126. 9).

[1] In Old Persian 'kā' is similarly used.



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## Chapter Four

## THE NUMERAL

§111. The OIA distinction of gender in numerals was to some extent lost even in early MIA. Thus: tī eva prāṇā, trī prṇā 'only three animals' (G I 10-11, 12) ; catāli lajāne 'four kings' (K XIII 7) ; etc.

§112. The ordinal is sometimes used as the multiplicative. Thus: thuve dutiyaṃ vaḍhite 'the stūpa has been extended a second time or, to the double (of its original form)' (nj 2): dyaḍhiyaṃ vaḍhiṣati 'it will grow one and a half times (as much)' (MRE I). See Geiger p. 157, Pischel p. 320.

Cf. *dvis tīrthāni mayā pūrvaṃ dṛṣṭāni kurunandana | idaṃ tṛtīyaṃ drakṣyāmi tānyeva bhavatā saha||* 'O scion of the Kurus, twice I had visited the holy places, now for the third time (I) shall visit them with you' (Mbh. 3. 92. 9).

§113. In the Asokan Inscriptions the multiplicative sometimes shows the affix *-mātra*. Thus: diyaḍham(ā)te pāṇaṣataṣahaśe 'one and a half times a hundred thousand beings' (K XIII 35, S, M) ; satasahasramātraṃ 'a hundred thousand times' (G XIII I, S, K).

§114. The affix *-maya* is sometimes found in the ordinal in inscriptions from the North-West. Thus: vaṣe ekuṇa(ca)duśatimaye 'in the year 399th' (Skarah Dheri Image inscr.) ; (saṃva)tśaraye aṭhasatatimaye 'in the year 78th' (Taxila cp.-pl. inscr.) ; etc.



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## Chapter Five

# THE FINITE VERB

§115. The niceties of the syntax of the finite verb which we find in the Ṛgveda were considerably reduced in post-Vedic OIA. The subjunctive was completely lost and the distinction between the imperfect and the aorist was mainly theoretical. The perfect had an artificial survival ; it was indistinguishable from the imperfect and the aorist, especially in the third person. The most important innovation was the profuse use of the passive past participle for the finite verb in the preterite. This idiom occurs in Old Persian.

Coming to MIA we find the dual entirely lost and the perfect tense almost vanished. The imperfect and the aorist merged together. The passive past participle as a substitute for the finite verb was fully established. The *ātmanepada* (middle voice) was retained to some extent in the earlier phases. It occurs in Pali and only in the Girnar version of the Asokan Inscriptions. Another marked tendency was to fossilize some verb forms, especially of the verb substantive. Thus in Asokan Inscription we find the following phenomena which occur also in later phases of MIA.

(a) *asti* for the plural *santi*: asti pitu ekacā samājā 'there are some *samājas*' (G I 6, S, M, K, D, J) ; osuḍhāni ca yāni manusopagāni ca pasopagāni ca yata yata nāsti 'wherever there are no medical herbs that (are) good for men and good for animals' (G II 5-6, S, M, K, D, J) ; nathi cā ṣe janapade yatā nathi ime nikāyā 'there is no province where there are not these classes' (K XIII 38, M, G). natthi ṇaṃ tassa dāragassa hatthā vā pāyā vā kaṇṇā va acchī va nāsā vā 'that male child has neither hands nor feet not ears nor eyes nor nose' (*Vipāka-sūtra* i 1) ; ke ke na ettha jāyā cariyāyārehiṃ atthi tāna samā 'who born here are their equals in appearance and conduct?' (Two Prakrit Inscriptions at Dhar, A 48, EI VIII) ; see Pischel pp. 350, 359.

(b) *asti* occurs as an emphatic adverb in Asokan Inscriptions (Girnar and Dhauli) and elsewhere. Thus: asti jano ucāvacaṃ maṃgalaṃ karote 'some men certainly perform auspicious ceremonies' (G IX 1, D). uttiṣṭha pāpa caura asti nāma tvaṃ rājakulam dharṣayiṣyasi 'rise, you villain thief, would you really attack the royal palace?' (Mahā ii p. 168).



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(c) The fossilization of the optative singular 'siyā' (<*syat*) as a modal adverb happened very early. It occurs in the Asokan Inscriptions ; e.g., siya va taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭcyā 'it may be that the object is accomplished' (K IX 26, M, S). Cf. *syād evam api kuryāt sā* 'she may do thus' (Mbh. 3. 71. 6).

Other fossilizations are 'sakkā' (<**śakyāt*), 'bhave' (<*bhavet*), 'labhe' (<**labhet*), 'maññe' (<*manye*), 'labbhā' <**labhyāt*), 'abhu' (<*abhūt*), 'āsi' (<*āsīt*), 'natthi', 'atthi' <*nāsti, asti*)), etc. See Pischel pp. 329, 359 ff.

§116. In Niya if a singular subject was qualified by a sociative instrumental the finite verb, being psychologically plural, was sometimes put in the plural. Thus: cojhbo ẏili namilg'aae saca namakero kareṃti 'Cojhbo Yili along with Namilg'a makes obeisance' (KI 288) ; bhutartha esa bharya sadha kuci rajaṃmi palayitae hutaṃti 'really he along with (his) wife has fled to the kingdom of Kuca' (KI 632) ; etc.

## A. The Simple Tenses

### 1. The Present

§117. The main uses of the present tense in MIA are as in OIA. The present is also used for the proximate future and past. With the adverb *purā* the present stands for the preterit. With the adverb *sma* (in Buddhistic Sanskrit) the present expresses durative past.

§118. The present of a verb indicating continuous action is often an equivalent to, and co-ordinated with the narrative aorist. Thus: atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ läjäne vihälayätaṃ näma nikhamisu eta migaviyä aṃnäni ca edisäni abhi(l)ämäni huvaṃti naṃ 'Long before kings went out on pleasure tours ; here hunting and other such amusements happened' (D VIII 1, J ; S, M, G, K, have aorist 'abhuvasu' etc.). . . . viharati . . . pāvisi . . . upsaṃkami . . . honti . . . addasā . . . ahosi (MN iii p. 109 f). avagāhyottarāt samudrāt pratyuttarati pratyuttīrya samyag eva ṛddhyā vihāyasā rājadhānīm āgatyopari antaḥpuradvāre 'kṣatam evāsthāt 'having plunged he got out of the northern sea ; having got out he came to the capital, by his (supernatural) power, through air and sat safe on the door of the harem' (LV) ; etc.

§119. With a conditional adverb (or even without it) the present denotes the sense of the future tense and of the subjunctive mood. Thus: haṃce punā taṃ aṭhaṃ nivateti 'but if it does not attain the (desired) end (or, but if that object is accomplished)' (K IX 26, S ;



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M, has 'hace' instead of 'haṃce') ; hace pi taṃ athraṃ na nivateti 'and if it does not attain the (desired) end (or, and if that object is not accomplished)' (M IX 7 ; K has 'haṃce'; S has 'yadi' with the optative 'nivaṭe'). jai me pai na hoi to nūṇām marāmi 'if (he) does not become my husband then I will surely surely die' (Jacobi 11. 30) ; jai mama . . . deha to ahaṃ avi . . . demi 'if you give . . . to me I shall also give to you' (ibid. 30. 25) ; jehiṃ saddhiṃ saṃvasati te vā naṃ egayā niyagā puvviṃ posaṃti so vā te niyage pacchā posejjā 'him his relations, with whom he lived together will first cherish, and he will afterwards cherish them' (Āyara 1. 2. 1. 3) ; etc.

## 2. The Aorist

§120. The aorist is the past tense *par excellence* in the active voice in early MIA. It denotes every shade of the past tense, from immediate to very remote past. This agrees with Pāṇini's definition of the function of the aorist: *bhūte luṅ*. Thus: atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ rājāno vihārayātāṃ ñayāsu 'long before kings went out on pleasure tours' (G VIII 1 ; S, M, K, D have the root 'niṣ-kram' instead of 'nir-yā) ; eta magavyā añāni ca etārisani abhīrāmakāni ahuṃsu 'there hunting and similar other amusements happened' (G VIII 1-2, S, M, K) ; purā mahānasamhi devānaṃ priyasa priyadasino rāño anudivasaṃ bahūni prāṇasatasahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya 'formerly in the kitchen of the beloved of gods, king Priyadasi many hundred thousands of animals were daily killed for cooking purpose' (G I 7-9, S, M, K ; J has 'puluvam' <*pūrvam* instead of 'purā') ; amisā devā husu 'gods were not false (? non-inimical)' (ru I 2, mk) ; atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalam lājāne husu hevaṃ ichisu 'long before there were kings (who) thus desired' (T VII 12 ; also see 15) ; esa me huthā 'this (thought) happened (i.e., occurred) to me' (T VII 14-15). na cāhu na ca me bhavissati na ca me etarahi pi vijjati 'it had never been, nor it shall ever be, nor it is now in me' (Thera 180 ; Dhamma 17. 8) ; yo evaṃ jānāti sa vedi dhammaṃ 'he who understands this, knows *dharma*' (SN 50. 1) ; yadāhaṃ dhammam assosiṃ bhāsamānassa satthuno | na kaṃkhaṃ abhijānāmi sabbaññu aparājite|| 'when I heard the Master preach *dharma* I knew (i.e., felt) no doubts in him (who is) all-knowing and invincible' (Thera 131) ; na pubbe dhanam esissaṃ iti pacchānutappati ' "I had not sought for wealth before" thus (he) repents afterwards' (*Jātaka* iv 12. 38) ; ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā magadhesu viharati . . . tena kho pana samayena kasibhāradvājassa brāhmaṇassa pañcamattāni naṅgalasatāni payuttāni honti vappakāle | atha kho bhagavā . . . yena kasibhāradvājassa brāhmaṇassa kammanto



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ten' upasaṃkami| tena kho pana samayena kasibhāradvājassa brāhmaṇassa parivesanā vattati| atha kho bhagavā yena perivesanā ten' upasaṃkami . . . ekam antaṃ aṭṭhāsi| addasā kho kasibhāradvājo brāhmaṇo bhagavantaṃ piṇḍāya ṭhitaṃ| disvāna bhagavantaṃ etad avoca 'Once the Lord was wandering in Magadha. At that time five hundred ploughs of the brahman Kasibhāradvāja were in action at the time of sowing. Now the Lord went where the brahman Kasibhāradvāja's field of work was . . . At that time there was the serving of meal of the brahman Kasibhāradvāja. Then the Lord went to where meal (was being) served . . . (and he) stood on a side. Then the brahman Kasibhāradvāja saw the Lord standing for alms. Having seen (him he) said this to the Lord' (SN 4) ; etc.[1] bhagavao Mahāvīrassa . . . nāṇadaṃsane hotthā 'Lord Mahāvīra had spiritual knowledge' (*Kalpasūtra* p. 60). aha duccaralāḍham acārī 'then (he) wandered in the difficult (land) Lāḍha' (Āyara 1. 8. 3. 2) ; janavayā lūsiṃsu 'the people of the country were angry' (ibid. 1. 8. 3. 3) ; apiitthā egayā bhagavaṃ addhamāsaṃ aduvā māsaṃ pi 'Lord sometimes drank at (an interval of) a fortnight or a month' (ibid. 1. 8. 4. 5).

In the above and similar instances the forms like 'apiitthā', 'apivitthā' (1. 8. 4. 6) etc. are taken as instances of the negative verb, *a-* being the privative particle and not the augment (see Pischel p. 328). But there is no necessity of this preposterous hypothesis ; *a-* can be better explained as the augment ; (as a matter of fact augmented aorist is not at all rare in *Āyaraṅga-sutta*); and the accusative should better be explained as a temporal accusative denoting an action that happened after a period. This idiom of the temporal accusative (and also of other oblique cases) is not rare in Indo-Aryan.

### 3. The Imperfect

§121. The imperfect is preserved in MIA. only, to the extent it has merged with the aorist. In some instances in Pali where the imperfect occurs used with the aorist, the former denotes a remoter past. Thus: yaṃ taṃ apucchimha akittayi no 'what we had asked thee thou hast explained to us' (SN 49. 14) ; yan no mayaṃ bhavantam ānandam apucchimha tan no bhavan ānando na vyākāsi 'what question we had put to the reverend Ānanda, that he has not explined to us' (MN iii p. 15) ; etc.

[1] For Buddhistic Sanskrit vide OSBS p. 54f.



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## 4. The Perfect

§122. The perfect is almost entirely lost in MIA. In the Asokan Inscriptions the only instance is the stereotyped 'āha (āhā)' which lost its perfect sense already in OIA. Girnar (VIII 2) has 'ayāya' which is not a perfect but an imperfect **ayāyat=ayāt*. The other versions have the aorist here.

§123. In Pali the perfect generally consists of stereotyped forms like 'āha', 'uvāca' etc. The sense of the perfect is to be noted in the following instance: pure tuvaṃ sīlavataṃ sakāse okkandikaṃ kīḷasi assamamhi| karoh' are makkaṭiyāni makkaṭa na taṃ vayaṃ sīlavantaṃ rarāma|| 'Formerly you had played at jumping and running before the virtuous (recluses) at the hermitage ; now do you again play your monkey pranks, O monkey ; we have not liked you (playing) the virtuous' (Jātaka ii 3. 145).

§124. In Buddhistic Sanskrit the perfect is restricted to the verbs *ah, vac, kṛ, dṛś, bhās, bhū, sthā, abhi-stu* and *vi-hṛ*. See OSBS p. 54.

§125. In the Prakrits the only perfect forms are 'āha' and 'āhaṃsu'. These are fossilized forms and are used for singular and plural alike and in all the three persons. See Pischel p. 361.

## 5. The Future

§126. The use of the future in MIA is as in OIA. It is sometimes co-ordinated or replaced by the present. Thus: ete pi trī prāṇā pachā na ārabhisare 'these three animals will not be killed afterwards' (G I 12 ; S etc. have the active form 'arabhiśaṃti' etc.) ; putrā ca potrā ca papotrā ca . . . vaḍhayisaṃti idaṃ dhaṃmacaraṇaṃ '(his) sons and grandsons and great grandsons will increase this practice of *dharma*' (G IV 8-9 ; S, M, K, D, J) ; khamisati ne lājā 'the king will forgive us' (J Sep. II 6, D) ; adā a(nusayānaṃ) te mahāmātā nikhamisaṃti anusayānaṃ tadā ahāpayit(u) atane kaṇmaṃ etam pi jānisaṃti taṃ pi tathā kalaṃti a(tha) lājine anusathī ti 'when (there will be) a tour (and) the officials will go out on a tour then without neglecting their own duty they will know this and will do it according to the king's instruction' (D Sep I 24-26). ajja . . . upasaṃkamissati '(he) will come today' (MN ii p. 125) ; etc. hauṃ karesami 'I shall do' (*Mahāpurāṇa* iii).

§127. In early MIA the '-issa-' (<*iṣya*) future sometimes, and the '-sa-' or '-ha-' (<*-sa-, -sya-*) future very often expresses a modal sense. Thus: hida ena mahāmātā svasataṃ sama yujisaṃti 'so that



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the officials may strive here for all times' (D Sep II 9-10; J has optative 'yujevū'). anikkasāvo kāsāvaṃ yo vatthaṃ paridahessati| apeto damasaccena na so kāsāvam arahati|| 'He does not deserve yellow robes, who, deprived of self-restraint and truthfulness, wears such robes' (Dhamma 1. 9) ; sace me na vyākarissasi cittaṃ vā te khippissāmi hadayaṃ vā te phālessāmi 'if you do not answer me I will either throw your mind away or will tear your heart out' (SN 17) ; natthi so samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā yo sabbaññū sabbadassāvī aparisesaṃ ñānadassanaṃ paṭijānissati 'there is no Samaṇa or Brāhmaṇa who, all-knowing and all-seeing, may command the entire knowledge and intuition' (MN ii p 127) ; kiṇ tvaṃ imaṃ dhammavinayaṃ ājānissasi 'how can you know this *dharma* and *vinaya*?' (DN iii p. 117). sa ced asāv imaṃ dharmaṃ śroṣyaty ājñāsyati tasyaivāhaṃ prathamaṃ dharmam deśayiṣye na ca māṃ sa viheṭhayet 'if he hears and understands this 'dharma', to him shall I first divulge (my) 'dharma' and he shall not spite me' (LV). tā so bālao keṇai vaṇayareṇa vāvāijissai ahavā āhāravirahio sayaṃ eva vivajjejjā 'therefore the boy shall be killed by some denizen of the forest or shall perish without food' (Jacobi 43. 22) ; etc.

tathā so sukataṃ kāsati 'thereby he shall perform a good deed' (G V 2-3, S, M, K, D) ; yo tu eta desaṃ pi hāpesati so dukaraṃ kāsati 'who shall here neglect even a bit, he shall do an evil deed' (G V 3, S, M, K, D) ; te sarvaṃ va kāsaṃti ekadesaṃ va kāsaṃti 'they may do all or they may do a part' (G VII 2 ; only one verb in S, M, K, D, J) ; saṃpaṭipajamīne cu etaṃ svagaṃ ālādhayisatha mama ca ānaniyaṃ ehatha 'accomplishing this (you) shall propitiate heaven and shall attain my non-indebtedness' (D Sep I 16-17 ; J has 'esatha') ; etāye ca aṭhāye hakaṃ dhaṃmate paṃcasu paṃcasu vasesu nikhāmayisāmi e akhakhase acaṃḍe sakhināLambhe hosati 'for this object, regularly (?) in every five years I shall set out (on tour), which shall not be harsh and exacting and (shall be) of gentle actions' (D Sep I 21-22) ; se hakaṃ anusāsitu chaṃdaṃ ca veditu tuphāka desāvutike hosāmi etāye aṭhāye 'so having instructed (you) and having made known (my) will to you I will be served by officers in the country, for this object' (D Sep II 8, J) ; hevaṃ ca kalaṃtaṃ tuphe svagaṃ ālādhayisatha mama ca ānaniyaṃ ehatha 'doing this you shall propitiate heaven and shall attain my non- indebtedness' (D Sep II 9, J has 'esatha') ; hevaṃ sadhaṃme cilṭhitīke hosati 'thus the good 'dhamma' shall be long enduring' (bh 3-4) ; ye ca hevaṃ saṃpaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṃ kachati 'who will act thus he shall do a good deed' (T II 16, Mi, A-K, Rp, Mth, Rdh) ; nāsaṃtaṃ vā



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nijhapayitā dānaṃ dāhaṃti pālatikaṃ upavāsaṃ vā kachaṃti 'there being no one to persuade (?) they shall give gifts or shall fast with a view to the other world' (T IV, Mi, A-K ; Rdh, Mth, Rp have 'nijhapayitave' for 'nijhapayitā') ; magesu pi me nigohāni lopāpitāni chāyopagāni hosaṃti pasumunisānaṃ 'on roads banian trees have been made to be planted by me (so that they) would be giving shade to animals and men' (T VII 23) ; ājīvikehi pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti 'for the Ājīvikas (it has been) arranged by me that they shall be concerned' (T VII 25 ; also see 26, 27) ; e cuṃ kho bhikhū vā bhikhuni vā saṃghaṃ bhākhati 'whoever, a bhikkhu or a bhikkhuī, shall cause division in (or, misdirect) the Saṃgha' (Sarnath 4, Sanci, Kausambi). jīvaṃ puññāni kāhasi '(by) living you may do meritorious deeds' (SN 28. 3) ; kiṃ padhānena kāhasi 'what can you do with exertion?' (SN 28. 4) ; gahakāraka diṭṭho 'si puna gehaṃ na kāhasi 'O maker of the house, you are seen ; may you not make a house again' (Thera 184) ; anussara . . . hohisi (Thera 184) ; ahaṃ tathā karissāmi yathā n'ehiti luddhako 'I shall do such that the greedy fellow may not come again' (Jātaka ii 2. 110) ; etc. saṃvaccharaṇa hohiti abhinikkhamaṇaṃ tu jinavariṃdāṇaṃ 'in a year shall happen the renunciation (of home) of the greatest of the Jinas' (Āyara 2. 15. i) ; etc.

§128. The secondary ending (first person singular active) *-am* is very frequent in the future in Pali and the Prakrits. There are three instances of this in Asokan ; a modal sense is noticeable in all of them. Thus: nivuṭaspi va pana imaṃ kaṣaṃ ye hi et(ra)ke ('etake' Hultzsch) magale saṃśayike taṃ 'when (these are) attained I will do this (viz.), the auspicious ceremony of doubtful efficacy' (S IX 19-20 ; M, K have the ending '-mi') ; mahālake hi vijitaṃ bahu ca likhitaṃ likhāpayiṣaṃ ceva 'great is (my) conquered (territory), much has been inscribed and (much) I will cause to be inscribed' (G XIV 3 ; others have '-mi'), kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ 'because of (these) may I not ruin (myself)' (T III 21, Mi, Rdh, Mth, Rp).

The secondary affix with the future (rather the conditional) occurs in *Mahābhārata* as simple future and also in a modal sense. Thus: *yadā jyeṣṭhaḥ pāṇḍavaḥ saṃśitātmā krodhaṃ yattaṃ varṣapūgān sughoram | avasraṣṭā kuruṣūdvṛttacetās tadā yuddhaṃ dhārtarāṣṭro' nvatapsyat* || 'When the self-restrained eldest son of Pāṇḍu being angry, will release (his) anger suppressed for many years on the Kurus then the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra shall repent the war' (5. 48. 14, see 16, 17 etc.) ; *akālikaṃ kuravo nābhaviṣyan pāpena cet pāpam*



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*ajātaśatruḥ | icchej jātu tvayi pāpaṃ visṛjya nindā ceyaṃ tava loke' bhaviṣyat||* 'If Ajātaśatru, (repaying) evil by evil, so desires by throwing the blame on you, the Kurus shall not remain (alive) for (even a short time) and the blame in this world shall lie on you' (5. 32. 22).

§129. The future is sometimes used for the habitual and narrative present and even for the proximate and remote past (in narration). Thus: savatā ca janasā aṭhaṃ kachāmi hakaṃ 'everywhere I dispose of the business of the people' (K VI 18 ; S, M, G, D have the present 'karomi'). passath' ayye soratāya kammaṃ . . . sīse pahāraṃ dassati sisaṃ vobhindissati 'look at the deed of Soratā . . . (she) dealt a blow on the head and shattered the skull' (MN i p. 126) ; imināhaṃ bhante bhagavatā saṃkhittena ovādena ovādito atthi sunāparanto nāma janapado tatthāhaṃ viharissāmi 'being instructed by a short discourse by the Lord, sir, there is a country called Sunāparanta, there I wandered' (MN iii p. 268) ; gottato'pi anussarissati 'remembers by the *gotra*' (DN iii p. 8). sā ya suṇandābhihānā itthirayaṇaṃ bhavissai 'she was the jewel of a woman named Sunandā' (Jacobi 23. 17).

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *na purā bhīmasena tvam īdṛśīr vaditā giraḥ* 'O Bhīmasena, you had never before uttered such words' (2. 68. 7). Cf. Pāṇini: *abhijñāvacane lṛṭ* (3. 2. 112), *vibhāṣā sākāṅkṣe* (3. 2. 114) ; see *Bhaṭṭikāvya* vi 141, 142 ; xvi 36, 37 ; *Śiśupālavadha* i. 68.

## B. THE MOODS

### 1. The Optative

§130. As in OIA the optative expresses the following modal senses: (1) possibility, (2) obligation or propriety, (3) determination or will, (4) desire. wish or hope, (5) interrogation, (6) habit, etc. Examples: ciraṃ tiṣṭeya 'it may remain long' (G VI 13) ; devānaṃ piyo . . . ichati save pāsaṃḍā vaseyu 'the beloved of gods desires (that) all creeds may remain (in my kingdom)' (G VII 1, S, M, K, D, J) ; siyā va taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭeyā siyā punā no 'that object may be accomplished or may not be' (K IX 26, S, M) ; sakale apaparisrave asa 'everybody may be without sin' (G X 3 ; S, M, K have 'siya', 'siyā'; D, J have 'huveyā. 'asa' may be taken either as optative <**asyāt* or as subjunctive <**asat* ; see G XII 2, 8, XIV, 5 ; XII 7 ; S XIII 11) ; kaṃmana paṭipātayehaṃ duvālate ca ālabhehaṃ 'I may (or will) carry out in deed and may accomplish with (proper)



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means' (J sep I 1-2, D ; J sep II 1-2, D) ; parapāsaṃḍagarahā va no bhave 'there shall (or may) not be defiling of other creeds' (G XII 3 ; S, M, K have 'siya', 'siyā'), samavāye cu sādhu kiti aṃnamanasā dhammaṃ ṣuneyu cā ṣuṣuṣeyu cā ti 'concord (is) indeed good so that they may hear and obey each others's *dharma*' (K XII 32, S, M ; G has 'sruṇāru', 'sususera') ; etc.

ṭhānam etaṃ bhikkhave vijjati yaṃ sappuriso sappurisaṃ jāneyya 'it is proper, O bhikkhus, that a good man may recognize a good man' (MN iii p. 23) ; taṃ jaññā vasalo iti '(one) should know him (to be) an outcast' (SN 7. 1) ; dālemu maccuno senaṃ '(we) can smash the hosts of Death' (Thera 1146) ; nūnāhaṃ puccheyyaṃ 'let me ask (him)' (MN iii p. 238) ; app' eva me bhagavā sabbadukkhā pamocaye 'may the Lord relieve me from all suffering!' (Therī 319) ; aho vata yaṃ parassa tam mama assa 'ah, may what is other's be mine!' (MN iii p. 99) ; aho vata aññe pi sattā itthattam agaccheyyuṃ 'ah! may other creatures too come here!' (DN iii p. 29 ); app' ettha mudu vindema api assādāna siyā 'do (we) here find something soft? is (it) something sweet?' (SN 28. 23) ; iccheyyāsi no tvaṃ mārisa moggallāna vejayantassa pāsādassa rāmaṇeyyakaṃ daṭṭhuṃ 'do you wish, venerable Moggallāna, to see the beauty of the Vejayanta palace?' (MN i p. 253) ; etc.

tamhā paṃḍie no harise no kujjhe 'therefore a wise man should neither rejoice nor be angry' (Āyara 1. 2. 3. 2) ; mehāvī n'eva sayaṃ udayatthaṃ samārambhejjā 'the wise himself should not kill water-life' (ibid. 1. 1. 3. 8) ; kiṃ tattha munikāraṇaṃ siyā 'what is the characteristic of a sage?' (ibid. 1. 3. 3. 1) ; esa magge āriehiṃ pavedie jah' ettha kusale no'valimpejjāsi tti bemi "this road has been declared by the noble ones that a clever (man) should not be defiled," so (I) say' (ibid. 1. 2. 2. 3) ; etc.

§131. In conditional and relative sentences the optative generally appears both in the protasis and in the apodosis. But sometimes the present indicative occurs in the apodosis. Thus: atha koci vallabhamadena pilā bādhā kareyya kāravejjā vā nigahavāraṇa kareyyāma ti 'now (if) anybody, out of pride for being dear (to me), should make or cause to be made a small obstacle, him forsooth we shall restrain by punishment' (Hirahadagallī, cp.-pl. inscr.; EI I) ; yo casi vigghe vaṭṭeja sa ca khu . . . narādhamo hoja ti 'but he who may act contrary to it he, indeed, shall be the worst of men' (ibid.). yan nūnāhaṃ mahāyaññaṃ yajeyyaṃ yaṃ mama assa dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāya 'as I will hold a great sacrifice it would, for a long time, he for my welfare and happiness' (DN i p. 134) ; iṃgha



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gahapati samaṇo gotamo naṃ parisaṃ āgaccheyya ekapañhen' eva naṃ saṃsādeyyāma 'if, O householder, the Samaṇa Gotama comes to this assembly (we) will make him sit down by a single question' (DN iii p. 38). jayā tumaṃ rāyā hojjāsi tayā tumaṃ eyassa gamaṃ dejjāsi 'if (or when) you become king you should give him the village' (Jacobi 37. 9) ; jai imassa tavassa atthi phalaṃ to jammantare cakkavaṭṭī hojjāhaṃ 'if penance bear any fruit then may I become an overlord in the next birth!' (Jacobi 4) ; etc.

§132. The optative occurs in short illustrative narratives in Pali and in Buddhistic Sanskrit, beginning with 'se-y-yathā-pi' and 'tad-yathāpi' respectively. Thus: seyyathā 'pi same bhūmibhāge caturassā pokkharaṇī āḷibaddhā pūrā udakassa samatithikā kākapeyyā tam enaṃ balavā puriso yato yato āḷiṃ muñceyya āgaccheyya udakaṃ 'as for instance, there is a square tank in a level plain, with high banks, full of water to the brim and drinkable by a crow, wherever a strong man may cut channels through the banks, then and there water would come out' (MN iii p. 96) ; yathāpi nāma śāriputreha syāt kaścid eva grāme vā nagare vā . . . gṛhapatiḥ . . . mahac cāsya niveśanaṃ bhavet . . . ekadvāraṃ ca tan niveśanaṃ bhavet . . . tasya ca puruṣasya bahavaḥ kumārakāḥ syuḥ . . . 'as there may be O Śāriputra, in a village or in a town a householder . . . his residence may be big . . . it may have only one door . . . the man may have many boys' (Saddharma p. 72-76) ; see OSBS p. 58.

Cf. *kuṇair yathā hastagatam hriyet phalaṃ baliyasā* 'just as a fruit obtained by feeble-armed (man) is taken away by a stronger one' (Mbh 7. 181. 1).

§133. The connection between the optative and the future is very close ; the former very often appears for the latter and *vice versa*.[1] The connection between the optative and the infinitive is also very close. In some idioms the optative and the infinitive are alternative idioms. Thus: etassa bhagavā kālo . . . yaṃ bhagavā . . . dhammiṃ kathaṃ kareyya 'it is time, O Lord, that your lordship will speak a religious sermon' (DN ii p. 2) ; cf. the infinitive with words denoting 'time'.

§134. The optative sometimes stands for the emphatic or the habitual present. Thus: hevaṃmeva me icha savamunisesu siyā 'this is my wish regarding all men' (J sep II 4, D). yo c'attānaṃ samukkaṃse paraṃ ca-m- avajānati 'whoever exalts himself and despises others' (SN 7. 17) ; sādhu bhikkhave etaṃ kho bhikkhave tumhākaṃ

[1] See above.



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patirūpam . . . yaṃ tumhe dhammiyā kathāya sannisīdeyyātha 'well done, O bhikkhus, it is equal to you, O bhikkhus, that you sit down for religious talks' (MN p. 161) ; sabbā nadī vaṅkagatā sabbe kaṭṭhamayā vanā | sabb' itthiyo kare pāpaṃ labhamānā nivātake|| 'All rivers are meandering, all woods are full of trees, all women would commit sin on obtaining privacy' (Jātaka i p. 289) ; etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *mithilāyāṃ vased vyādhaḥ sa te dharmaṃ pravakṣyati* 'there lives a fowler in Mithilā, he will explain *dharma* to you' (3. 205. 4) ; *mahābhūtātmakaṃ brahma nātaḥ parataraṃ bhavet* '(this world is) O brahman, consisting of the super-elements ; there is nothing beyond it' (3. 209. 16).

§135. The optative is not infrequently used for the conditional or for the preterit-optative. In relative sentences it is sometimes co-ordinated with the conditional. Thus: sace so imaṃ dhammaṃ suṇeyya khippam eva ājāneyya 'had he heard this *dharma* he would have been instantaneously enlightened' (MN i p 170) ; sukhena ca āvusa gotama sukham adhigantabbam abhavissa rājā māgadho seniyo bimbisāro sukhaṃ adhigaccheyya 'O Gotama, had it been that sensual pleasures bring happiness, then Seniya Bimbisāra, King of Magadha, would have attained happiness' (MN i p. 93f.) ; sace bhikkhave pesso hatthārohaputto muhuttaṃ nisīdeyya yāv' assaham ime cattāro puggale vitthārena vibhajāmi mahatā atthena saṃyutto agamissa 'O bhikkhus, had Pessa, the son of the elephant-driver, waited a moment till I had explained in detail the four (types of) men he would have gone greatly benefited' (MN i p 342) ; etc. For Buddhistic Sanskrit see OSBS p. 59 f.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *tatra sma yadi śaktaḥ syām pātaye 'haṃ vṛkodaram* 'had I then been able I would have killed Vṛkodara' (2. 50. 27) ; *na prabhuḥ syāt kulasyāsya na vayaṃ marṣayemahi* 'had he not been the master of this (our) family we would not have tolerated (him)' (2. 70. 12) ; etc.

§136. Very rarely the optative appears for the preterit. This is no doubt due to the confusion between the two forms, as in MIA the preterit is quite often augmentless. There is also some possible influence of the conditional or the preterit-optative or the future perfect. Thus: bhavec ca ruṣṭā kila nāma tasmai 'she was cross with him for a show' (*Saundarānanda* 4. 15) ; cf. ciraṃ pi kho taṃ khādeyya gadrabho haritaṃ yavaṃ | pāruto sīhacammena ravamāno ca dūsayi|| 'Dressed in a lion's skin the ass might have eaten (i.e., might have continued to eat) green barely for a long time ; but (by) braying he failed' (Jātaka ii 2. 76). See Pischel p. 330.



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Cf. *tato' haṃ tān api raṇe śarair āśīviṣopamaiḥ | sañchidya bhūmau nṛpate pātayeyaṃ nagān iva||* 'Then in the battlefield I, with arrows (venomous) like snakes, O king, felled them on the ground like (so many) hills' (5. 182. 37) ; *tayor yuddhaṃ samabhavad ghora-rūpaṃ viśāmpate | dārayetāṃ susaṃkruddhāv anyonyam aparajitau||* 'O king, a grim fight ensued between the two ; very much angry and unbeaten, (they) smote each other' (6. 45. 80) ; *kaliṅgān samare vīrau yodhayetām manasvinau* 'the (two) high-souled warriors fought with the Kaliṅgas in the battle-field' (6. 54. 100) ; *haret* (1. 62. 11) ; *vasetām* (3. 76. 50) ; *trāsayetām* (7. 137. 16) ; *dṛśyatām* (7. 99. 20) ; *dadyāt* (7. 65. 13) ; etc. See Bloch, 'Quelques Désinences d'optatif en Moyen-Indien epigraphique et littéraire,' *Memoires de La Société de Linguistique de Paris,* Vol. XXIII, p. 108.

§137. In the Jaina Prakrits the personal terminations of the present indicative are added to the '-ijjā, -ijja' optative. These are used in several modal and temporal senses. (See Pischel p. 330.) The second person often denotes mild request, or it carries the sense of the future imperative or of the precative. Thus: jai amhehiṃ kajjaṃ to pañcaselagaṃ dīvaṃ ejjāhi 'if you have any business with us then come to the island of the five hills' (Jacobi 29. 5) ; khamejjaha avarāhaṃ 'excuse the transgression' (ibid. 25. 26) ; tā taṃ savvaṃ supurisa appāyattaṃ karejjāsu 'so, good man, you should keep everything under (your) own control' (ibid. 81. 10) ; annajammaṇimi vi mahaṃ tumaṃ ceva nāho hojjasu 'may you be my lover in the other birth as well' (ibid. 23) ; etc.

§138. In the Asokan Inscriptions the optative denoting wish, intention or hope is regularly preceded by 'kiṃti' (<*kim-iti*), or is followed by 'ti' (<*iti*), or is preceded by 'kiṃ ti' and followed by 'ti' or 'iti'. A verb or noun denoting wish or thought etc. may be expressed or suppressed. Thus: ya ca kiṃci parākamāmi ahaṃ kiṃti bhūtānaṃ ānaṃṇaṃ gacheyaṃ 'whatever I attempt, (thinking) that (I) may come to unindebtedness to beings' (G VI 11, S, M, K ; D, J have also 'ti' following) ; etāya athāya ayaṃ dhaṃmalipī lekhāpitā kiṃti ciraṃ tiṣṭeya iti 'for this object this edict has been inscribed so that (it) may remain for ever' (G VI 13) ; icchati . . . vasevū ti (D VII 1, J ; 'ti' omitted in S, M, G, K) ; yaṃ tu kiṃci parākramate . . . kiṃti . . . asa (G X 3)= . . . kiti . . . siya ti (S, M ; K has 'ṣiyāti ti'); maṃñate yathā kiti sāravaḍhī asa savapāsaṃḍānaṃ '(the king) thinks that increase of essentials may happen to all creeds' (G XII 2)= . . . kiti . . . siya . . . (S)= . . . kiti siya . . . ti (M)= . . . kiti . . . śiyāti . . . (K) ; kiṃti . . . bhave . . . asa . . . (G XII



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3)=kiti . . . siya . . . siya . . . (S, M, K) ; kiṃti ātmapāsaṃḍaṃ dīpayema iti '(thinking) so that (we) may glorify (our) own creed' (G XII 6)=kiti . . . dipayami ti (S)=kiti . . . dipayama ti (M)=kiti . . . dipayema (K) ; kiti . . . śruṇeyu ca suśruṣeyu ca ti (S XII 6-7, M, K)=kiṃti . . . sruṇāru ca sususera ca (G) ; ichā kiṃti . . . asu . . . asu (G XII 7)=ichā kiti . . . huveyu ti (K ; M has haveyu ti)= icha kiti siyasu (S) ; maṃñate yathā kiṃti . . . asa . . . (G XII 8 ; M, K 'siya', 'siyā'; S 'siyati') ; yo pi ca apakareya ti 'even (when) one may injure' (S XIII 7, M) ; vucati teṣa kiti avatrapeyu na ca haṃñeyasu 'it is said to them that (they) shall be protected ('may be ashamed of their crimes' Hultzsch ; 'let them shun evil' Buehler) and shall not be killed' (S XIII 8 ; K 'haṃneyu') ; kiṃti . . . paṭipajetha (G XIV 4)=yena . . . paṭipajeyā (K)=yena . . . paṭipajeya ti (S, M) ; ichāmi kiṃti . . . (p)aṭ(i)pātayehaṃ . . . ālabhehaṃ (J sep I 1-2, D ; also J sep II 1-2, D) ; ichāmi hakaṃ kiṃti . . . yūjevūti (D sep I 5-6, J ; D sep II 3, J) ; ichitaviye tuphehi kiṃti majham paṭipādayamā ti 'you should wish that (we) may adopt the middle (course)' (D sep I 9-10 ; 'ti' omitted in J) ; ichitaviye kiṃti . . . heyū ti J sep I 6 ; D has 'huveyu mamā ti') ; y(ūje)vū ti . . . siyā ti (D sep I 20-21, J) ; huvevū ti (D sep II 5) ; caleyū ti (J sep II 7) ; ena pāpunevū iti (D sep II 7) ; ichāmi kiṃti . . . sunayu ('suneyu' Hultzsch) cā upadhālayeyu cā (bh 6-7) ; adhigach(e)yā ti (mk I 6) ; kiti . . . siyā (ru I 4) ; kiṃti . . . pavatayevū . . . upadahevū anugahinevū cā (D-T IV 5-6)=kiṃti . . . pavatayevū ti . . . upadahevū anugahinevu ca (Rdh, Mth, Rp) ; kiṃti . . . ālādhayevū ti (T IV 7-8, Mth, Rp ; ti omitted in Rdh) ; yena . . . pavatayevū ti (T IV 13, Mi, Rdh, Mth, Rp) ; ichitaviye . . . kiṃti . . . siyā . . . (T IV 14-15, Mi, A-K, Rdh, Mth, Rp) ; ichā . . . ālādhayevū ti (T IV 19, Rdh, Mth, Rp ; 'ti' omitted in A-K) ; ichisu . . . vadheyā ti (T VII 15-16) ; kina su . . . anupaṭipajeyā . . . vaḍheyā ti . . . abhyuṃnamayehaṃ . . . ti (T VII 17-19) ; huvā ti (Sarath 6), ichā . . . siyā ti (Sanci 6-7).

(a) The optative followed by 'ti' occurs in the Copperplate Grants of Śivaskandavarman ; e.g., kareyyāma ti ; hoja ti (see above §131). This 'ti' is not the final 'ti' denoting the end of a sentence. In these inscriptions the end of a sentence is denoted by 'tti' and not by 'ti'. Thus: parihāpetavva tti ; kolikā be tti ; paṭṭikā kada tti.

(b) It should be noted that 'iti' or 'ti' never occurs after the verbs 'asa', 'asu'.

(c) Sometime 'yena' has been used instead of 'kiṃti' or 'iti'. Thus: ena esa cilaṭhitike siyā 'so that it may be long enduring'



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(T VII 32) ; yena . . . pavatayevū ti (T IV 13, etc.) ; ena pāpunevū iti (D sep II 5) ; yena . . . paṭipajeya ti (S XIV 14, M) ; etc.

Exceptions are very few ; in most of them 'iti' or 'ti' is palpably omitted. Thus: icchati . . . vaseyu (G VII 1, S, M, K ; 'ti' however appears in D, J) ; gachema (J sep I 2, D) ; ichati . . . heyu ('hveyu' Hultzsch) . . . asvaseyu . . . laheyū . . . (J sep II 5-6 ; 'iti' and 'ti' however, appear in D) ; . . . calevū ālādhayevū (D sep II 5-6 ; 'ti' appears in J) ; ichisu . . . vaḍheyā (T VII 12-13 ; but 'ti' appears in 15-16).

(d) Where the optative does not imply wish, intention or hope etc. 'kiṃti', 'iti' or 'ti' is not used. Thus: yadi . . . nivaṭe (S IX 20 ; M, K have 'nivaṭeti' which may be 'nivaṭe ti' or <*nivartayati*, see the next sentence) ; e kilaṃte siyā 'who may be weary' (D sep I 12-13, J) ; e dakheya 'who will pay attention (to this)' (D sep I 13, J) ; icha . . . siyā '(my) intention is' (J sep II 4, D), icha pāpuneyu (J sep II 5) ; yujeyū (J sep II 14)=yujisaṃti (D) ; asa (G XIV 5)= siyā, siya (S, M, K) ; hamiyāye diseya 'may be pointed out by me (or, may appear to me)' (bh 3) ; jāneyu (br I 6) = jānaṃtu (ru) = jānaṃtu ti (b) ; pāpovā (T VI 3) ; yāvu (Sarnath 7).

(e) 'iti' or 'ti' is not infrequently added to the imperative and the future when they like the optative denote wish, intention, hope etc. Thus: svagaṃ ārādhayaṃtu ti 'that (they) may propitiate heaven' (G VI 12, M, D, J ; S, K omit 'ti'), anu vidhiyatu ti (M X 10, K ; S has . . . 'me ti') ; kiṃti . . . sruṇāru ca . . . (G XII 7 ; optative in S, M, K); pakama(ṃ)tu ti (ru I 3, b; s omits 'ti'; br, sd have the optative with 'ti') ; jānaṃtū ti (b 7 ; ru omits 'ti' ; br has the optative without 'ti') ; mā jānaṃtū ti (bh 8) ; l(ikhāpa)yatha ti (s I 8) ; anupaṭīpajaṃtu ti (T VII 24, 31) ; hotu ti (T VII 31) ; hohaṃti ti (T VII 25 etc.); vadhisati ti (T VII 28) ; etc.

## 2. The Imperative

§139. Besides the fundamental sense of command or request the imperative also denotes prayer or pious wish. In respect of this and similar idioms the imperative is often an equivalent of the optative and even of the future. Examples: rājūke ca prādesike ca paṃcasu paṃcasu vāsesu anusaṃyānaṃ niyātu 'let the governors and provincial chiefs go out on tours every five years' (G III 2-3, S, M, K ; the optative in D, J) ; ciraṭhitika hotu tathaṃ ca me praja anuvaṭatu 'may (this edict) be long-enduring and may my offspring act accordingly' (M V 26, S, K, D) ; cirathitika bhotu 'may (this



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edict) be long-enduring' (S VI 16, M, K, D, J ; G has the optative) ; tatha ca me putra nataro parakramaṃtu 'may my sons and grandsons exert (themselves) accordingly' (S VI 16, K, D, J ; G has the verb 'anuvṛt-'; M has the present); jano dhaṃma-susrusā susrusatāṃ dhaṃmavutaṃ ca anuvidhiyatāṃ 'let people have the obedience to morality and let (them) follow the duties of morality ('dhamma')' (G X 1-2, S, M, K, D, J) ; etc. sabbe sattā bhavantu sukhitattā 'may all beings be happy-minded' (SN 8. 3) ; sotthi . . . hotu rañño 'may it be well with the king' (DN i p. 96) ; handa passāma gotamaṃ 'let us see Gotama' (SN 9. 1) ; sādhu bhante kassapa labhataṃ esa janatā bhagavantaṃ dassanāya 'it were best, O Kassapa, that this crowd should be allowed to see the Lord' (DN i p. 151) ; sace me yācamānassa bhavaṃ nānūpadassati | sattame divase tuyhaṃ muddhā phalatu sattadhā || 'If thou wilt not give (it) to me who ask (for it) may thy head, on the seventh day, cleave into seven' (SN 55. 8) ; etc. chucchū kareṃti āhaṃtuṃ samaṇaṃ kukkurā ḍasaṃtu tti 'for attacking (they) shout "Chu chu," so that the dogs may bite the Samaṇa' (Āyara 1. 8. 3. 4) ; etc.

§140. Generally the present imperative is used for the future imperative ; but often an adverb like *agre* or *paścā(t)* is used. Thus: agre (m)atapitrinaṃ (pratiyaṃ)śo sarvasa agre pratiyaṃśo dharmapatisya ca dighayu(ta) bhavatu 'may there be in future a share for (his) parents, in future a share for all beings and long life for the master of the law' (Tor Dherai Inscribed Potsherds, CII II i, no. XCII). pacchā mama hatthe dehi ṇaṃ 'give him back to me afterwards' (*Mālavikāgnimitra* iv).

§141. In the literary Prakrits the passive of the third person imperative is used in the sense of the optative. Thus: vāai kiṃ bhaṇijjau 'how can (it) be expressed in words' (Gāthā 6. 71) ; vakkaṃ ko pulaijjau kassa kahijjau suhaṃ vā dukkhaṃ vā | keṇa samaṃ vā hasijjau pāmarapaure haaggāme || 'In this cursed village full of rogues who can see the face? to whom can (one) talk of (one's) joy and sorrow? whom can (one) have a laugh with?' (ibid. 2. 64) ; etc.

§142. Niya shows a few imperative forms from the future base. See Whitney (third edition) §938: patsyantu ; F. W. Thomas. 'Some Notes on the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan' *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XII, under KI 367. Thus: yati vithana kārisyatu yati anoṭh'ave valag'a dāsyatu manasaṃmi hotu 'if delay shall be made, or unserviceable riders given, have a care' (KI 367) , tuṣa stora-vara spasavaṃne iśa visarjiṣ[ya]tu 'you should send here



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mounted spy-department people' (KI 119) ; yati tade purima pacima visajiṣyatu paṃthaṃmi parasa bhaviṣyati 'if, after it should have been despatched from there soon or late, it is appropriated on the way' (KI 165) ; ma iṃci toṃgana paride uṭa vithiṣyatu 'let not the camel be delayed on the part of the Toṃgas' (KI 165) ; yati atra ṇa niceya kariṣyatu iśa na visajiṣyatu taha maṃnasammi hotu 'if no settlement (of the dispute) is made there nor (it) is sent here, then have a care' (KI 68) ; etc.

The sense of these forms is of the optative passive.

§143. The prohibitive sense is expressed by the prohibitive particle 'mā' (and very rarely by the negative particle 'na', 'no') followed by the aorist (OIA injunctive), the future, the imperative, the optative, or (very rarely) the present. Thus: hini ca ma loce(ṣ)u 'let them not permit neglect' (S IV 10) = hini ca mā alocayisu (K, M, D, J) = hīni ca mā locetevyā (G) ; navaṃ vijayaṃ ma vijetavi(ya)ṃ mañiṣu 'let (them) not consider new conquest to be made (i.e., they should not think of fresh conquests)' (S XIII 11, M, K ; G has mañāsare (?)) ; mā palibhasayisaṃ 'let (me) not ruin (myself)' (T III 21 ; Mi, Rdh, Mth, Rp) ; abhihetaṃ mā jānaṃtu ti 'let (them) know (my) intention (or, so that they may know my intention' (bh 8) ; hevaṃ ichit(a)viye kiṃti me etāni jātāni no heyū ti '(it) should thus be desired that these may not happen (to me)' (J sep I 6, D). ma loha-guḍa gili 'do not swallow an iron ball' (Khar D B 34) ; khano yu ma uvaca'i 'may not the moment pass you by' (ibid. A 4).

māhaṃ nassaṃ 'may I not perish' (SN 71. 1) ; etesu taṇhaṃ mā kāsi mā lokaṃ punarāgami 'do not (or, may you not) thirst after these (thing) and thus do not return to the world' (SN 23. 5) ; mā . . . upasaṃkami 'do not approach' (DN i p. 113) ; etc. For the optative with 'mā' in Pali see SN 7. 12 ; Therī 244 ; etc.

mādharmeṇa rājyaṃ kāraya mā narakaparāyaṇo bhaviṣyasi 'do not rule unrighteously ; (therefore) do not be destined for the hell' (Divya p. 59) ; mātare samāgacchatu mā iha anāhāro mariṣyati 'let (him) join (his) mother, let (him) not here die of starvation' (Mahā iii p. 131 f.) ; mā bhavanto 'smin . . . abhiramadhvam 'do not make merry over this' (Saddharma p. 79) ; mā me bhūya āgacchasi 'do not come to me again' (Mahā i p. 244) ; etc. See OSBS p. 58 f.

mā me kei addakkhu 'let nobody see me' (Āyara 1. 5. 1. 3) ; eyaṃ te mā hou 'may this not happen to you' (ibid. 1. 5. 4. 2) ; mā . . . kilimmihii 'do not suffer (in future)' (Gāthā 2. 86) ; etc.

visaāsatti ma bandha karu 'do not be addicted to worldly



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pleasure' (Dohā) ; gharahi ma thakku ma jāhi vaṇe 'do not stay at home, do not go to the forest' (ibid.) ; etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *mādya tyakṣyasi jīvitam* 'do not give up life today' (4. 14. 48) ; also see 2. 75. 5 ; 3. 114. 8 ; etc.

§144. The particle *mā* is sometimes used with the infinitive or without any verb, finite or non-finite. Thus: mā te kantāralayā viva niruvabhogamaicchium 'away with your wishing to enjoy freely like living in the forest (?)', (VH p. 233) ; ahaṃ oyarāmi mā tubbhe 'let me go down, not you' (VH p. 147).

### 3. The Precative

§145. In MIA the precative is merged into the optative. In the Jaina Prakrits the precative, being confused with the preterit (aorist), is sometimes used for the preterit or even for the present. So Pischel p. 330. The precative is very rare in Buddhistic Sanskrt. See OSBS p. 60.

### 4. The Conditional

§146. It has been noted already that in Pali the optative sometimes appears for the conditional (§135). The conditional occurs sporadically in Pali. It is co-ordinated with the optative either in the protasis or in the apodosis. Thus: sace hi bho gotama imaṃ dhammaṃ bhavaṃ yeva ādhārako abhavissa na ca kho bhikkhū ādhārakā abhaviṃsu evaṃ idaṃ brahmacariyaṃ aparipūraṃ abhavissa tena aṅgena 'had it been, O Gotama, that you had kept this 'dhamma' to yourself alone, these, the bhikkhus, would not have participated in it, and thus the religious life would have been difficient by that branch' (MN i p. 491 f.) ; sukhena ca āvusa gotama sukhaṃ adhigantabbaṃ abhavissa rājā māgadho seniyo bimbisāro sukhaṃ adhigaccheyya 'O Gotama, had happiness been derived from (sensual) pleasures then Seniya Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, would have been happy' (MN iii p. 93 f.) ; etc.

§147. The conditional does not occur in Buddhistic Sanskrit properly. In the following instance from *Mahāvastu* the future indicative has been correlated to the future optative in the sense of the conditional: yadi tathāgato 'nuttāraṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddho na bhaviṣyati saṃsāre saṃsaranto bhagavanto yattakā etāni chattrāṇi tattakāni cakravartirājyāni kārayiṣyet 'had the Tathāgata not attained the unrivalled perfect 'sambodhi' the Lord, dwelling in



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the world, would have ruled over so many imperial dominions as (there are) mushrooms here' (i p. 267).

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *nāprāpya pāṇḍavaiśvaryaṃ saṃśayo me bhaviṣyati* 'not having seen (i.e., had I not seen) the prosperity of the Pāṇḍavas (this) doubt would not have occurred to me' (2. 55. 20); *na cākāmaḥ śakuninā devitāhaṃ na cen māṃ jiṣṇur āhvayitā sabhāyām* 'I, unwilling, would not have played with Śakuni unless the victorious one had invited me to (this) court' (2. 58. 16); *kiṃ vidviṣo vai mām evaṃ vyāhareyur nādevīs tvaṃ yady anayā narendra* 'O king, had you not played with her (as stake) (our) enemies would not have thus spoken to me' (2. 71. 7). In the following instance the conditional with *mā* denotes prohibition: *parāmarśo mābhaviṣyat kurudāreṣu sarvaśaḥ* 'by any means let there be no insult to the ladies of the Kurus' (3. 24. 8). In the following instance the conditional stands for future: *yadā śarān arpayitā tavorasi tadā manas te kim ihābhaviṣyat* 'when (Arjuna) shall shoot arrows into your chest then how will your mind be?' (3. 267. 19).



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## Chapter Six

# THE PARTICIPLE AND THE GERUNDIVE

### 1. The Passive Past Participle

§148. The passive past participle in *-ta* occurs as a substitute of the simple past and of the present and past perfect throughout the history of MIA, and this idiom goes back to Indio-Iranian. Examples: iyaṃ dhaṃmalipī devānaṃ priyena priyadasinā rāñā lekhāpitā 'this edict has been caused to be inscribed by the beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin' (G I, S, M, K, D, J) ; mayā idaṃ āñapitaṃ 'this was commanded by me' (G II, S ; M, K, D, J have 'me' for 'mayā'); ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṃ kataṃ 'so much good has been done by me' (G V, S, M, K ; D has 'me') ; etc. mai kale '(it) was done bv me' (Mrccha i).

§149. In the active use the passive past participle in *-ta* is generally accompanied by the verb substantive. Thus: pakaṃte husaṃ 'I had set out' (br I, sd) ; sumi hakaṃ sagha upete 'I had joined the *saṃgha*' (ru I) ; etc. gato smiṃ varṣāratuṃ mālayehi rudhaṃ utamabhādraṃ mocayituṃ 'I had gone in the rainy season to release the chief of the Uttamabhādras who had been besieged by the Mālayas' (Nasik Cave inscr. no. 10 ; EI VIII) ; tato smiṃ gato pokṣarāṇi 'thence I had gone to the tanks' (ibid.). yahi anadi didemi 'when I have given a command' (KI 272) ; viṃñadi-lakha prahidesi 'you have sent a written report' (ibid.) ; visajidama 'we have sent' (KI 358) ; etc.[1] gadamhi 'I had gone' (Mṛccha ii) ; etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *toye patito'smi* 'I had fallen into water' (2. 50. 29) ; *lalāṭenāsmi vikṣataḥ* 'I was wounded in the forehead' (2. 50. 32) ; etc.

### 2. The Present Participle

§150. The normal use of the active present participle in *-ant* in MIA is as in OIA ; e.g. ta mayā evaṃ kiṭaṃ savrakālaṃ aśatasa me orodhane . . . paṭivedaka athra janasa paṭivedetu me 'so I have ordered that always, even when eating in the inner apartments . . . informers shall report to me the business of the people' (M VI 27 ; S 'aśamanasa'; G 'bhuṃjamānasa'; K 'adamānasā'; D, J 'aḍamānasa'). mama dāva duvehiṃ jjeva hassaṃ jāadi—itthiāe

[1] In Niya the substantive is not used in the third person (as in OIA periphrastic future but the third person plural adds the present ending *-anti*.



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sakkaaṃ paṭhantīe maṇusseṇa a kāaliṃ gāantena 'two things make me laugh—a woman reciting Sanskrit and a man singing Kāalī (Prakrit song?)' (Mṛccha iii) ; dīsai ghari ghari paḍaha vajjaṃtaya 'drums being beaten are seen at every house' (*Sandeśarāsaka* p. 71) ; etc.

§151. The present participle in *-ant* followed by the verb substantive or by a verb indicating continuous action indicates continuity of action. Thus: nañeṣa sviha'o si'a 'one should not be envying others' (Khar D B 20). sibbaṃ acchasi 'you are sewing' (Jātaka iv 10. 36) ; tvaṃ nihanaṃ pure cari . . . sūkare 'formerly you were occupied in hunting boars' (ibid. ii 3. 97). yo mahi iśa bharya gilani tumahu prasadena jivaṃtiye asti 'that here the wife of mine, Gilani, is living (i.e. alive) by your grace' (KI 157). pecchanto acchai 'he was witnessing' (Jacobi p. 26) ; tattaṃ velaṃ gāento naccanto homa 'let us be singing and dancing till then' (Pratimā) ; savvahā kappasadaṃ mahārājo puhaviṃ pālaanto hodu 'by all means may your majesty be ruling over the earth for a hundred eons' (Vikrama i) ; pidaraṃ ārādhento hohi 'do you be worshipping the fathers' (ibid. v). tumaṃ . . . suvvanto acchasi 'you are sleeping' (VH p. 117) ; etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *pṛcchann āste* 'he had been asking' (5. 96. 6) ; *japann āssva* 'go on muttering' (7. 78. 21).

(a) In the Jaina Prakrits the present participle middle in *-māna* commonly appears for the active *-ant*. Thus: bhuñjamāṇī viharai 'she is going on enjoying' (*Kalpasūtra* p. 36) ; paccaṇubhavamāṇe viharai 'he is experiencing' (Vipāka 1. 1. 20) ; khāyamāno acchai 'he is eating (or he used to eat)' (VH p. 62).

Cf. evaṃ ca janaṃdo bhavidavya 'thus he (*or* you) should know' (KI 272).

§152. In late MIA the present participle in *-ant* often stands for the finite verb in the three tenses, present, past and future.[1] Thus: eṣo bhāro hu tumha paḍihanto 'this burden is up to you' (Two Prakrit Poems at Dhar B 13 ; EI VIII) ; pattia ṇa pattiyantī jai 'know (then) if (you) shall not come' (Gāthā 3. 16) , varamesa gihe bhaṇḍāra-sālāe acchanto 'he should better stay at home in the storeroom' (VH p. 51) ; sisupālaṃ hantūṇa vi tumaṃ kaṇho geṇhantago 'even slaying Śiśupāla Kṛṣṇa shall take you' (ibid. p. 80).

§153. The present participle in *-ant* is also used as the conditional tense in late MIA. Thus: ṇa kuṇanto vvia māṇaṃ ṇisāsu suhasuttadaravibuddhānaṃ | suṇṇaia-pāsa-parimūsaṇaveaṇa. jai si jāṇanto || 'Had he known the misery of lying (in bed) with the side

[1] Cf. Puruṣottama: *traikālye śatr.* Such use of the present participle in OIA is warranted by the Vārttika Sūtra (*mÃṅy ākrose*) under Pāṇini 3. 2. 124.



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vacant when (the girls) were partially awake from a peaceful sleep, he would not have been cross at night.' (Gāthā 1. 26). jai na huntau etthu tuhuṃ pattu . . . hauṃ hontu . . . vivannu 'had you not arrived here I would have been in trouble' (*Sanatkumāracarita* ed. Jacobi p. 16) ; jai puṇu muhamettabaddho payattaṃ sesena sarīreṇa abaddhena karento tato nissaranto dukkhamaraṇaṃ 'had he, struck only on the face, made attempts then he would have escaped a painful death' (VH p. 6) ; etc.

### 3. The Gerundive

§154 The gerundive in *-tavya* generally stands for the optative implying obligation. Thus: na ca samājo katavyo 'nor a *samāja* should be held' (G I, S, K, D, J) ; iyaṃ lipī tisanakhatena sotaviyā 'this edict should be read on (every) *Tiṣya* day' (D sep I, J) ; mātāpitisu susūsitavye 'one should obey the parents' (br II, sd, jtr) ; sacaṃ vataviyaṃ 'truth should be spoken' (ibid.). brāhmaṇaśataṃ parivisitavyaṃ 'a hundred brahmans should be served (with food)' (Mathura stone inscr. of Huviṣka). dīṇa hīṇa dāṇeṇa bharevā 'the poor and the destitute should be given charity' (*Mahāpurāṇa* i).

(a) In Niya (as well as in late Apabhraṃśa) the construction has practically become active. Thus: eta karyani tuo cita kartavyo 'in this matter you should pay attention' (KI 165) ; tena karaṃna tuo ciṃdidavo 'for that you should think' (KI 160) ; etc. jaṃ ji paḍhevau taṃ ji karevau | asi ṇa dharevau dāṇu laevau || 'What he would read he should act ; he should not use a sword and should accept gift.' (*Mahāpurāṇa* i).

§155. The gerundive in *-tavya* is often used for the future. Thus: sīlāthambhasi lekhāpetavaya ( = lekhāpetaviye) '(this purport) shall be made to be inscribed on a stone pillar' (ru I) ; etc.

§156. In the following instance the gerundive stands for the injunctive with the prohibitive particle *mā*: hīni ca mā locetavyā 'difficiency should not be allowed' (G IV ; S, M, K, D, J have 'loceṣu' or 'alocayisu').

§157. The gerundive is sometimes accompanied by the verb substantive. Thus: tumahu upaśaṃgidavya huati 'you had apprehension' (KI 272) ; caḍ'odade valag'a dadavo hoati 'from C. a rider should have been given' (KI 14) ; gaṃdavya huati 'was to have gone' (KI 722).

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *eteṣām apy avekṣārthaṃ trātavyāsmi* 'I should have been protected for nursing them' (3. 12. 72) ; *so'smi vācyas tvayā* 'I should have been told by you' (6. 58. 38) ; etc.



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## Chapter Seven

# THE CONJUNCTIVE AND THE INFINITIVE

### 1. The Conjunctive

§158. In early MIA there is some confusion between the infinitive in *-tu(m)* and the conjunctive in *-tvā* etc. That is, the *-tu(m)* forms sometimes carry the sense of the conjunctive and the *-tvā, tvī* (>'-ti') *-tvāna* (>tūna) forms sometimes carry the sense of the infinitive. Thus: ṣe athi anuṣaye devānaṃ piyaṣā vijinitu kaligyāni 'so the beloved of gods has remorse after having conquered Kaliṅga' (K XIII 36, S) ; dasayitpā janaṃ 'to show to the people' (usually translated 'having shown to the people') (G IV 4 ; S, K, D, J have the '-tu' ending ; M has the '-ti' ending) ; savaṃ paricajitpā 'to give up entirely' (G X 4)=savaṃ paritijitu (S, M, K, D, J). kiṃ abbhutaṃ daṭṭhu marū pamoditā 'after having seen what wonder are the gods (so) delighted?' (SN 37, 3). so maṇḍiyacoro āgantuṃ bhaṇati 'the thief Maṇḍiya, having come, said' (Jacobi 65. 26) ; etc. See Pischel p. 396.

§159. Sometimes a temporal adverb is used after the conjunctive. Thus: kammāṇi saphalaṃ daṭṭhuṃ tato nijjati vedavī 'having seen acts bearing fruit then the knower of the sacred lore parts (from *karman*)' (Āyara 1. 4. 4. 3). This idiom is very common in *Mahābhārata* with both the conjunctive and the participle denoting a temporal relation ; e.g. *vasu pradāya ca tataḥ pradakṣiṇam athākarot* 'having given wealth then (he) made a *pradakṣiṇa*' (2. 2. 13) ; *etad ākhyāya . . . papracchānantaram* 'having narrated this then (he) asked' (2. 5. 113) ; *evaṃ gate tataḥ* 'thus being, then' (2. 14. 9) ; *evaṃ ukte tataḥ kṛṣṇaḥ pratyuvāca* 'thus having been said then Kṛṣṇa replied' (2. 21. 48) ; etc.

§160. The absolute use of the conjunctive is not unfrequent in MIA, especially in Buddhistic Sanskrit and in Pali. Thus: ṣe athi anuṣaye devānaṃ piya(ṣā) vijinitu kaligyāni 'so the beloved of gods has remorse after having conquered Kaliṅga' (K XIII 36, S). sarvasya janasya tāṃ dṛṣṭvā ghṛṇā utpadyati 'on seeing her abhorrence came over to all men' (Mahā i p. 352) ; etc.[1] disvā naṃ bhayaṃ āvisi 'seeing (them) fear came over to me' (SN 53. 2) ; tāni disvāna kā rati 'having seen them now (can there be) any thirst for

[1] See OSBS p. 61.



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pleasure?' (Dhamma 11. 4) ; yesaṃ pi hi . . . bhavissati tathāgate kaṅkhā vā vimati vā tesaṃ pi imaṃ dharmapariyāyaṃ sutvā kaṅkhā vā vimati vā sā pahīyissati 'of those who have doubts in or aversion for the Tathagata, of them too, on hearing this series of 'dhamma', that doubt or aversion would disappear' (DN iii p. 116). voliūna sā rayaṇī . . . gayāi sāṇandahiyayāiṃ 'the night having passed away (they) went away with joyful hearts' (Jacobi 84. 5) ; etc.

§161. One of the chief characteristics of narrative prose in MIA (Pali, Buddhistic Sanskrit and the Jaina Prakrits) is the use of a chain of conjunctives replacing the finite verbs in a single sentence. Thus: evaṃ bho ti kho ambaṭṭho māṇavo brāhmaṇassa pokkharasādissa paṭissutvā uṭṭhāy' āsanā brāhmaṇaṃ pokkharasādiṃ abhivādetvā padakkhinaṃ katvā vaḷavārathaṃ āruyha sambahulehi māṇavakehi saddhiṃ yena icchānaṅkalavanasaṇḍo tena pāyāsi 'the youngman Ambaṭṭha, saying 'O yes' to the brahman Pokkharāsādi, leaving his seat, bowing to the brahman Pokkharasādi, making a *pradakṣiṇa* and getting into a chariot (drawn) by mares started for the woodland place (known as) Icchānaṅkala' (DN i p. 89). āuraṃ logaṃ āyāe caittā puvvasaṃjogaṃ hiccā uvasamaṃ vasittā bambhaceraṃsi vasu vā aṇuvasu vā jānittu dhammaṃ ahātahā an'ege tam acāti 'though some know the misery of the world, have relinquished their former connections, have given up ease, live in chastity, and, whether monk or layman, thoroughly understand the law, they are not able' (Āyara 1. 6. 2. 1) ; etc. For Buddhistic Sanskrit see OSBS p. 62.

(a) Tiresome repetition of the finite verb by a cognate conjunctive immediately following it is an Ardhamāgadhī trick. See Āyara 2. 15. 18-20 ; *Kalpasūtra* p. 54 ; ets.

§162. In *Mahāvastu* the conjunctive sometimes appears for the finite verb. Thus: sarve te eva rūpeṣu dvipādeṣu puṇyakṣetreṣu kuśalāni kṛtvā 'they all did good for such . . . fields of goodness' (ii p. 183) ; see OSBS p. 62.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *tato 'bhivādya govindaḥ pādau jagrāha dharmavit | utthāpya dharmarājas tu mūrdhny upāghrāya keśavam || pāṇḍavo yādavaśreṣṭhaṃ kṛṣṇaṃ kamalalocanam | gamyatām ity anujñāpya dharmarājo yudhiṣṭhiraḥ || tatas taiḥ saṃvidaṃ kṛtvā yathāvan madhusūdanaḥ | nivartya ca tato kṛcchrāt pāṇḍavān sa padānugān || svāṃ purīṃ prayayau* 'Then Govinda, the knower of 'dharma', after having greeted (Yudhiṣṭhira) touched (his feet). And the pious king, having raised Keśava smelled (lit., having smelled) on (his) head. (Then) the son of Pāṇḍu, the pious king Yudhisthira,



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bade (adieu to) the best of the Yādavas, the lotus-eyed Kṛṣṇa (by saying) "Go." Then having said proper words to them and having somehow made the Pāṇḍavas who were following him return, he returned to (his) own city' (2. 2. 23-25) ; *na ca rāmaṃ kṣayaṃ gatvā tenāstreṇa* 'but Rāma did not come to death by that weapon' (5. 185. 14).

The use of the conjunctive absolutely was not unknown to Pāṇini (*vide* 3. 4. 18-20).

§163. The conjunctive is sometimes equivalent to the present participle and *vice versa*. (Cf. Pāṇini 3. 2. 126). Thus: dhaṃmasi sīlasi ca ciṭhitu dhaṇmaṃ anusāsisaṃti 'remaining in piety and good conduct (they) will instruct' (K IV 12, S, M, D) = dhaṃmamhi sīlamhi tiṣṭaṃto dhaṇmaṃ anusāsisaṃti (G); sa hevaṃ kaṭu kaṃme calitaviye 'so (one) should go on, doing (such) act' (J sep II 9, D).

(a) The apparent use of the nominative absolute of the present participle may sometimes also be explained as the present participle used in the place of conjunctive. Thus: etaṃ eva me anuvekhamāne dhaṃmathaṃbhāni kaṭāni 'having thus considered pillars of sacred law have been erected by me' (T VII 23). niddaro hoti nippāvo dhammapītirasam pibaṃ 'one becomes free from fear and free from sin, by drinking (i.e., having drunk) the sweetness of *dharma*' (SN 15. 5) ; imā gāthā bhaṇaṃ māro atthā buddhassa santike 'having said these verses Māra stood near the Buddha' (SN 28. 6) ; passa bālo rahokammaṃ āvikubbaṃ na bujjhati 'see, a fool (or a child), having divulged things that are done in secret, does not know (what he has done or said)' = (Jātaka iii 6. 78) ; etc. cauppaḍeṇaṃ vattheṇaṃ muhaṃ baṃdhamāṇī bhagavaṃ goyamaṃ evaṃ vayāsī 'having tied (her) mouth with fourfold cloth (she) thus said to the Lord Gotama' (Vipāka 1. 1. 17) ; etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *kurūn rakṣan paṇḍuputrān jighāṃsaṃs tyaktvā prāṇān ghorarūpe raṇe 'smin | sarvān saṃkhye śatru-saṅghān nihatya dāsyāmy ahaṃ dhārtarāṣṭrāya rājyam* || 'Having protected the Kurus, having killed the sons of Pāṇḍu (or, to protect the Kurus, to kill the sons of Pāṇḍu), giving up (hope of) life in this terrific war and having killed in battle all the foes I will give the kingdom to the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra' (7. 2. 22).

## 2. The Infinitive

§164. The general use of the infinitive in MIA is as in OIA. Thus: iminā sakaṃ svagaṃ ārādhetu iti 'by this the heaven can be



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propitiated (or, won)' (G IX 8-9, J, D) ; ya sakaṃ chamitave 'which it is possible to bear' (G XIII 6 ; S has 'chamanaye' which may be taken either as an infinitive or a *dativus finalis*) ; hevaṃ ca kalaṃtaṃ (t)uphe (ca)gha(tha) saṃ(paṭi)pādayitave '(while) doing thus you should endeavour to carry out fully (my instructions)' (D sep I 18-19, J ; D sep I 11, J) ; e cakiye khamitave 'which it is possible to pardon' (J sep II 7 ; D) ; alaṃ capalaṃ samādapayitave '(being) competent to recall to duty the fickle-minded' (T I 8 ; A-K, Rdh, Mth, Rp); lajūkā pi laghaṃti paṭicalitave maṃ 'even governors must obey me' (T IV 8, Rdh, Mth, Rp) ; yena maṃ lajūkā caghaṃti ālādhayitave 'whereby the governors shall strive to please me' (T IV 9-10, Mi, Rdh, Mth, Rp) ; etc. na hi tvaṃ sagghasi saṃpayātave 'thou wilt not able to proceed together' (SN 46. 11) ; etaṃ pi disvā sikkhetha methunaṃ vippahātave 'having seen this let (him) learn to give up sexual intercourse' (SN 45. 4) ; kiṃ jīvaṃ anupucchasi 'why do you ask (me) to live?' (SN 28. 8) ; cf. *sāpatnaṃ jīvam icchasi* '(you) wish (your) enemy to live' (Mbh 3. 312. 124). na mayhaṃ kappate ajja sare hatthehi bhañjituṃ 'but it is not possible for me (or, it does not behove me) today to pluck the reeds by (my) hands' (Thera 488) ; na tāva supituṃ hoti rattī nakkhattamālinī | paṭijagghituṃ evesā ratti hoti vijānatā || 'The night full of stars is not for sleeping over ; it is to be kept awake by one who knows' (Thera 193) ; cha cābhiṭhānāni abhabbo kātuṃ '(he is) incapable of committing the six deadly sins' (SN 13. 10) ; kālo na paṃajjituṃ '(it is) no time for dallying' (Thera 30) ; patibalo atītānāgatapaccuppanne atthe cintetuṃ 'competent to think of matters past, present and future' (DN i p. 137); atippago nu tāva sāvatthiyaṃ piṇḍāya carituṃ '(it is) indeed too early to go for alms to Sāvatthī' (DN i p. 178) ; etc.

na icchai . . . mama nāmaṃ ca goyaṃ ca giṇhittae kiṃ aṃga puṇa daṃsaṇaṃ vā paribhogaṃ vā karittae '(he) does not desire (even) to call (me) by name or 'gotra', what again to see or enjoy (me)?' (Vipāka 1. 1. 31) ; taṃ seyaṃ khalu mama kallaṃ pāuppabhāyāe rayaṇīe samaṇam bhagavaṃ mahāvīraṃ āpucchittā puṇar-avi āgāramajjhe vasittae 'so this is really proper for me to bid goodbye to the venerable Samaṇa Mahāvīra when the night is just over and to live in (my) home' (*Nāyadhammakahā-sutta* i. 1. 56) ; taṃ seyaṃ khalu mama iyāṇiṃ gaṃgāe mahāṇaīe dāhiṇillakulaṃsi . . . maṃḍalaṃ dhārittae 'so it is indeed (proper) for me to form a circle on the right bank of the great river Ganga' (ibid. 1. 1. 59) ; etc.

§165. It has been noted already that in early MIA (also in late OIA) there is a confusion between the infinitive in -t*u* and the con-





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junctive. In the Asokan Inscriptions the conjunctive in *-tu* is exceedingly frequent in the Eastern dialect. Pāṇini seems to have noted a similar characteristic of the Eastern speech. (Cf. *alaṃkhalvoḥ pratiṣedhayoḥ prācāṃ ktvā* 3. 4. 18). The conjunctive in *-tvā* is originally the instrumental singular of the verbal noun which is also the base of the infinitive conjunctive in *-tu* (*-tum*). The infinitive with the prohibitive *khalu* and *mā khalu* is very common in the Prakrits. Cf. *kiṃ no vastuṃ tapovane* 'what (is the good of) our staying in the hermitage (i.e., we should not stay in the hermitage' (Mbh 3. 33. 2).

§166. In Niya the final dative of the verbal noun in *-ana* is regularly used as the infinitive. Thus: yo adehi sp'asavaṃne pag'o iśa visarjidetu supiyana ayaṃnaye śrunaṃnae 'as to the spy-department having sent Pag'a thence to this place to come and hear news of the Supiyas' (KI 126) ; bhutartha mahi atra bhumach'etra na kasya ditag'a kriṣaṃnae 'in fact the plot of land there I have not given to anybody to cultivate' (KI 498) ; etc.

§167. The present participle sometimes stands for the infinitive. (See Pāṇini 3. 2. 126). Thus: atra deśe patiko apatiṭhavita bhagavata śakamuṇisa śariraṃ pratithaveti saṃgharamaṃ ca sarvavudhana puyae matapitaraṃ puyayaṃto 'in this place Patika establishes an unestablished image of the Lord Śākyamuni and also a monastery for the worship of all the Buddhas and to honour (lit., honouring his) parents' (Taxila cp.-pl. inscr. of Patika).

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *te vṛtraṃ nihataṃ dṛṣṭvā sahasrākṣeṇa dhimatā | jīvitaṃ parirakṣantaḥ praviṣṭā makarālayam ||* 'Seeing Vṛtra killed by the wise thousand-eyed (god) they, to save their lives (lit., saving the life), entered the abode of sharks' (3. 103. 8) ; *avijānatsu mūḍheṣu nirmaryādeṣu mādhava | na tvaṃ vākyaṃ bruvan yuktaś cāṇḍāleṣu dvijo yathā ||* 'O Mādhava, you (are) not right to say (lit., saying) a word (as this) to (those) ignorant, foolish and transgressing (Kurus), like a brahman (speaking) to Cāṇḍālas' (5. 92. 14); *te karṇaṃ kṣapayiṣyantaḥ sarvataḥ samupādravan* '(wishing) to kill Karṇa they ran up from everywhere' (7. 173. 110) ; *vibhīṣikābhir bahvībhir bhīṣayan sarvapārthivān | na vyapatrapase kasmāt* 'why are you not ashamed to terrify all the kings with many (imaginery) frights?' (2. 41. 1) ; etc.

§168. An agent noun (or adjective) in early MIA appears for the infinitive. Thus: yaṃ pi(ca) kici mukhato aṇapayami (ahaṃ dapakaṃ va śravakaṃ va 'whatever I order (by word) of mouth either to be given or to be read' (S VI 14, M, K ; D, J omit 'hakaṃ') = ya ca kiṃci mukhata āñapayāmi svayaṃ dāpakaṃ vā srāvāpakaṃ vā (G).



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Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *āgato'smīty uvācainaṃ bhavantam abhivādakaḥ* 'I am come to greet you: (he) said to him' (3. 73. 25); *taṃ vivāhe kṛte rājan sabhāryam avalokakaḥ | ājagāma bhṛguśreṣṭhaḥ* 'O king, when the marriage was accomplished the best of the race of Bhṛgu came to see him (i.e., his son) with the bride' (3. 115. 31); *ājagama viśuddhātmā pāṇḍavān avalokakaḥ* 'the pure-souled (sage) came to see the Pāṇḍavas' (3. 183. 47).

§169. The infinitive sometimes stands for the optative. Thus: aṇohaṃtarā ee no ya ohaṃ tarittae 'they (are) those that are not to cross over the flood, nor can they cross it over' (Āyara 1. 2. 3. 6); kappai no pāuṃ 'it is possible for us to drink' (ibid. 1. 1. 3. 7); etc. See Geiger, p. 151.



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## Chapter Eight

# THE IMPERSONAL AND THE PASSIVE VERB

§170. The impersonal verb proper is a rare phenomenon in MIA, but there are a few instances in Pali: akāle vassati tassa kale tassa na vassati 'it rains for him untimely, it does not rain for him timely' (Jātaka ii 2. 84); na cātivassi 'it did not rain over much' (MN ii p. 54); cf. vassa deva yathāsukhaṃ 'rain down, O god, at (thy) will' (Thera 1). tehi pi me saddhiṃ ekaccesu ṭhāṇesu sameti ekaccesu ṭhāṇesu na sameti 'between them and me there is, as to some points agreement, and as to some points not' (DN i p. 162); imesaṃ kho āyasmantānaṃ atthato c'eva sameti vyañjanato ca sameti 'of these long-lived ones there is agreement as to subject-matter or as to expression' (MN ii p. 240); tassa te pibato c'eva chādessati vaṇṇena pi gandhena pi rasena pi 'it will be pleasing to him when he drinks, as regards colour, smell and taste' (MN i p. 317); yathā te khameyya tathā naṃ vyākareyyāsi 'you may explain as far as it is possible for you' (MN i p. 395); vilumpat' eva puriso yāv' assa upakappati 'the man robs as long as it is possible for him' (Jātaka ii 2. 177); etc.

§171. The passive of the intransitive verb is often impersonal. So also is the transitive verb occasionally, when no definite subject is expressed. Thus: vucati teṣa 'it is said to them' (S XIII 8, M).

§172. The sense of the passive is sometimes indicated by the impersonal active. Thus: paratra ca anataṃ puñaṃ prasavati 'and hereafter infinite (religious) merit is generated (lit., it generates)' (S XI 24; M, K) = parata ca anaṃtaṃ puṃñaṃ bhavati (G).

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *na kṣutpipāse na glānim prāpya tāṃ prāpnuvanty uta* 'nor do (they) perceive hunger and thirst or sickness, when come to that (land)' (2. 11. 13); *mṛdunā dāruṇaṃ hanti mṛdunā hanty adāruṇam* 'by the soft (one) strikes down the hard, and by the soft (one) strikes down the non-hard' (3. 28. 31); *kurvanti teṣāṃ karmāṇi* 'their deeds are done' (5. 78. 5); *ṛte varṣān na kaunteya jatu nirvatate phalam | tatra vai pauruṣaṃ brūyur āsekaṃ daivakāritam ||* 'O son of Kuntī, without rain crop never succeeds, then (they) call (this) irrigation by divine agency as human achievement' (5. 79. 3); etc.

§173. The passive construction is very common, even in early MIA, with the (passive) past participle in *-ta* and the gerundive (or



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the passive future participle) in *-tavya*. Gradually the aorist (the only finite verb in the preterit persisting in early MIA) disappeared, and the passive construction came to be the only idiom for the past tense. But in the case of the present (including the optative and the imperative mood) the passive construction is not usual, and then again the subject (in the instrumental) is almost never used. There is no instance of the subject of the present passive in the early Inscriptions. Thus: bahūni prāṇasatasahasrāni ārabhisu 'many hundred thousand animals were killed' (G I 8-9, S etc.) ; ta ca kheta [na] kasate so ca gāmo na vasati 'that field is (not) tilled, and that village is not inhabited' (Nasik Cave inscr., no. 5; EI VIII) ; etc.

(a) In the following instance in late Apabhraṃśa both the direct and the indirect object have been put in the nominative in the passive construction: tiha huṃtau hauṃ ikki ṇa lehā pesiyau 'from there (or by him) I have been sent not a single letter' (*Sandeśarāsaka* p. 26).

§174. Idiomatic constructions express the passive sense periphrastically, as in OIA. Thus: save catupade ye paṭibhogaṃ no eti na ca khādiyati 'all the quadrupeds that are not used nor are eaten' (T V 7, A-K, Rdh, Mth, Rp) ; panayaṃ gachema sumunisānaṃ 'may (we) be liked by good men' (J sep I 2, D).

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *vaktum nāyāti narendra etayor niyamasthayoḥ* '(lit., of them remaining in a vow to speak comes not; i.e.,) 'O king these two being in a vow, are not allowed to speak' (2. 21. 33) ; *klāntaḥ śatrur na kaunteya labyaḥ pīḍayituṃ raṇe* 'O son of Kuntı, a worn out enemy must not be attacked in battle' (2. 23. 32) ; etc.

§175. The periphrastic passive with *nomina actionis* and the root *yā* (and with one or two other roots) is characteristic of late Apabhraṃśa. Thus: hiyau na dharaṇau jāi 'the heart cannot be restrained' (*Sandeśarāsaka* p. 29) ; mai kahaṇu na jāi '(it) cannot be told by me' (ibid. p. 31) ; kima koila-kalarau sahaṇa na jāi 'how can the cry of the cuckoo be tolerated' (ibid. p. 88) ; kahaṇa ṇa sakkai vatthu 'the matter cannot be expressed' (Dohā) ; aha śo sāmaṇṇu bhaṇahuṃ ṇa jāi 'now he cannot be called ordinary' (*Mahāpurāṇa* ii).



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## Chapter Nine

# THE COMPOUND VERB

§176. The idiom of the compound verb is a feature of MIA and is a characteristic of NIA although its origin goes back to OIA. In OIA the only idiom of the compound verb was the accusative of goal governed by the verb meaning 'to come'. This idiom occurs in early MIA ; but it subsequently became rarer. Thus: bhūtāṇaṃ ānaṃṇaṃ gacheyaṃ 'I may be released of (my) debt to beings' (G VI 11 ; S, M, D, J) ; panayaṃ gachema sumunisānaṃ 'may (we) be liked by good men (lit., may we win the affection of good men)' (J sep 2, D) ; save catupade ye paṭibhogaṃ no eti 'all the quadrupeds that are not used (by men)' (T V 7, A-K, Rdh, Mth, Kp).

§177. The compound verb is mostly formed with the verb *kṛ* governing *nomina actionis* in the accusative (or the locative). Thus: ahaṃ rajjaṃ akārayaiṃ 'I ruled (as a king)' (Thera 914) ; kāraṃ katvā ca bhikkhusu 'having honoured the bhikkhus' (Thera 241) ; sādhukaṃ manasi karohi 'attend carefully' (SN 7) ; etc. kṣoditaṃ kṛtvā 'having pounded' (Saddharma p. 134) ; teṣāṃ ca stūpānāṃ pūjāṃ kariṣyati '(he) will worship the *stūpas*' (ibid. p. 161) ; bodhisattvaṃ . . . adhiṣṭhānaṃ kṛtvā 'having established the Bodhisattva' (ibid. p. 405) ; āgamanaṃ kuruṣva 'do you come' (Divya p. 43) ; etc.

se kuḍ'ag'a . . . khotaṃnye parasa kritaṃti 'that slave the Khotanis had carried off' (KI 625). rāmo hatthiṇāpure rāyattaṃ kuṇai 'Rāma ruled in Hastināpure' (VH p. 238). karahu re icche 'entertain a desire' (Dohā) ; karahu re citta 'make a resolution' (ibid.); ma bhanti karu 'do not err' (ibid.); cakkhu kareha 'do you witness' (ibid.) ; etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *ekaḥ sarvapatatrīṇām indratvaṃ kārayiṣyati* 'alone (he) will rule over all the birds' (1. 27. 29) ; *rājyaṃ kārayitum* 'to rule (as a king)' (1. 80. 27) ; *pāṇḍur bhāvaṃ cakre* 'Pāṇḍu was enamoured' (1. 90. 73) ; *gamanāya matiṃ cakre* '(he) wanted to go away' (2. 2. 2) ; *praveśanaṃ cakre* '(he) entered' (2. 4. 1) ; *rājasūye manaḥ kuru* 'do (you) resolve (to hold) *Rājasūya*' (2. 13. 26) ; *na ciraṃ kartum arhasi* 'you should not tarry' (3. 12. 102) ; *upaviṣṭāḥ kathāś cakruḥ* 'seated (together they) talked' (3. 27. 1) ; *tato 'rjunaḥ paraṃ cakre vismayam* 'then Arjuna was greatly astonished' (3. 41. 2);



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*pūjāṃ cakre mahātmane* '(he) honoured the high souled (one)' (3. 81. 3) ; *nivāsam akarot* '(he) dwelt' (3. 158. 1) ; etc.

§178. Sometimes the verb *kṛ* is replaced by a synonym. Thus: tattha vāsaṃ kappesuṃ '(they) lived there' (DN i p. 92) ; mā āyasmante vivādaṃ āpajjittha 'O long-lived ones, do not quarrel (among yourselves)' (MN ii p. 239) ; etc.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *yajñāyaiva mano dadhe* '(he) resolved (to hold) the sacrifice' (2. 13. 4) ; etc.

§179. The verb *dā* is also used. Thus: pahāraṃ adāsi '(he) gave (him) a blow' (MN i p. 336) ; pāṇinā pahāraṃ denti '(they) strike blows with (their) hands' (MN iii p. 268) ; etc.

prahāraṃ dattvā 'having dealt a blow' (Divya p. 31) ; āśleṣaṃ dattvā 'having embraced' (ibid. p. 64) ; etc.

pṛthivī vidāram adāt 'the earth was torn apart' (*Śikṣāsamuccaya* i). te na denti gantuṃ 'they did not let (me) go' (VH p. 127) ; tao maṇi jauṇā-ṇaiya thāhe diṇṇe uttiṇṇo mi 'when ford was given by the river Yamunā I crossed over' (ibid. p. 369).

Cf. *Mahābhārata*: *tāny ṛśyaśṛṅgasya mahārasāni . . . rucim dadur hi* 'they tasted sweet to Ṛśyaśṛṅga' (3. 111. 14); *te 'nyonyasya talān daduḥ* 'they clapped (or offered) (their) hands to one another (3. 237. 24) ; *ekā hy ahaṃ saṃprali tena vācaṃ dadāni* 'so now let me alone speak' (3. 265. 3) ; etc.



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## Chapter Ten

# THE ADVERBIAL PARTICLE AND THE CORRELATIVE

### 1. The Adverbial Particle

§180. The use of the conjunctive adverbs and adverbial particles in the Asokan Inscriptions and in Pali agrees with OIA usage as will be apparent from the following discussions.

§181. The particle *ca* is either used only once and that with the last word or is used with every word conjoined. The Girnar version prefers more than one *ca*. Examples: manusacikīchā ca pasucikīchā ca 'medicinal treatment for man as well as medicinal treatment for animals' (G II 5 ; M, K, D, J ; S has one *ca*) ; osuḍhāni ca yāni manusopagāni ca pasopagāni ca 'and medicinal herbs that (are) good for men and good for animals' (G II 5-6) = osadhān(i) manusopagāni cā pasopagāni cā (K ; S, M) = osadhāni āni munisopagāni pasuopagāni ca (J, D) ; vimānadasaṇā ca hastidasaṇā ca agikhaṃdhāni ca añāni ca divyāni rūpāni 'representation of high palaces (or aerial chariots) and representation of elephants and illuminations and various other spectacles' (G IV 3-4) = vimanadraśana hastine agkaṃdhani aña(ni ca) divani rupani (M ; S, K, D) ; etamhī ca añamhi ca 'in this and in others' (G IX 2) = etāye aṃnāye ca (D, J) ; eta tu mahiḍāyo bahukaṃ ca bahuvidhaṃ ca chudaṃ ca nirathaṃ ca maṇgalaṃ karote 'now women perform auspicious ceremonies (that are) various and manifold and petty and useless' (G IX 3 ; S, M, K, D, J) ; eta ca aña ca 'this as well as others' (G IX 5) = etaṃ añaṃ ca (S, M, K, D) ; etc.

§182. *ca . . . ca* implies 'both . . . and'. Thus: bahuke bhikhupāye cā bhikhuniye cā abhikhinaṃ sunayu ('suneyu' Hultzsch) cā upadhālayeyu cā 'many bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs may often both hear and remember (them)' (bh 7) ; ahaṃ pi kho brāhmaṇa kasāmi ca vapāmi ca 'I too, O Brāhmaṇa, both plough and sow' (SN 4) ; etc.

§183. In Pali, in Buddhistic Saṇskrit, and in the Jaina canonical prose works *ca* (or any other conjunction) is not used with the series of adjectives or verbs which are synonymous or are closely allied in sense. Thus: dvīsu mahāpurisalakkhaṇesu kaṅkhati vicikicchati nādhimuccati na saṃpasīdati 'with respect to the two signs he was in doubt and perplexity, not satisfied, not sure' (DN i p. 106);



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iha je pamattā se haṃtā chettā bhettā lumpittā uddavittā uttāsaittā akaḍaṃ karissāmi tti mannamāne 'a man who carelessly conducts himself, who, killing, cutting, striking, destroying, chasing away, frightening (living beings), resolves to do what has not been done (by any one)' (Āyara 1. 2. 1. 3) ; etc. For Buddhistic Sanskrit see OSBS p. 52.

§184. In Pali when one or more adjectives out of a series comes at the end of a sentence, that is, after the finite verb, *ca* is not used. Thus: sakko ujū ca sūjū ca suvaco cassa mudu anatimānī 'let him be able and upright and conscientious and of soft speech, gentle, not proud' (SN 8. 1) ; puna ca paraṃ āvuso bhikkhu issukī hoti maccharī 'how then a bhikkhu may be jealous and malevolent' (MN i p. 96) ; etc.

§185. In Asokan the indefinite *cit* is added to the pronoun as an affix: koci (G III, S), kechi (M), kecha (K) ; kānici (T VII). In the Khoroṣthi *Dhammapada* and in Apabhraṃśa *cit* stands for *ca, eva* and *api*: yo dha drig'a ci rasa ji 'who (is) here tall or short' (Khar D O 20); dhama-cari suhu śe'adi asvi loki parasa ji 'a doer of *dharma* rests in happiness in this world and in the next' (ibid. Ab 6) ; ya ji ('ja' Cro 19 ; 'vi' Cvo 2) vaṣa-śada jivi 'who really lives for a hundred years' (ibid. Cro 17). jaṃ ji paḍhebau taṃ ji karebau 'what really would be read should really be done' (*Mahāpurāṇa* I).

§186. The use of 'vā' (and 'va') is analogous to that of *ca*. In the Asokan Inscriptions 'vā' ('va') is more frequent in Girnar than elsewhere. Girnar sometimes shows 'vā' when other versions use no conjunction or some other conjunction. Thus: asti jano ucāvacaṃ maṃgalaṃ karote ābādhesu vā āvāhavivāhesu vā putralābhesu vā pravāsamhi vā 'certainly people perform various auspicious rites in misfortunes, at marriages of sons and daughters, on obtaining sons or on starting on a journey' (G IX 1-2) = . . . abadhe avahe vivahe pajupadane pravase (S) = . . . ābādhasi āvāhasi vivāhasi pajopadāye pavāsasi (K ; M) ; ta vatavyaṃ pitā vā putena vā bhātrā vā svāmikena vā 'therefore it should be told by a father or by a son or by a brother or by a master . . . ' (C IX 5-6) = so vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna pi spamikena pi . . . (S ; also M, K, D, J) ; eta vatavyaṃ pitā va putrena va bhātā va mitasastutañātikena va āva paṭivesiyehi 'it should be told by a father or by a son or by a brother or by a friend, acquaintance or relative, even by neighbours' (G XI 3) = etaṃ vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna pi spamikena pi mitrasaṃstu tena ava prativeśiyena (S, also M, K) ; etc.



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§187. As in OIA the particle 'pi' ('api') denotes inclusion and emphasis ; otherwise its use is analogous to that of *ca* and *vā*. Thus: yath(ā me pul)isā pi bahune janası āyatā ete paliyovadisaṃti pi pavithalisaṃti pi 'so that my men appointed over a large populace shall both explain and expand them' (T VII 22). For further instances see §186 above. The particle 'pi' frequently occurs along with other particles such as *ca* and *tu* ('cu').

§188. In the Jaina Prakrits 'avi' (<*api*) introduces an instance. Thus: se bemi taṃ yahā avi harade paḍipuṇṇe ciṭṭhati 'so I say that, for instance, there is a lake full (of waters)' (Āyara 1. 5. 5. 1).

§189. In the Asokan Inscriptions 'kho' (<*khalu*) occurs in all the versions more or less. But it preponderates in the two North-Western Inscriptions. It invariably occurs with the particle 'tu' ('cu'). Thus: dukare cu kho añatra agrena parakramena '(it is) indeed difficult to achieve except by intense exertion' (M VI 32, S) = dukaraṃ tu idaṃ añatra . . . (G ; D, J have 'cu'; K has 'ca' (?)) ; so kaṭavo ca (va) kho maṃgala 'an auspicious rite should indeed be performed' (S IX 18 ; M, K, D, J have 'ceva kho') = ta katavya-meva tu maṃgalaṃ (G) ; apaphalaṃ tu kho etaṃ imam (tu) kho mahāphala 'this is indeed of little efficacy ; but this (i.e., the other) is indeed greatly efficacious' (S IX 18, M, K, D, J) = apaphalaṃ tu kho etārisaṃ maṃgalaṃ ayaṃ tu mahāphale maṃgale (G) ; ta tu kho . . . ovāditavyaṃ 'that should indeed be admonished' (G IX 7-8 ; J) ; dukaraṃ tu kho eṭaṃ 'this (is) indeed difficult to achieve' (G X 4 ; S, M, K ; D, J have 'cu') ; lahuka tu kho sa priti 'that satisfaction is indeed little' (S XIII 11, K). 'tu kho' occurs in br I, sd, and jtr. 'kho' ('khu') is quite frequent in Pali and in the Prakrits.

(a) In Kharoṣṭhi *Dhammapada* 'hu' and 'gu' (<*ha*+*u*, *gh*+*u*) occur: ta gu deva praśajadi 'him indeed the gods praise' (B 21) ; so hu bhikhu du vucadi 'he is indeed called a bhikkhu' (B 38).

§190. The use of the particles *eva, tu,* 'cu' (<contamination of *ca* and *tu*), *hi, nāma,* 'su' (<*svit*) is as in OIA. Some of these particles occur seldom in Pali and in the later Prakrits. Examples: tī eva prāṇā 'only three animals' (G I 10-11) = trayo vo prāṇa (S) = tiṇṇi yevā pānāni (K ; M, J) ; pūjetaya cu eva parapāsaṃḍā 'other sects should indeed be respected' (G XII 4) = pujetaviya va cu paraprasaṃḍa (S ; M) = pujetaviya cu pala-pāśaḍā (K) ; bahukaṃ hi dosaṃ samājamhi pasati 'the king finds various faults in a *samāja*' (G I 4-5 ; S, M, K, J) ; esa hi seṣṭe kaṇme 'for this is the best deed' (G IV 10, S, M, K, D) ; atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ na bhūtapurvaṃ dhaṃmamahāmātā nāma 'long



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since theere had never been ministers in charge of *dharma'* (G V 3-4 ; S, M, K, D) ; yatra nāsti manusānaṃ ekataramhi pāsaṃḍamhi na nāma prasādo 'where men has no faith in even one sect' (G XIII 5 ; S, M, K) ; pape hi nama supadarave 'sin (is) indeed easy to commit' (M V 21 ; K, D) =papaṃ hi sukaraṃ (S) =sukaraṃ hi pāpaṃ (G) ; se kina su jane anupaṭipajeyā kina su jane anulupāyā dhaṃmavaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti kina su kāni abhyuṃnāmayehaṃ dhaṃmavaḍhiyā ti 'so how indeed people would conform (to the Law), how indeed people would advance by the proper advancement of *dharma,* how indeed I would cause some to go forward in *dharma'* (T VII 16-19) ; kiṃchaṃde su lājā aphesū ti 'how (is) the king disposed to us' (J sep II 5 ; D). kiṃ su bhavissāmo ito cutāse 'what indeed will become of us (when we) fall away from here?' (SN 40. 3).

§191. As in OIA 'ti' (*iti*) concludes quotations and purposive clauses etc. The fuller form 'iti' occurs a few times in the Girnar and Dhauli versions only. Thus: athe me janasa paṭivedetha iti 'that (you) shall report to me the business of the people' (G VI 4-5) = janasa aṭhaṃ paṭivedayaṃtu me ti (J, D) ; ayaṃ dhaṃmalipī lekhāpitā kiṃti ciraṃ tiṣṭeya iti 'this edict has been caused to be written that it may endure long' (G VI 13) ; asti ca pi vutaṃ sādhu dānaṃ iti 'it is said that charity (is) good' (G IX 6-7) = athi pi hevaṃ vute dāne sādhū ti (D) ; ta tu kho mitrena va suhadayena va ovāditavyaṃ tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe idaṃ kacaṃ idaṃ sādhu iti iminā sakaṃ svagaṃ ārādhetu iti 'so indeed (it) should be told by a friend or by a chum on various occasions that this should be done, this (is) good, by this (it is) possible to win heaven' (G IX 7-9) ; kiṃti ātpapāsaṃḍaṃ dīpayema iti 'that I may glorify (my) own sect' (G XII 6) = kiti atapraṣaṃḍaṃ dipayami ti (S ; M) ; pāpunevu te iti (D sep II 4) = pāpuneyu lājā (J) ; pāpunevu iti (D sep II 5) = pāpuneyu (J) ; pāpunevū iti (D sep II 7) = pāpuneyu (J).

(a) 'ti' often follows a word instead of concluding a purposive or causal clause. Thus: ye iyaṃ dhramaniśite ti va dhramadhisthane ti va danasaṃyate ti va savratra vijitasi maa dhramayutasi vaputa te 'whether one (is) devoted to *dharma* or is established in *dharma* or (is) devoted to charity, on (every such man) given to *dharma* they (are) engaged by me everywhere in (my) kingdom' (M V 25 ; S, G, K, D) ; etc. For the use of 'ti' (and 'kiṃti') with optative see above §138.

(b) 'ti' sometimes expresses question. Thus: kiyaṃ tu dhaṃme ti 'and what much (is) *dharma*? (T II 11, Mi, A-K, Rdh, Mth, Rp).

(c) 'kiṃti' 'kiti' (<*kim iti*) is often a substitute for and used along with 'iti' or 'ti'. Thus: kiṃti lajūkā asvatha abhītā kaṃmāni



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pavatayevū 'so that officials, confident and unafraid, may introduce works' (T IV 4-5, Rdh, Mth, Rp) ; kiṃti jano tathā paṭipajetha 'so that the people may do so' (G XIV 4) =kiṃti ca jane tathā paṭipajeyā ti (J, D) = (yena) jatha tatha paṭipajeya ti (S, M) = yena jane tathā paṭipajeyā (K) ; etc.

(d) The phrase *iti kṛtvā* occurs in Pali, in Buddhistic Sanskrit and in the Jaina Prakrits. It is very frequent in the *Mahābhārata*. In the Jaina Prakrits 'ti kaṭṭhu' closes a direct speech.

§192. Besides the particles discussed above there are a few more in the Asokan Inscriptions and elsewhere, some of which are fossilised case-forms of pronouns. These are discussed below.

1. 'so', 'se' (*saḥ=tat*), 'ta' (<*tat*) 'now, but, so,' etc.: se aja yadā ayaṃ dhaṃmalipī likhitā tī eva prāṇā ārabhare sūpāthāya 'but now when this edict (is) written only three animals are killed for the purpose of cooking' (G I 10, M, K, D, J ; S has 'so') ; so aja . . . (S IV 7) =se aja . . . (M, K, D, J) = ta aja. (G) ; etc. 'ta', ('taṃ') is preferred to in the Girnar and Shahbazgarhi versions. 'so' ('se') occurs in Pali and in the Prakrits.

2. 'kimaṃ' 'kiṃmaṃ' (double accusative of the base 'ki' or <**kimam* or 'kiṃ yaṃ' ( =*yad*) has the sense of 'kiṃti' (<*kim+iti*). It occurs only in one passage in the Pillar edicts. Thus: kimaṃ kāni sukhaṃ āvahāmi ti 'so that (or somehow) I may give pleasure to some' (T VI 6, A-K ; Rdh, Mth, Rp have 'kiṃmaṃ').

3. *kam* occurs after *ca* 'or' in the Jaugada version, with 'kiṃti'. Thus: putā ca kaṃ natāle cā panātikyā cā devānaṃ piyasā . . . pavaḍhayisaṃti cev(a) dhammacalanaṃ i(ma)iṃ 'sons and indeed grandsons and great grandsons of the beloved of gods . . . shall further this practice of *dharma* (K IV 11-12) = putra pi ca ku ('kam'?) nataro ca . . . (S, M) = putrā ca potrā ca . . . (G) = putā pi (ca) natipanati ca . . . (D) ; śe tathā kalaṃta hidalokikye ca kaṃ āladhe hoti palata ca anaṃta puiṃnā paśavati 'therefore (or, he) thus doing this world is, indeed, won and infinite merit accrues in (the world) hereafter' (K XI 30) = so tatha karaṃtaṃ ialoka(ṃi) ca aradheti . . . (S, M) = so tathā karu ilokacasa āradho hoti . . . (G) ; hemeva aṃtevāsinā ācariye apacāyitaviye ñātikesu ca kaṃ yathāraham pavatitaviye 'thus should a master be honoured by (his) pupil, and (one) should, indeed, behave befittingly to (one's) kinsmen' (br II 10-11) ; kiṃti kaṃ kamana paṭipātayehaṃ 'that (I) would really carry out in deed' (J sep II 1-2 ; J sep I 1).

§193. *mā* is the prohibitive particle. In the later Prakrits and in Apabhraṃśa it is sometimes used as the negative particle. With



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this prohibitive particle the verb is sometimes suppressed ; it is also used with the gerundive (the future passive participle). Thus: hīni ca mā locetavyā 'diminution must not be countenanced' (G IV 11-12). alaṃ bhikkhave mā bhaṇḍanaṃ mā kalahaṃ mā viggahaṃ mā vivādaṃ 'enought, O bhikkhus! no deceit, no quarrel, no fight, no strike!' (MN iii p. 153). taṃ dāragaṃ ahaṃ egamte ujjhāmi udāhu mā 'shall I leave the male child somewhere or shall I not?' (Vipāka 1. 1. 33) ; etc.

§194. *na* is the negative particle. It is sometimes used in the prohibitive sense. 'no', 'ne' (<*na+u, na+cit*) was originally the emphatic form of *na*. In the Kalsi version and in the Pillar Edicts 'no' by far outnumbers 'na'.

§195. The tendency of using more than one expletive together appears in Vedic Prose. In MIA this idiom is continued. Examples from the Aśokan Prakrits may be seen in the above discussions.

§196. The use of other important particles in Pali is shown below.

1. *api*: ap' ettha mudu vindema api assādanā siyā 'do we here find something soft? is it something sweet?' (SN 28. 23) ; etc.

2. 'carahi' (<*tarhi* or **carhi*): bhotī carahi jānāti taṃ me akkhāhi pucchitā 'if the venerable (lady) knows it, then tell me, when asked' (SN 55. 13) ; etc.

3. *vata*: lābhā vata no anappakā 'our gain indeed is not small' (SN 2. 14) ; acchariyaṃ vata bho abbhutaṃ vata bho yāvatā 'haṃ aññesu samaṇabrāhmaṇesu okāsamattaṃ pi nālatthaṃ 'it is marvellous, it is wonderful indeed that the reception which I did not receive from other Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas' (SN 32) ; etc.

4. 'handa' (<*hanta*) ; handa passāma gotamaṃ 'let us indeed see Gotama' (SN 9. 1) ; handa ca dāni mayaṃ gacchāma 'let me now go away' (MN ii p. 124) ; handa ca hi me tvaṃ brahme antaradhāyissu sace visahasi 'now O Brahman, do you disappear from me, if you can' (MN i p. 330) ; etc.

5. 'kacci' (<*kaccit*): ukkādharo manussānaṃ kacci apacito tayā 'has he who holds up a torch to mankind been honoured by thee?' (SN 23 1) ; etc.

6. *ha*: iti ha ambaṭṭho māṇavo idaṃ paṭhamaṃ sakkesu ibbhavādaṃ nipātesi 'thus did the young Ambaṭṭha for the first time charged the Sākkas being menials' (DN i p. 91) ; etc.

7. 'have' (<*ha-vai*): kaṭṭhā have jāyate jātavedo 'from wood, indeed, fire is born' (SN 30. 8).



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8. 've' (<*vai*): na ve anatthakusalena atthacariyā sukhāvahā 'never is the working for happiness easy for one (who is) prone to sin' (Jātaka i 5. 45, 46) ; etc.

9. *nu*: ko nu aññatra-m-ariyehi 'who, indeed, except the noble?' (SN 38. 42) ; etc. See below.

10. *atha*: atha kho so jarasāpi miyyati 'then he dies of old age' (SN. 44. 1) ; atha kena nu vaṇṇena 'now for what reason' (Jātaka iii 6. 118) ; etc.

11. 'uda' (<*uta*): devī nu si tvaṃ uda mānusī nu 'are you a goddess or a woman?' (Jātaka IV 10. 27) ; etc.

12. 'udāhu' (<*utāho*): kin nu kho āvuso bho gotama taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ udāhu aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīram '(is) it really, O Gotama, that the life is the same thing as the body or the life is different from the body?' (DN i p. 157) ; etc.

13. 'seyyathā' (<*saḥ*(=*tat*)+*yathā*): seyyathā pi mahārāja majjhe siṅghāṭake pāsādo 'just as, O king, (there is) a palace on a cross-roads' (DN i p. 83) ; etc.

14. 'iṅgha' (<*im*+*ha* (*gha*) ; cf. OIA *aṅga*): iṅgha gahapati samaṇo gotamo naṃ parisaṃ āgaccheyya ekapañhen'eva naṃ saṃsādeyyāma 'O householder, had the Samaṇa Gotama indeed come to this assembly (we) would have defeated him with a single question' (DN iii p. 38) ; iṃgha tvaṃ bhagavā yo ca te ayaṃ mayi pasādo taṃ anurakkha 'in fact, O Lord, do you retain the grace which you have for me' (DN iii p. 35).

15. 'kira' (<*kila*): evaṃ kira sammā bandhanā vippamokkho hoti yadidaṃ avijjābandhanā 'thus indeed happens deliverance from the complete bondage, namely, the bondage of ignorance' (MN ii p. 44) ; etc.

16. *yadidaṃ*: see above.

17. 'tāva' (<*tāvat*): akālo kho tāva bhagavantaṃ dassanāya 'now it is not the proper time to see the Lord' (DN iii p. 36) ; etc.

18. *yadi vā*: handāhaṃ bhante gacchāmi yāva jānāmi yadi vā upāli gahapati samaṇassa gotamassa sāvakattaṃ upagato yadi vā no 'now, sir, I am going that I may know whether the householder Upāli has become a disciple of the Samaṇa Gotama or not' (MN i p. 381).

19. 'pana' (<*punaḥ*): ko pana vādo sotāpanne ''what again to say about a neophyte' (MN iii p. 225) ; etc.

Cf. sakkau pāyau puṇu avahaṃsau 'Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa' (*Mahāpurāṇa* i) ; etc.



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§197. The use of the particles in the Prakrits is illustrated below.

1. 'avi', 'vi' (<*api*): muhuttaṃ avi no pamāyāe '(he) should not even for a moment carelessly conduct himself (lit., for carelessness)' (Āyara 1. 2. 1. 3); viṇā vi lobhaṃ 'evn without desire' (ibid. 1. 2. 2. 1) ; pāsaasāri vva gharaṃ ghareṇa kaiā vi khajjiihi '(you) shall be lost, like a dice, when moving from house to house' (Gāthā 2. 38).

2. vā: jeniṃ vā saddhiṃ saṃvasati te vā naṃ egayā niyagā puvviṃ posaṃti so vā te niyage pacchā posejjā 'him his relatives with whom he lived together will first cherish, and he will afterwards cherish them' (Āyara 1. 2. 1. 3) ; kiṃ vā sumarāvideṇa 'but what is the good of calling to (his) mind?' (*Śakuntalā* v) ; etc.

3. *vai*: soccā vai mehāvī paṃḍiyāna nisāmiya 'having heard, indeed, having learned from the learned (one becomes) wise' (Āyara 1. 5. 3. 1) ; etc.

4. 'se' (<*saḥ*): se bemi 'so (I) say' (Āyara 1. 5. 5. 1) ; etc.

5. 'hu': bālā vayaṇijjā hu te narā 'those men really deserve to be called fools' (Āyara 1. 6. 4. 2) ; etc.

6. 'aha' (<*atha*): aha duccaralāḍhaṃ acāri 'then (he) wandered in the difficult (country) Lāḍha' (Āyara 1. 8. 3. 2) ; chaṭṭheṇaṃ ẹgayā bhuṃje aha vā aṭṭhamena dasameṇaṃ '(he) sometimes ate on the sixth (day) or on the eighth or the tenth (or, by the sixth meal etc.)' (Āyara 1. 8. 4. 7) ; etc.

7. 'ṇaṃ' (neuter nominative accusative singular of the pronoun *na* ; cf. OIA *nūnam*): jaṃ ṇaṃ rātiṃ tisalā khattiyāṇī samaṇaṃ bhagavaṃ mahāvīraṃ arogā arogaṃ pasutā 'the night on which the Kṣatriya lady Tisalā, (perfectly) healthy (herself), gave birth to the perfectly healthy the venerable Samaṇa Mahāvīra' (Āyara 2. 15. 7) ; etc.

8. 'kkhu' (<*khalu*): no khalu sakkā . . . '(it is) indeed not possible' (*Nāyādhammakahāsutta* i 1. 19) ; etc. ahaṃ kkhu raaṇasaṭṭhiṃ uvavasidā āsi 'I fasted on the occasion of "raanasaṭṭhi" ' (Mṛccha iii) ; etc.

9. 'dāva' (<*tāvat*): kiḍissaṃ dāva edāe saha '(I) shall now play with her' (Vikrama iii) ; etc.

§198. In Niya and in the Jaina Prakrits the third person present of the verb substantive, *asti* and *nasti*, occur as emphatic or prohibitive particles. In this connection we should remember the use of



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Bengali *nāhi* (<*nāsīt*) as a negative particle. yati tatra sach'i asti siyaṃti . . . yati aṁña sach'i nasti siyati 'if there be indeed other witnesses . . . if there be no other witness' (KI 524) ; yati taha nasti bhaviṣyati 'if (it) shall not be there' (KI 160) ; etc. bhayavaṃ atthi me puṇo rajjasirī hojjā 'sir, shall I really get back the kingdom?' (VH p. 124) ; natthi koi vāhidoso dīsai 'no external defect is seen,' (VH p. 10) ; etc.

## 2. The Correlatives

§199. The use of correlatives in early MIA is illustrated below.

yārise bahūhi vāsastehi na bhūtapuve tārise aja vaḍhite devānaṃ priyasa priyadasino rāño dhaṃmānusasṭiyā anāraṃbho prāṇānaṃ . . . 'what much did not happen during many hundred years before that much has increased, by the teaching of *dharma* by the king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, non-slaughter of animals . . .' (G IV 4-6 ; other versions have 'ẏādise . . . tādise' etc.) ; na tu etārisaṃ asti dānaṃ va anugaho va yārisaṃ dhaṃmadānam va dhaṃmānugaho va 'not indeed is (there) such a gift or favour as the gift of *dharma* or the favour of *dharma*' (G. IX 7 ; D, J have 'tādise . . . yādise') ; nāsti etārisaṃ dānaṃ yārisaṃ dhaṃmadānam 'there is not such a gift as the girt of *dhama*' (G XI 1 ; other versions have 'ediśam . . . yadiśam' etc.). ye adikare kayaṇasa se dukaraṃ karoti 'who (is) the originator of a good deed he does a difficult (deed)' (M V 19 ; S, G, K, D); etc. esa hi seṣṭe kaṃme ya dhaṃmānusāsanaṃ 'this (is) the best work which (is) (=namely) the teaching of *dharma*' (G IV 10, S, M, K, D) ; etc. devānaṃ piyo na tathā dānaṃ va pūjāṃ va maṃñate yathā kiṃti sāravaḍhī asa sarvapāsaḍānaṃ 'the beloved of the gods does not consider gift or honour so much as how there may be the increase of essentials among all the sects' (G XII 8, S, M, K) ; etc. ṣe āvatake jane tadā kaliṃgeṣu ladheṣu hate ca maṭe cā apavuḍhe cā tatā ṣatebhāge vā . . . 'therefore when Kaliṅga was conquered so many men were killed or dead or carried away of that a hundredth part . . . (K XIII 39 ; M, G ; S has 'yamatro'). ki ca iminā katavyataraṃ yathā svagāradhi 'what (is) a greater duty than this such as (=namely) the propitiation of heaven?' (G IX 9). imāni jātāni avadhiyāni katāni se yathā suke . . . 'these species (have been) made not-to-be-killed such as (=namely) parrot . . .' (T V 2). yāvataka tupaka ahāle savata . . . 'as much (is) your jurisdiction everywhere . . .' (ru I 5). yadi p(u)na taṃ aṭhaṃ na nivaṭe ia (a)tha paratra anaṃtaṃ puñaṃ prasavati 'but if that object is not accomplished here then hereafter infinite merit accrues' (S IX 20 ; M and K have 'hacę' and 'haṃce' respectively for 'yadi') ; haṃce



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p(u)na taṃ (a)thaṃ nivaṭeti tato ubhayasa ladhaṃ bhoti 'if again, that object is accomplished then there is realisation of both' (S IX 20, K ; M reads 'hace' for 'haṃce').

yada prañaya paśidi tada nivinadi dukha 'when (one) sees (it) by wisdom then (one) becomes free from suffering' (Khar D Ab 1) ; na bhikhu tavada 'bhodi yavada bhikṣadi para 'by that much one does not become a bhikkhu by as much one begs from others' (ibid. B 26); yada . . . atha 'when . . . then' (ibid. O 15).

§200. The use of the correlatives in the Jaina Prakrits is illustrated below.

je guṇe se āvatte 'what (is) quality that (is) whirlpool' (Āyara 1. 1. 5. 2) ; jao se mārassa aṃto tao se dūre 'as he (is) near Māra so (is) he far (from liberation)' ibid. 1. 5. 1. 1.) ; etc.

§201. In Pali one of the correlatives, generally that in the apodosis or the principal clause, is very often supressed. Thus: yāva loke avattiṃsu sukhaṃ edhittha 'yaṃ pajā 'as long as they lived in the world this people prospered' (SN 19. 15) ; etc. acchariyaṃ vata bho abhutaṃ vata bho yāvatā 'haṃ aññesu samaṇa-brāhmaṇesu okāsamattaṃ pi nālatthaṃ '(it is) marvellous, (it is) wonderful indeed, that the reception I did not get from other Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas' (SN 32) ; yāvatikā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā 'having ridden a coach as far as it would go (lit. road for a coach)' (DN i p. 89) ; etc.

§202. The omission of the correlative in the apodosis in the Asokan Inscriptions is extremely rare. Two such examples are the following: tasa ca puna eṣa mūle usṭānaṃ ca athasaṃtīraṇā ca 'this (is) indeed its root (namely) energy and dispatch of business' (G VI 10, M, K ; D, J have 'iyaṃ' for 'eṣa'); se aja yadā ayaṃ dhaṃma-lipī likhitā tī eva prāṇā ārabhare 'but now when this edict has been written only three animals are killed' (G I 10-11, D, J ; S, M, K have both the correlatives 'yadā . . . tadā').

§203. In the Asokan Inscriptions the principal clause sometimes preceeds the relative clause, especially when the correlatives are not adverbial. Thus: esa hi seṣṭe kaṃme ya dhaṃmānusāsanaṃ (G IV 10, S, M, K, D) ; ayaṃ tu mahāphale maṃgale ya dhaṃma-maṃgale 'this (is) an auspicious rite bringing great reward, which (is, = namely) the auspicious practice of *dharma*' (G IX 4 ; elsewhere 'iyaṃ' or 'imaṃ' for ayaṃ) ; etc.

§204. The conditional clause introduced by 'kiṃti' invariably follows the principal clause. Thus: etāya athāya ayaṃ dhamma-



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lipi lekhāpitā kiṃti ciraṃ tiṣṭeya iti tathā ca me putrā potā ca prapotrā ca anuvatarāṃ savalokahitāya 'for this purpose this edict has been caused to be written so that it may endure long and that my sons and grandsons and great grandsons may follow (it) for the good of all beings' (G VI 12-13) ; etc.

§205. In Pali the clause denoting condition, apposition or purpose regularly follows the principal clause, even when the relative pronoun or adverb is suppressed. Thus: puccheyyā 'haṃ bhante bhagavantaṃ kañcid eva desaṃ sace me bhagavā okāsaṃ karoti pañhassa veyyākaraṇāya 'I would fain question the Lord on a certain matter, if he gives opportunity to set forth the question' (DN i p. 51) ; labhā vata no anappakā ye mayaṃ bhagavantaṃ addasāma 'our gain indeed is not small, that we have seen the Lord' (SN 2. 14) ; yuddhāya paccuggacchāmi mā maṃ ṭhānā acāvayi '(I) am going out to fight, (that) he may not drive me away from (my) stance' (SN 28. 18) ; atha kho ahaṃ eva tattha bhiyyo yadidaṃ adhisīlaṃ 'now I (am) indeed the greater there, that is, in good conduct' (DN i p. 174) ; cirasaṃ kho khante bhagavā imaṃ pariyāyaṃ akāsi yadidaṃ idh'āgamanāya 'after a long time, sirs, the Lord has taken this course, that is, for coming here' (DN iii p. 2) ; evaṃ kira sammā bandhanā vippamokkho hoti yadidaṃ avijjābandhanā 'thus indeed can there be a release from bondage, that is, from the bondage of wrong notion' (MN ii p. 44) ; etc.

§206. In periphrastic comparison the dependent clause follows. Thus: saṅgāme me mataṃ seyyo yaṃ ce jīve parājito 'death in battle is better for me (than) that (I) shall live defeated' (SN 28. 16) ; seyyo amitto medhāvī yañce bālānukampako 'an intelligent foe is better than a sympathetic fool' (Jātaka i 1. 44) ; etc.



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## Chapter Eleven

# WORD-ORDER, ELLIPSIS, PARENTHESIS AND PROLEPSIS

### 1. Word-order

§207. In the Asokan Inscriptions the genitive of the noun and the pronoun generally follows the qualified noun or the governing verb. The possessive, the subjective and the objective genitive are regularly treated in this way ; other types of the genitive also are sometimes treated similarly. Thus: sādhumatā devānaṃ priyasa priyadasino rāño 'approved of the king . . .' (G. I 6-7) ; S, M, K, D, J) ; mahānasamhi devānaṃ priyasa . . . 'in the kitchen of the king . . .' (G I 7-8 ; S, M, K, D, J) ; vijitamhi devānaṃ priyasa 'in the dominion of the king . . .' (G II 1 ; S, M, K, D, J) ; paribhogāya pasumānusānaṃ 'for the enjoyment of men and animals' (G II 8 ; S, M, K, D) ; vijite mama 'in my dominion' (G III 2 ; S, M, K, D) ; vihiṃsā ca bhūtānaṃ 'injury to beings' (G IV ; S, M, K, D) ; añani ca divani rupani draśayitu janasa 'having shown other divine spectacles to the people' (S IV 8, M, K, D, J ; G has accusative 'janaṃ') ; athe me janasa paṭivedetha 'do (you) inform me the business of the people' (G VI 4-5 ; S, M, K) = janasa aṭhaṃ (J, D). In the next sentence, however, the genitive precedes, possibly because it is a *genitivus commodi*: sarvatra ca janasa athe karomi 'everywhere I do the business of (i.e., for the interest of) the people' (G VI 5 ; S, M, K, D, J). vadho va maraṇaṃ va apavāho va janasa 'slaughter or death or carrying off of people' (G XIII 2 ; S, M, K) ; taṃ bāḍhaṃ vedanīyamataṃ ca gurumataṃ ca devānaṃ priyasa 'that (is) indeed considered painful and serious by the beloved of the gods' (G XIII 2 ; S, M, K) ; pratibhagaṃ hi ca etaṃ savramanuśanaṃ gurumataṃ ca devanaṃ priyasa 'this (is) indeed the lot of all men and (is) considered serious by the beloved of the gods' (S XIII 6 ; G, K) ; etc. Exceptions, however, are not few.

So also in the later inscriptions ; e.g., pituno ca se 'of his father', bhātumaṃ ca se 'of his brothers' (EI XX, no. F). Here however 'se' is enclitic.

(a) But when the genitive is neither possessive nor subjective nor objective it generally preceeds. Thus: bahmaṇasamaṇānaṃ sādhu dānaṃ 'gift to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas(is) good' (G IX 5 ; D, J, S, M, K) ; gurunaṃ suśruṣa 'obedience to the superiors' (S XIII 4) ; etc.



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§208. In the Asokan Inscriptions the unqualified pronominal subject (nominative, instrumental or genitive) generally follows the verb and often closes the sentence. Thus: vyāpatā te 'they are engaged' G V 6, 7, 8 ; S V 12 ; M V 23, 24 ; K V 15 ; 16) = viyāpaṭā se (D V 25) ; sarvatra ca janasa athra karomi ahaṃ 'everywhere I do the business of the people' (M VI 28 ; K, D, J read 'hakaṃ'; G omits the subject ; S omits it at the first occurrence but shows in the repetition (15) ; yaṃ pi ca kici mukhato aṇapemi ahaṃ 'whatever I order verbally' (M VI 28, S ; K has 'hakaṃ'; G 'svayaṃ'; D, J omit the subject) ; evaṃ aṇapitaṃ maya '(it has) thus been ordered by me' (S VI 15, M, K) = evaṃ mayā āñapitaṃ (G) = hevaṃ me anusathe (J, D) ; ya ca kici parākramāmi ahaṃ 'whatever I exert (for)' (G VI 11, M ; K, D, J have 'hakaṃ'; S omits the subject) ; aṃ kichi dakhāmi hakaṃ 'whatever I find' (J sep I 1, II 1 ; D) ; ichāmi hakaṃ 'I desire' (D sep I 5, 6, II 3 ; J omits the subject) ; dekhata hi tuphe 'do you see' (D sep I 7, J) ; ichitaviye tuphehi '(it) should be desired by you' (D sep I 9-10) = tuphehi (ichi)taye (J) ; hevaṃmeva e da(kheya) tuphāka 'thus should it be considered by you (?)' (D sep I 13) ; ichāmi hakaṃ 'I desire (J sep II 1) ; alahāmi hakaṃ taṃ vatave 'I deserve to say that' (bh 4) ; sumi hakaṃ 'I am' (ru I 1) ; viyāpaṭā se 'they are engaged' (T VII 25 (twice), 27) ; vivāsayātha tuphe 'you cause to dwell away' (Sarnath 10) ; etc.

(a) Exceptions are really very few ; e.g., ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṃ kataṃ 'but much good has been done by me' (G V 2 ; S, M, K, D) ; hakaṃ . . . nikhāmayisāmi 'I shall make (the officers) go out (on tours)' (D sep I 21-22) ; hak(aṃ) anusāsāmi tuphe 'I instruct you' (D sep II 6, J) ; hakaṃ . . . hosāmi 'I shall be' (D sep II 8) ; hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ 'may I not fall away' (T III 21, Mi, Rdh, Mth, Rp) ; etc.

§209. There is a marked tendency in the Asokan Inscriptions to put the verb before the nominal subject. This is probably for literary effect. Thus: bahukaṃ ni dosaṃ samājamhi pasati devānaṃ priyo priyadasi rājā 'the king Priyadarśin, the beloved of the gods finds great fault in a *samāja*' (G I 4-5 ; J) = bahuka hi dosaṃ samajasa devana priyo priadraśi raya daknati (S ; M ; K ; vaḍhayisati ceva devānaṃ priyo priyadasi rājā dhaṃmacaraṇaṃ idaṃ 'and the king Priyadarśin, the beloved of the gods, shall further this practice *dharma*' (G IV 7-8, S, M, K, D, J) ; yaṃ tu kiṃci parākamate devānaṃ (priyo) priyadasi rājā 'whatever king Priyadarśin, the beloved of the gods, exerts for' (G X 3 ; S, M, K, D, J) ; etc.



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§210. In the Asokan Inscriptions the *dativus finalis* (or the *genitivus commodi*) generally closes the sentence ; so does the adverbial phrase. Thus: purā mahānasamhi devānaṃ priyasa priyadasino rāño anudivasaṃ bahūni prāṇasatasahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya 'formerly in the kitchen of king Priyadarsin, the beloved of the gods, many hundred thousand animals were daily killed for the purpose of cooking' (G I 7-9) ; S, M, K, D, J) ; paṃthesu kūpā ca khānāpitā vrachā ca ropāpitā paribhogāya pasumanusānaṃ 'on roads wells have been dug and trees planted for the enjoyment of animals and men' (G II 8 ; S, M, K, D) ; dukaraṃ tu idaṃ añatra agena parākramena 'it (is) difficult to achieve except by the utmost exertion' (G VI 14, S, M, K, D, J) ; ta vatavyaṃ pitā va putena vā bhātrā vā svāmikena vā idaṃ sādhu idaṃ katavyaṃ maṃgalam āva tasa athasa nisṭānāya 'so it should be said by a father or a son or a brother or a master—"This is good ; this auspicious rite should be performed."—till the attainment of the object' (G IX 5-6, D ; S, M, K) ; etc.

§211. The adverbial emphatic particle *nāma* generally comes at the end of the sentence. Thus: atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ na bhūtapurvaṃ dhaṃmamahāmātā nāma 'long since there have not happened ministers (in charge) of *dharma*' (G V 3-4 ; S, M, K, D) ; eta ca aña ca etārisaṃ dhaṃmamaṃgalaṃ nāma 'this and others like this (are) indeed the auspicious rites of *dharma*' (G IX 5 ; S, M, K, D) ; lahuke cu esa paṭībhoge nāma 'small indeed (is) this recreation' (T VII 24) ; etc.

§212. In the Asokan Inscriptions as well as elsewhere the numeral sometimes follows the noun it qualifies. It is probably a dialectal peculiarity. Thus: majura duvi 2 mrugo 1 'two peacocks and deer 1' (S I 3) = dvo morā eko mago (G ; M, K, J) ; eta pi praṇa trayo paca na arabhiśaṃti 'but these three animals shall not be killed in future' (S I 3) = ete pi trī prāṇa pachā na ārabhisare (G ; M, K, D, J) ; but: tada tra(yo) vo prāṇā haṃñaṃti 'then only three animals are killed' (S I 3 ; M, G, K, D, J) ; dve cikīcha 'two (kinds of) medicinal treatments' (G II 4 ; S, M, K, D) ; catpāro rājāno 'four kings' (G XIII 8 ; S, K).

amahakheta niyataṇasatāni be 'from our land two hundred *nivartanas*' (Nasik Cave inscr. no. 4: EI VIII) ; kāhāpaṇasahasrehi catuhi 'with four hundred *kārṣāpaṇas*' (ibid. no. 10) ; etc.

§213. In the later inscriptions the ordinal denoting date generally follows the noun it qualifies. Thus: saṃvatśaraye aṭhasatatimaye 'in the seventy-eighth years' (CII II i, No. XIII) ; savat-



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sare pacavise hemaṃtama(se) tritiye divase vīśe 'in the twenty-fifth year in the third winter month on the twentieth day' (Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura, no. V: EI I) ; saṃvachare sātame 7 hemantāṇa pakhe tatiye 3 divase pathame 'in the seventh year, in the third fortnight of the winter, on the first day' (Nasik Cave inscr. no. 24 ; EI VIII) ; etc.

### 2. Ellipsis

§214. In the Pali prose canonical works the verb 'to think' or 'to say' is sometimes suppressed. Thus: yadā bodhisatto mātu kucchiṃ okkanto hoti cattāro naṃ devaputtā catuddisaṃ rakkhāya upagacchanti mā taṃ bodhisattaṃ vā bodhisattamātaraṃ vā manusso vā amanusso vā koci vā viheṭhesīti 'when Bodhisattva descends into (his) mother's womb four sons of gods, indeed, come to protect the four sides, (thinking), 'May nobody, whether a man or non-man, injure the Bodhisattva or (his) mother' (DN ii p. 12) ; cattāro naṃ devaputtā patiggahetvā mātu purato ṭhapenti attamanā devī hohi mahesakkho te putto uppanno ti 'the four sons of gods taking him up places (him) before the mother, (saying,) "Be pleased, O queen, a lordly son is born to you" ' (ibid. p. 14) ; etc.

§215. In narration the Jaina Prakrits often suppress the finite verb, so also in *Divyāvadāna*. Thus: atthi ihaiva bhārahe vāse avanti-jaṇavae sudaṃsaṇaṃ nāma puraṃ maṇiraho nāma rāyā | tassa ya sahoyaro jugabāhu juvarāyā | tassa niruvamarūvalāyaṇṇā mayaṇarehā nāma bhāriyā | sā ya accanta-paramasāviyā | tīe putto savvaguṇasaṃpanno candajaso nāma | 'There (was), in this very Bhāratavarṣa, in the province of Avanti, a city named Sudarśana, and a king named Maṇiratha. His brother Yugabāhu (was) the crown-prince. His wife (was) superbly beautiful and (was) named Madanarekhā. She (was) a very devout *śrāvikā*. His son, endowed with all good qualities (was) called Candrayaśas' (Jacobi 41). pūrveṇa krośamātraṃ gatvā mahat candanavanam '(there is) a great forest of sandal wood on going just a *krośa* to the east' (Divya p. 113). See OSBS p. 64.

### 3. Parenthesis

§216. Parenthesis is not at all rare in the Asokan Inscriptions and in Pali. Thus: sarvata vijitamhi devānaṃ priyasa priyadasino rāño evamapi pracaṃtesu yathā coḍā pāḍā satiyaputo ketalaputo (=keralaputo) ā-taṃbapaṃnī aṃtiyoko yonarājā ye vā pi tasa aṃtiyokasa sāmīpaṃ rājāno sarvatra devānaṃ priyasa priyadasino



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rāño dve cikīcha katā manusacikīchā ca pasucikīchā ca 'everywhere in the dominion of the king Priyadarśin, the beloved of the gods, even in frontiers such as Coḍa, Sayitaputa, Keralaputa upto Taṃbapannī, Amtiyoka the Yavana king and those that are Amtiyoka's neighbouring (or, vassal) kings—everywhere two (kinds of) medicinal treatments have been made by the king Priyadarśin, the beloved of the gods, (namely) medicinal treatment of men and medicinal treatment of animals' (G II 1-5 ; S, M, K, D, J) ; te savrapaṣaḍeṣu vaputa dhramadhithanaye ca dhramavadhriya hidasukhaye ca dhramayutasa yonakaṃbojagaṃdharanaṃ raṭhikapitinikana ye va pi año aparata 'they are engaged over all sects for the establishment of *dharma,* for the increase of *dharma* and for the welfare and happiness of the pious among the Yavanas, the Kambojas, the Gāndhāras, the Raṭhikas and the Pitinikas and also (among) others who are the frontiers' (M V 21-22; S, G, K, D) ; ia bahireṣu ca nagareṣu savreṣu orodhaneṣu bhratunaṃ ca spasunaṃ ca ye va pi aṃñe ñatika savatra viyaput(a) 'here and outside, in all towns, in harems, over (my) brothers and sisters and (over) those that (are my) other kinsmen everywhere (they are) engaged' (S V 13, M, G, K, D) ; taṃ maa putra ca nataro ca paraṃ ca tena ye me apaca (a)chaṃti ('vraksaṃti' Hultzsch) avakapaṃ tathaṃ ye an(u)vatiśaṃti te sukiṭ(r)aṃ kasaṃti 'so my sons and grandsons and after that (those) my projeny that shall be upto the end of the cycle (*kalpa*) who shall follow thus, they shall acquire merit' (S V 11 ; M, G, K, D omit 'achaṃti' or 'vraksaṃti') ; etc.

iminā 'haṃ bhante bhagavatā saṃkhittena ovādena ovādito atthi sunāparanto nāma janapado tatthāhaṃ viharissāmi 'thus, sir, being instructed by the Lord with a brief instruction—there is a country called Sunāparānta—there I wandered' (MN iii p. 268) ; atha kho so bhikkhave mahābrahmā seyyathā pi nāma balāva puriso sammiñjantaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya pasāritaṃ vā bāham sammiñjeyya evam eva brahmaloke antarahito vipassissa bhagavato . . . purato pātur ahosi 'now, O bhikkhus, Mahābrahman, just as a strong man may stretch (his) folded arm or may fold (his) stretched arm, thus, indeed, disappeared in the region of Brahman and appeared before the Lord Vipassi' (MN ii p. 37) ; etc.

## 4. Prolepsis

§217. Prolepsis is common in the inscriptions later than the Asokan and is unknown in Pali and in the literary Prakrits. Thus: ksaharatasa cukṣasa ca kṣatrapasa liako kusuluko nama tasa putro patiko takhasilaye nagare utareṇa pracu deśo kṣema nama atra deśe



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patiko apatiṭhavita bhagavata śakamuṇisa śariraṃ pratitthaveti saṃgharamaṃ ca 'of the Kṣatrapa of Cukṣa, Liaka Kusuluka by name, his son, Patika, in the city of Takṣaśilā (there is) to the north in the eastern area a place named Kṣema, in this place Patika (now) establishes an image of the Lord the Śākya sage, not established (before), and also a monastery' (Taxila cp.-pl. inscr. of Patika) ; dāsasya putro cori tasya dattiḥ 'Cori, the son of Dāsa, his gift (i.e., the gift of Cori, the son of Dāsa)' (EI I, no. XXVI) ; etc.



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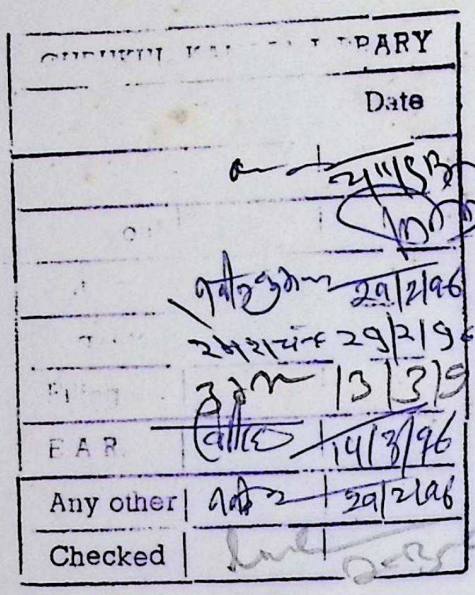

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